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To my Father and Mother
To you dear parents I return
And to our God my prayrs shall rise
My thanks for all your love
For blessings on your way
When may my heart with ardour burn
Till with you I mount the skies
To him who reigns above
For realms of endless day
Isabella McDonald
aged 12 years
1829
Philadelphia

SAMPLER, 1829

From the Pioneer Museum

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCHES

MADE BY THE

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society

Vol. XXXVIII

LANSING, MICHIGAN
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1911.

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PREFACE

The thirty-eighth volume of the Collections consists of miscellaneous papers read at the meetings during the publishing of volumes thirty-six and thirty-seven, composed almost entirely of documentary articles. Thirteen biographies are given into which are woven many historical incidents and items. Besides these are the memoirs of members whose deaths have been recorded since our last volume. The obituaries of three of these writers occupy space in the same book with their contributions, bringing home to us the great importance of securing information at first hand before it is too late.

Prehistoric forts in Macomb county connect us with primitive life in Michigan. The romance of Old Baldoon reads like old stories of Kings, Castles and Knights. The old forts, not only old in Michigan but ranking as such in the United States, are depicted. We see early Grand Rapids and are invited to a Railroad Ball. We visit Cadillac's home. We honor the inventor of the Solar Compass and developer of our wonderful Upper Peninsula. We point to history and romance in dry statistical legal decisions. New light is thrown on the boundaries of our country. We are led through the Gateways of the Northwest to Unexplored Historical Fields. The perils of pioneer days are given in the Lost Finch Boy, Early Allegan, Early Howell, Grand Traverse Region, Indian and Pioneer Life, St. Joseph, Lenawee, Van Buren, Cass, Barry and Eaton Counties, each contributing its share. Almost a photograph of a true historian is displayed in the genuine history told in Colonial Amusements of Detroit. You can read the Samplers exhibited. The settlement and characteristics of Michigan are depicted in articles on the French of St. Joseph County, the Dutch of Holland and Southern Michigan settlement. More strictly historical are the History and Meaning of Names of the Counties, and Maps. We follow the track of the underground railway. We see practical work in the accounts of historical sites marked and pictures preserved. Schools are not ignored in the paper on those of Kalamazoo and connection of history and citizenship with them. Michigan's part in National life is greatly enhanced by the exhaustive but clear work of Marshall's Men and Measures in its pioneering the public school system, protection of homesteads and the enfranchisement of slaves. One of the strongest and most

helpful lives in Michigan was that of Aunt Emily Ward who started twenty-nine young people in educational and industrial paths leading them to high state and national honors. The reader must bear in mind that this Society does not attempt a connected history of Michigan but fragmentary sketches that, like moving pictures, show bits of domestic life and habits and customs of its citizens.

The Historians invite the organization of County Societies and their co-operation in gathering and preserving local records. History while dealing with past events must receive the attention of the present time and thus teach the coming generations.

Committee of Historians,

Clarence E. Bement, Lansing
Junius E. Beal, Ann Arbor
Rev. Frank O'Brien, Kalamazoo
W. Lee Jenks, Port Huron
Joseph Greusel, Detroit

MICHIGAN

Pioneer and Historical Society

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 2 AND 3, 1909

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was called to order by the President, C. M. Burton, Wednesday, June 2, 1909, at 2 o'clock p. m. Rev. William Putnam of Lansing offered prayer. Music by the choir of the Industrial School for Boys.

The president made a short address, comparing the work with other societies and with former years, commending the progress made. He expressed the appreciation of the Society for the help rendered by appropriations from the legislature, regretting circumstances made it necessary to curtail the amount asked for. He emphasized the needs for better accommodations and more means to adequately carry on the work. The reports of the secretary and treasurer will be found following this.

The president, in answer to a request from the clerk, Mrs. Ferrey, appointed a committee to audit the accounts, consisting of Messrs. George Howe, Port Huron, George Thayer, Grand Rapids, and Henry J. Martin of Vermontville. The Industrial School Boys sang, "Tenting Tonight."

By request, Mr. H. M. Utley courteously exchanged places on the program with Father O'Brien of Kalamazoo, who read a scholarly paper on the Life of Richard R. Elliott, the predecessor of C. M. Burton, historiographer of Detroit. Hon. Levi Barbour prefaced a fine memorial of Peter White by the presentation of a nicely framed portrait which was unveiled by the president. This picture was donated by M. W. Jopling, a son-in-law of Peter White, through the solicitation of Hon. Charles R. McCabe of Marquette. Mr. E. J. Wright of Lansing gave an account of the manner in which the Society became the possessor of

four chairs originally occupied by Michigan territorial governors and sold by the State to persons who gave them to the Masonic Lodge, and by resolution of that body they were returned to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. The chairs were displayed, bearing the additional silver plates recently bought and placed on them by the lodge.

Judge Cahill offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society be extended to Lansing Lodge No. 33, F. & A. M., for the presentation of four chairs, viz.: one large solid mahogany chair, beautifully carved and upholstered in hair cloth, used by the Territorial Governors and Judges; one large, plain mahogany chair in same covering, very heavy and massive; two office chairs, hand carved, with hair-cloth covers and rope-legs.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Master of the Lodge.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Miss Othie Smith of Sault Ste. Marie sang a solo, entitled "Rock Me To Sleep." Mrs. Martha Gray of Traverse City read an interesting paper on the "Forerunners of The Grand Traverse Region." Hon. Huntley Russell closed the afternoon session with a solo, Kipling's "Recessional," Miss Block, accompanist.

Wednesday evening's session was opened by music from the Baracca Club, Lansing, entitled "The Winter Song," and for an encore they rendered, "March of the Gods." Henry M. Utley, City Librarian of Detroit, read a biography of Gen. Byron M. Cutcheon [or McCutcheon]. Mrs. Jane M. Kenney of Port Huron said Gen. Cutcheon told her that he changed his name on account of his brother who established himself first in Michigan and was known as Cutcheon, so when he joined him, he also dropped the "Mc," as he considered two own brothers should have the same name, although he had always regretted his action. The Baracca Club then sang, "Old Black Joe," and responded to an encore with "April and November."

Judge Montgomery gave a fine memorial of Daniel McCoy, prefacing his paper by calling attention to the coincidence that both Gen. Cutcheon and Mr. McCoy were of Scotch extraction, and both names had been corrupted, McCoy originally being McKay. Miss Glenna Bishop of Eaton Rapids, sang "Praying For You."

William Foster of Delta presented the Society with a flail and shake made by himself, an Indian relic, and some corn like that grown in Alaska, which had been brought by the birds to his farm, each kernel being enclosed in several husks. Mr. Foster planted some of the seed, and now has specimens of a number of ears. He said he did not have an education, and the great men of the State, whose biographies they

had listened to, had some one to tell their history, but that he would have to tell his own. He took up some land near Delta when the sections we now know were all a wilderness; he built himself a shanty, of course of green lumber, which shrunk so it was almost impossible to detect any difference between the atmosphere outside and inside of the house. It served as a shelter from storms and a protection from the animals, then plentiful, but in cold weather there was no danger of perspiring in his house. He thought he must fix it up a bit, as the winter was upon them, and the thermometer near zero. He secured the help of five men, and in four days they had a log house, but as there was no chance for the usual mud-chinking, frequently snow drifted into his cabin to the depth of several inches. This was in December and it proved a hard winter. The first of April, 1855, there came a storm, leaving the snow fifteen inches deep on the level, but it lasted only eleven days.

He worked a few days for a man who had no money with which to pay him and he took a log chain for recompense. He cut down and "branded" five acres of ground covered with beautiful timber. He walked from Delta to the site of the present Michigan Agricultural College, and from a man named Burton, who occupied the farm now owned by the State, he bought five bushels of wheat at $1.50 per bushel, and carried it home in bags on his back. The flail he presented he made to thrash out the grain grown from the seed. He was born in 1831, and now owed no man a dollar, and could live comfortably the remainder of his days. He said his wife deserved as much credit for his success as himself, for the privations borne by her were as great, if not greater, than those endured by himself. He thought the present generation would be benefited by the experience of some of these hardships. They would grow to know each other better, and appreciate each other more, and it would result in fewer divorces.

Samuel F. Cook gave a paper on "The Man Who Sold Mackinac Island to the British in 1812, His Purchaser and His Reward." Miss Bishop favored the audience with a solo entitled, "Fishing."

Thursday morning a committee meeting was held in Committee Room A, Senate Chamber.

Thursday afternoon the president desired to know the pleasure of the society in the matter of the nomination of officers. There being no objections to precedents established he appointed as nominating committee, Judge Cahill, Messrs. Greusel, Howe, Martin, and Jewell. The auditing committee's report was adopted.

John I. Knapp of Adrian gave an informal and general invitation to the audience to be present at the dedication of a monument to Aunt Laura Haviland in Adrian, contributed by the citizens, and unveiled

during the Home Coming Celebration. He added that this was the sixth public monument erected to a woman in the United States. It was expected that Will Carleton a Michigan poet would deliver the address.

Mrs. Mary E. Bascom Henry of Albion, in behalf of Mrs. Belle Gardner Gale of Albion, presented a small framed photograph of her father, Mr. A. D. Gardner.

Mr. Jewell of Pontiac, gave a brief account of the Oakland County Pioneer Society, and two attempts to get on a permanent financial basis which had resulted in securing cases for records, proper room for them in the new court-house and a small fund for future use. He said the maintenance of the society formerly depended entirely on the women. He gave a cordial invitation to attend their coming meeting.

The nominating committee recommended the following officers who were unanimously elected by the Society:

C. M. Burton, Detroit, president.
Edward W. Barber, Jackson, vice-president.
Henry R. Pattengill, Lansing, secretary.
B. F. Davis, Lansing, treasurer.

COMMITTEE OF HISTORIANS

Junius E. Beal, Ann Arbor.
Frank O'Brien, Kalamazoo.
Edwin O. Wood, Flint.
Joseph H. Steere, Sault Ste. Marie.

COLLECTOR

Florence S. Babbitt, Ypsilanti.

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Joseph Greusel, Detroit.

Mr. Greusel read a paper and letter from Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, regarding his reminiscences of Rev. D. M. Cooper of Detroit, a member of this society recently deceased. Mr. John Atkinson of Detroit sang four Indian songs by Cadman.

Mr. W. V. Smith gave an address on the "Aborigines of Michigan." Mrs. Ellen B. Judson then read a paper on "The Great Railroad Conspiracy," prepared by P. S. Richards, Cohoctah.

Mr. Atkinson followed with a vocal solo, "As in a Rose Jar," and for an encore repeated, by request, the Indian songs.

Mrs. Babbitt gave a paper on "Samplers," exhibiting several in her own possession, some belonging to the Society, and others loaned for the occasion. At the conclusion of the article Mr. Burton, on behalf of Mr. F. M. Cowles, presented Mrs. Babbitt with a very beautiful bouquet. In response, she said she was very much surprised, but managed to collect herself to explain that it had been a custom of Mr. Cowles, at the meetings of both the Ingham County and State societies, to present a bouquet to some lady, generally the oldest one present. Last year at Mason she begged for the flowers, but Mr. Cowles replied they were intended for a handsomer woman. She was very glad to know she had improved in looks sufficiently to receive the bouquet, and it was more appreciated from the fact she did not often have bouquets thrown at her. She would accept the honor conferred on her in the following stanza:

"The world is filled with flowers,
The flowers are filled with dew,
My heart is filled with love,
For you, and you, and you."

Mr. Burton called attention to the picture of Miss Emily Ward displayed in front of the desk, and said he regarded her as one of the grandest and best women in Michigan for her time. While she never married she had brought up seventeen boys, and he and others present mentioned several of these who attained state and even national reputations. This picture was presented by Mrs. George Jones on behalf of the Woman's Club of Marine City.

Mr. Finney said Michigan was entitled to two statues at the base of a monument in Washington, D. C., the first, and only one so far, being that of Gen. Cass. He recommended that a resolution be sent to the next legislature naming the man to be thus honored to secure such a statue. Mr. Burton named as such committee to draft resolutions Mr. Finney, Judge Cahill, and Joseph Greusel. Mr. Atkinson sang "A Man's Song," and responded with a solo "Some Day." The paper on the Hyde Family was not read, owing to the absence of the author, but appears in these collections. Mr. Burton then read a very comprehensive and researchful paper on "Early Amusements in Detroit."

The evening session was opened by a solo by Mr. Atkinson, "All Through the Night," and a second song by request. Mr. George Howe of Port Huron gave a report of the pioneer meetings held in St. Clair County. Rev. Jenkins Lloyd Jones prefaced his address by saying the boundaries of Michigan were all that prevented his being already a Mich-

igan citizen by law, as he was one of us in spirit. He came to Illinois when one year of age, and brought his parents with him. He was gratified at such successful attempts to conserve history, and had become ancient history himself, he felt, at times. He selected Francis Parkman for his theme on account of the man and of his great and marvelous work for Michigan and the old Northwest. By request, Mr. Atkinson repeated the Indian songs.

Mr. Charles Moore then gave a very complete biography of the life and work of James McMillan, United States Senator from Michigan. Mr. Atkinson sang, "Thy Sentinel Am I," and Rev. Dr. Haze, ninety-three years of age, closed the meeting with a benediction.

The flowers which decorated the room were generously presented by the Michigan Agricultural College, and the School for the Blind. A memorial bouquet of peonies was sent by Mrs. Susie Stark for her father, C. B. Stebbins, a very helpful and interested member in former years.

REPORT OF SECRETARY H. R. PATTENGILL, 1909

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was organized in 1874. The roster contains the names of those most prominent in State matters at that time. Papers read at the annual meetings were too valuable to be lost, so a small sum was obtained from the legislature to publish them. A yearly book has since been issued, making, in 1910, thirty-six published volumes, and two of cumulative index, thirty-eight in all. Books were scarce in the early days and libraries few. In order to bring the importance of the history of the State more generally before the people, it was voted, June 2, 1896, to allow each school library, having twenty-five volumes, not including State and public reports, to have a set of these books for the cost of transportation. The number required was afterwards increased to fifty and again to one hundred volumes. The school libraries of the State now number 5,500; we only issue 2,500 books annually. You can readily see we are confronted with a problem. For this reason the board again raised the number of volumes required to 500 volumes. This free distribution of the books resulted in 1907 in fourteen volumes being out of print. A new index for six volumes was made by Mrs. M. B. Ferrey and all the matter revised and corrected by the editors. Since three more have been completed and one is under way. This greatly increased the work in the office, with no additional help. The historical societies of the United States, public, college, and high school libraries have generally completed their sets, even to the extent of buying the missing volumes if

they had been once received. There are now upwards of 1,500 schools in receipt of these collections. Of the rural schools, fully one-third if not one-half, have not sent for the second supply of books. Many of these schools have no place for a library and in some cases they have been kept in private houses. The teachers change so often that no settled policy can be established, and so oftentimes little has been done with the books compared with what might be the result. We have, therefore, instead of distributing the books as asked for turned our attention towards completing the sets where they have been placed and investigating the claims of new applicants.

There is no other historical society in the United States that is doing so much work with so little money. We assure you we are doing our best to improve the work of the Society, but must ask your patience until more help and better conditions enable us to investigate applications or fill orders.

NEW MEMBERS

Mrs. Katherine Criswell, Cassopolis; Mrs. Edith G. Munger, Hart; Mrs. Maude Willetts Reed, Detroit; Dr. Joseph W. Mauck, Hillsdale College; Mrs. Renee Louise Tompkins Hamilton (Mrs. Barritt), Battle Creek; George Curtis Langdon, Geneva, N. Y.; C. E. Bement, Lansing; Francis H. Rankin, Flint; Mrs. Jennie Lind Pond, Lansing; Mrs. Ellen Amanda Cook Cronks, Flint; Mrs. Hannah Elizabeth Countryman, Flint; Rev. Seth Reed, Flint; Mrs. Rebecca Folger Crapo Durant, Flint; Mrs. Gertrude Amelia Bates, Flint; Edmund Piper Calkins, Flint; Rev. Father Timothy J. Murphy, Flint; Mrs. Harriet Begole, gift, Flint; Mrs. Mary Begole Cummings, Flint; William Lee Jenks, Port Huron; Mrs. Sophia Bingham Buchanan, Grand Rapids; Mrs. Wenona Austin Gregory Waters, Owosso; Miss Lena Estelle Gregory, Owosso; Horace Major Olney, Hartford; Eugene Frank Cooley, Lansing; Mrs. Helen B. Fuller, Lansing; Hon. Walter Rose Taylor, Kalamazoo; Joseph S. Stockwell, Pontiac; Joshua W. Bird, Pontiac; Mrs. James Appleyard, Lansing; William H. Anderson, Grand Rapids; Mrs. Emily R. Johnson, Lansing; Isaac Nelson Woolcott, Lansing; Mrs. Bessie A. Rowe McPherson, Lansing; Mrs. Francis McQuigg Stewart, Flint.

DEATHS.

The deaths reported for the fiscal year of 1909 were as follows:

David B. Hale, Eaton Rapids pioneer, father of Representative Hale; William A. Heartt, prominent Tuscola settler; Charles S. Williams of Owosso, son of one of the well-known Michigan pioneers, the four Williams brothers; Alanson Pearsall, formerly of Lansing whose death occurred in Oregon; N. Augustus Parker, Frankfort, a well-known lawyer, greatly interested in educational and historical matters; Dwight Goss, author of History of Grand Rapids and a valued contributor to these Collections, who died at Palo Alto, California, whither he had gone in pursuit of health; Sheridan J. Colby, Detroit representative in the legislature and father of the bill for Primary Election; George H. Cannon of Washington, Macomb County, one of the pioneer surveyors of Michigan whose paper before the Society resulted in the appointment of National Commissioners to regain Michigan's lost territory from Wisconsin; James A. Case of Alpena, a faithful school commissioner; John O. Woolson, Bay City; Mrs. Agnes L. Averell, Bay City; G. M. Pettys, Grand Rapids; Mrs. W. H. Harrison, wife of a devoted member of this Society who always in response to the annual program sent a small check showing a practical interest in our work; Mrs. L. B. McGee, an old resident of Albion who died at the Dulcinia Home at Marshall, Michigan; Mr. Perine V. Fox, who with Mr. George W. Thayer were regular attendants at our annual meetings; Hon. C. E. Foote, of Kalamazoo, commander of the G. A. R.'s; Friend Palmer of Detroit, who served faithfully in the Civil War and whose volume of Reminiscences of Early Detroit are included in Michigan libraries; H. W. Bartlett who conducted one of Lansing's early Business Colleges; Mrs. Nancy Carey, a sketch of whose life appears in this series.

GIFTS AND LOANS, JUNE, 1908-JUNE, 1909

Three books, presented by Mrs. John Clear, Lansing, Mich.

Newspaper, October 20, 1883, presented by Dr. Von Rosenberg, Lansing, Mich.

Calash bonnet, worn by Gen. Macomb's daughter, Mrs. Rucker of Grosse Isle, loaned by Mrs. Ferrey.

Glass door knob and picture from John Rucker's home on Grosse Isle—the house is now in ruins—loaned by Mrs. Ferrey.

Ink stand brought from Scotland, used about 1758, and a candy heart bought in Jackson in July, 1862, presented by George Mower, Lansing, Mich.

Tea caddy and several old bills (fractional currency), presented by Mrs. Lottie Mower, Lansing, Mich.

Card receiver, Pearl Pope, Coldwater, Mich.

Two pictures, Mr. and Mrs. Elder, old residents of Lansing, presented by their daughter, Mrs. Perry, Lansing, Mich.

Six books, presented by Judge Patterson, Marshall, Mich.

A runlet and a pewter whale-oil lamp, presented by Miss Burr, Grand Ledge, Mich.

Picture of Judge Long, presented by A. C. Chapin, Lansing, Mich.

Four mineral specimens, presented by C. E. Davis, Marcellus, Mich.

Post card, with Declaration of Independence written on it, presented by A. G. Carr, Nashville, Mich.

Brown pitcher, very old, white glass spoon holder, presented by Mrs. Mary E. Bascom Henry, Albion, Mich.

Large Indian basket, belonged to Mrs. W. G. Wiley, presented by Mrs.. T. L. P. Miles, Lansing, Mich.

Piece of lace work, 22 by 30 inches, framed—design, American eagle and flags, made by Mrs. Delphine Miller and loaned by her to the Society. It is valued at $1,000.

Trammel and andirons presented by Mr. and Mrs. Hiram Smith, Haslett Park, Mich.

Two vases, presented by Mrs. Reiley, Lansing, Mich.

Picture of John Okemos, son of Chief Okemos, and a spectacle case, loaned by W. L. Cheney, Mason, Mich.

Brochure, "White Pigeon," presented by the Ladies Alba Columba Club, White Pigeon, Mich.

Bible which belonged to Jesse Crowell, presented by Mrs. Smith Chatfield, Albion, Mich.

Commission, dated July 4, 1820, signed by Dewitt Clinton, presented by H. N. Rowley, Albion, Mich.

Picture of Miss Emily Ward, given by Marine City Women's Clubs.

Eight Continental bills and 107 foreign coins, presented by Major J. W. Harrar, Deputy State Treasurer.

Two iron bake dishes given by Mrs. Leonora Kimball, Detroit, Mich.

Piano case melodeon, presented by Mary L. Barnes, Duluth, Minn.

Bronze replica of Gov. Mason, presented by Hon. Daniel McCoy.

Mosaic jewelry, presented by Mrs. Mary Clarkson, Lansing, Mich.

Book, by Alonzo Thompson, Delhi township, presented by E. A. Calkins, Mason, Mich.

Prohibition handkerchief, with temperance lessons, loaned by Tim. Miles, Lansing, Mich.

First prayer in Congress, 1776, embroidered and framed about 1882, presented by Sarah Brisbin, Lansing, Mich.

Several very valuable pieces of china and pottery, four very old books, tin candle stick and snuffers, presented by Mrs. Palmyra Hahn, Leslie, Mich., collected by Mrs. Ferrey.

Basket made by Menominee Indians, presented by Col. Michael Harris, Harrisville, Mich.

Chopping knife made about 1800, presented by Mrs. Becker and daughter, Leslie, Mich.

Railroad bank bill, framed, and autograph letter of Gen. U. S. Grant, presented by George Sidman, Philadelphia, Pa.

Epaulette, loaned by Fred. Hadrich, Lansing, Mich.

Bread dish, very old, presented by Mrs. John S. Hicks, Tecumseh, Mich.

Flail, presented by William Foster, Lansing, Mich., who made and used it on his farm in Delta township fifty-two years.

Cup and saucer with Stewart coat-of-arms, handed down for 200 years, loaned by a member of the Stewart family, Albion, Mich.

A photograph of Mr. Augustus Porter Gardner, one of the first pioneers of Albion, presented by his daughter, Mrs. Gale.

Two copper luster vases, brought from the State of New York, 1865, loaned by Mrs. William Henry, Albion, Mich.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Annual report of the treasurer of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society from May 29, 1908, to the close of business May 30, 1909:

Cash on hand May 29, 1909	$1,655 18
Received from membership fees	57 50
Received from State	2,350 00
	$4,062 68

DISBURSEMENTS.

June 8th, Paid George H. Bonnell	$28 00
June 9th, Florence Babbitt	500 00
June 13th, Copying Margry papers	500 00
Removing Books	32 00
July 7th, Reprints for Prof. Alvord	15 00
July 13th, Florence S. Babbitt (agreement regarding china)	100 00
Sept. 11th, Refund for express money (Mrs. Ferrey)	10 00
Oct. 12, Copying and translating manuscript	395 70
Feb. 25th, Binding Vol. 36—Morocco	24 00
Expense of board meeting	49 00
Expense of annual meeting	32 25
Incidentals	52 22
Salary, M. B. Ferrey	1,000 00
Salary, G. E. Dew	360 00
	$3,098 17
Balance on hand at close of business June 1, 1909	$964 51

$100.00 additional in special fund.

Respectfully submitted,

B. F. DAVIS,

Treasurer.

MIDWINTER MEETING AT FLINT, JANUARY 25 AND 26, 1910

The fifth midwinter meeting was held in the Presbyterian Church at Flint, January 25th and 26th, 1910. The program was carried out with few changes. Rev. Seth Reed made the opening prayer. The music throughout the meeting was of a high character, consisting of instrumental and vocal, and also the Victor Victrola operated by Mrs. Wisner, wife of Judge Wisner of Flint. The sign recitations by pupils from the School for the Deaf and Dumb were exceedingly interesting, evincing much study and thought. In the absence of Mayor Selby, City Attorney Homer J. McBride delivered the address of welcome.

It was to be regretted that Mrs. J. W. Begole was unable to be present to second this greeting. The response by President C. M. Burton expressed appreciation of the interest shown by the citizens of Flint, and displayed his familiarity with all matters of history. The thoughtful and scholarly paper on Michigan Early Emigration by W. V. Smith of Flint followed.

Reminiscences were indulged in by John R. Benson and other pioneers from the townships of Genesee County. Mr. Benson's home is at Mt. Morris. He came into the county in 1840 when two years old. The Pere Marquette railroad cuts into his farm on its way between Mount Morris and Clio. He particularly called attention to the skill and ingenuity acquired by the pioneers to provide their necessary tools and furniture, or adapt themselves to the urgency of conditions. Manufactories were unknown, stores merely trading posts, and nearly everything bore the stamp of being homemade. The scarcity of money made barter and exchange about the only way of doing business.

President Willson read a letter from A. C. Lyon of Chicago, a former recorder and abstract business man of Flint. Dr. Burr of the Oakgrove Asylum made a motion to instruct Secretary H. R. Pattengill to send a telegram to Hon. Thomas W. Palmer whose eightieth birthday occurred January 25th, 1910.

It was very gratifying to see so many of the old pioneers present from the county, fully one hundred of whom listened to the papers, and at the close of the session remained to greet each other and recall old times. A number of portraits and early pictures had been collected, which were hung or displayed in the church parlors. These were largely from the collections of F. H. Rankin to whom is due many thanks for his interest and assistance.

The program for the evening was opened by a vocal solo by Miss

Anna Louise Gillies of Flint, accompanied by Miss Mabel Green, pianist.

An address was given by Henry R. Pattengill, the keynote of which was Emerson's sentiment, "The best servant of the republic is one who knows its past, foresees its future, lives in its present, and is ready for the next step." He deplored the neglect of teaching the rising generation the history of our State, proving the lessons from it are fully as practical and valuable as those drawn from the dark ages or medieval times. Loyalty and wisdom were in Austin Blair, as well as in Cromwell, and as much knowledge gained from modern heroes and Peter White as from Peter the Hermit. Michigan boys and girls should be masters of the biographies and historical events of our State. Pontiac, his wigwam village and pilgrimages through Michigan should be studied; old Detroit with its quaint French customs and characters printed on memory as plainly as treasured in books; the Toledo War and its origin, early improvements, early privations and other features of our history should be studied and digested and Douglas Houghton's valuable and romantic life made familiar. The great men in judicial, executive and civil life should be read and remembered. In this way one would be able to foresee the future. He empathically declared that foreseeing was not prophesying but the larger vision coming from knowledge and experience. The ability to foresee the future is the best guide to present actions. Mr. Pattengill's earnest, forceful, and eloquent remarks brought a hearty response from the audience.

After another solo by Miss Gillies, James V. Barry, Michigan Commissioner of Insurance, gave an address on how the State lost in artificial property and national resources by imperfect fire restrictions. Comparison of losses to the disparagement of the United States was made with Europe, the former amounting to $3.02 per capita, and the latter running as low as thirty cents. The American people had no realization of the prevention of fires but excelled in appliances to allay their destructiveness. In Prussia an alarm of fire in a dwelling was given, and the fire was soon extinguished, but the builder was called into the fire-marshal's court and made to report the cause, which was from a defective stove. For this he was fined and imprisoned. Insurer and insured alike are interested in just such stringent regulations which should become part of the statutory laws of Michigan.

Hon. Lawton T. Hemans gave an eloquent tribute to Michigan standing at the verge of her seventy-third birthday. "If the history of the past and its wonderful discoveries and achievements has been gratifying, no less so are the promises of the future. We should say, and see to it, that 'the best is yet to be.'" He extolled historical work and its great value to the State, whose standing army were the pioneers and their work. He asserted that the founding of the pioneer home required as

much courage and heroism as the defence of a fort or valor on the battlefield. The victory of peace rivals the victory of war.

Hon. Junius E. Beal, regent of the University of Michigan and a member of the Public Domain Commission, made a plea for the conservation of the State's resources. The immense wealth gathered from the destruction of one of Michigan's greatest sources of riches has become personal and has passed beyond her control, but the restoration of the pine barrens, which should result in new forests, might again bring life and wealth to her acres. He bespoke the cooperation of this society to aid in the preservation of the natural as well as the necessary historical resources.

Hon. Joseph Greusel of Detroit spoke briefly of Michigan's importance in the making up of the nation. It was the port of entry for all neighboring States. From the great advantages arising from the number and magnitude of its lakes it made for itself a prominent place on the map of our country and no less so in history. Its antiquity, its romances, its bravery and its leaders made records which the Society, though tardy in gathering, is now engaged industriously in collecting under the direction of the president of the Society. The results are apparent in the extension and betterment of the work.

Wednesday morning, January 26th, the officers and visitors were taken in carriages around the city giving them an opportunity to see its miraculous growth. Although in the depths of winter, the workmen with families were obliged to occupy tents which seemed in perfect accord with the pioneer part of the convention.

The afternoon session was opened with music, followed by the report of Rev. Father Frank J. O'Brien of Kalamazoo who was appointed delegate to represent the Society at the National meeting of Historical Societies held in New York.

Dr. Annie Rundell, of the Institution for the Deaf at Flint, delivered an interesting account of the work of the several State chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This is essentially a patriotic order, its objects being to honor the memory of the brave heroes of the days of '76, mark historic sites, and especially to cultivate a taste for and knowledge how to secure and preserve all material connected with the history of our State. There are thirty chapters in Michigan which, beside the national work of erecting and furnishing a magnificent Continental Memorial hall at Washington, D. C., and presenting a handsome flag to the Battleship Michigan, have identified and suitably marked the graves of Revolutionary soldiers throughout the State. Many prizes have been offered to the pupils of the public schools for patriotic essays on given subjects or biographies of eminent men and women. In some instances flags have been presented schools and copies of the Declara-

tion of Independence given, since this American Magna Charta has been sealed and laid away to save it from the ravages of time.

Clarence E. Bement of Lansing who had been announced for a talk on the previous evening, now took the platform. He spoke of the value of historical work and the debt the State owed Mr. C. M. Burton who stood, not only as the head of the work in Michigan, but who was well-known and respected by the historians and historical societies of the United States for his discoveries and historical knowledge. He had devoted both time and means to the betterment of this Society. He congratulated the citizens of Genesee County on the wealth of historic material to be gathered by them with its early settlements, its unique Indian settings, the home of two governors of the State, a justice of the Supreme Court, and many others high in official places, making it rank among the first in importance. Mr. Bement advocated the culture of love of history among the children. If more time were devoted to its study it would necessitate better material and preparation. He emphasized the fact that the time was ripe for a proper historical building, one worthy of the work and creditable to Michigan.

Miss Loretta Morrisey of Flint followed with a piano solo.

David Richards of Richfield gave "Reminiscences of Early Days" in such a vivid and truthful manner that the pioneers felt their own experiences repeated and could be heard to assent to these recollections with "That's right," or "I remember that."

Francis Cleary of Windsor, Ont., then read a paper on Old Fort Malden and Amherstburg.

The evening session was in charge of Dr. Willson who called on Hon. John Carton. He spoke of his personal knowledge of the work done by the Society as witnessed by him during his position as speaker of the house and president of the constitutional convention of 1907. While he did not lay claim to the privations of the early settlers, enough were left to struggling farmers with large families to enable them to realize and recognize the trials and successes of the pioneers.

A reply was received from the telegram to Hon. Thomas W. Palmer as follows:

"Your kind letter of congratulations on my eightieth birthday was received yesterday too late for a response. I thank you for your kind wishes. It is pleasant to be remembered even before you die."

Hon. William R. Bates ex-United States marshal, gave some exceedingly interesting items of early Flint. He citied the names of the lawyers, doctors, and ministers of 1870, very few of whom could respond to roll-call now. He gave a description of the newspapers of that day, the comparison of which reflected much glory on the Flint Daily Journal, which challenges quality from papers in other cities of the same size.

The sawmills of those days were the greatest assets, with lumber as king.

Dr. J. S. Willson, son-in-law of Governor Crapo and president of the Genesee County Pioneer and Historical Society, read a list of the names of people who had been residents of the county for more than forty years. Longevity is exemplified in Genesee. Dr. Willson also told of the first white family to settle in Flint, Uncle John and Aunt Polly Todd. They bought section 7 of Burton township, receiving 745 acres for $800. A greater part of the city of Flint is built on this land. The semi-centennial of Flint and dedication of its fine court-house had familiarized many early events heretofore unknown.

Rev. Seth Reed, one of the few circuit riders of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made a memorable speech. Mr. Reed has lived beyond the allotted time of man, yet retains his mental faculties and physical powers to a marvelous degree. He was connected with the Genesee County circuit and painted vividly the condition of the towns and villages in his district. His description of the Indian campmeeting we hope to embody in our volumes. Truly he has seen many years, which have been covered with honor and service.

Hon. E. O. Wood made some pertinent remarks, and expressed his regrets at his unavoidable absence from the meetings. Mrs. Florence S. Babbitt was called on and responded in an interesting manner. After a vote of thanks to the citizens of Flint and Genesee County for assistance in making the gathering so pleasant and profitable, the meeting adjourned.

A remarkable feature was the fact that not one person whose name was on the program failed to be present and perform his or her part. Father O'Brien's report of the meeting of the American Historical Society at New York was exceedingly interesting and showed us the great men of the country interested in this work. Rev. Seth Reed's presence was an inspiration to the young. Steps were taken to organize a permanent Genesee County Pioneer and Historical Society meeting to secure and preserve local history.

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 7 AND 8, 1910

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was held in the Senate chamber of the capitol, at Lansing, June 7th and 8th, 1910.

The program for Tuesday, June 7th, at 2 o'clock p. m., was opened with prayer by Rev. William Putnam, one of the oldest ministers in Lansing, followed by an address by Hon. C. M. Burton, of Detroit, president of the Society. H. R. Pattengill gave the report of the secretary. In the absence of B. F. Davis, Frederick Hopkins read the treasurer's report. A vocal selection, "June," was rendered by Mrs. F. O. Hesse. John E. Day, of Armada, an intimate friend for many years, prepared a memoir of George H. Cannon of Washington, Macomb County, Michigan. The paper was read by Mr. Pattengill, in the absence of Mr. Day, who was in attendance at the Macomb County Pioneer meeting.

An extended biography of Dr. William H. Haze, the oldest physician and minister of Lansing, was given by his daughter, Mrs. Angie Hungerford.

Judge Samuel Kilbourne gave a history of the life of Frederick M. Cowles, an early resident of Lansing, and an earnest, faithful attendant at the meetings of this society. One of his favorite customs was the presentation of a fine bouquet of flowers to the oldest member present.

Mrs. F. O. Hesse sang a very pleasing song, entitled "Summer." A paper was read by Clarence Frost of Adrian on "The Railroads of Southern Michigan." W. H. Anderson of Grand Rapids paid a glowing tribute to Delos Blodgett. The session closed with a vocal solo by Jane Barber, "The Year's at the Spring."

The exercises for the evening commenced at seven o'clock with a song "The Yellow and the Blue," by the choir of the State Industrial School for Boys. Dr. Blanche M. Haines of Three Rivers, Michigan, gave a paper on "French and Indian Footprints on the St. Joseph."

A vocal selection by Jane Barber, "Bendemere Stream," pleased the audience.

A portrait of Hon. Arthur Hill, presented by Mrs. Hill through the courtesy of A. H. Fish of Saginaw, was made the subject of an earnest and feeling sketch of Mr. Hill by his lifelong friend, William Donovan of Lansing. Then came an address on Regent Hill by James B. Angell, LLD., president emeritus of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. A vocal solo was given by Professor A. J. Patten of the Michigan Agricultural College, "O Thou Sublime Evening Star." The audience was

requested to pass into the governor's parlors to be present at a reception in charge of Col. Rogers, Detroit, given to President Angell, by Governor Warner, the Judges of the Supreme Court, State Officers, Dr. Snyder and faculty of the Michigan Agricultural College, officers of the Pioneer and Historical Society, Mayor of Lansing, Alumni of the University of Michigan, and citizens. In the absence of Mrs. Warner, the Governor was assisted by Mrs. A. T. Bliss, widow of ex-Governor Bliss. Refreshments were served in the corridors, and, by special request the Industrial School Boys repeated the "Yellow and the Blue," being highly complimented by Dr. Angell. The Alumni of the University held a meeting at which James M. Reasoner, State Reporter of the Supreme Court was made temporary chairman with power to nominate officers for permanent organization to co-operate with the State Historical Society, holding its meetings at the same date. The chairman of the committee was Walter Foster, with Miss Mary Nell McKay, Dr. Harry Haze, Prof. Allen, State Geologist, and Mrs. Frank McKibbin the other members. The two hundred resident graduates could easily make this an influential organization.

At the opening meeting Wednesday, June 8th, at two o'clock, Dr. J. J. Marker of Wayne, Michigan, sang "Song of Waiting," after which Mr. Burton appointed the following as a committee on election of officers for the ensuing year: Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, Rev. Collins, Messrs. Stockwell, Martin and Frost. These met in the office of the State librarian and presented the following ticket: C. M. Burton, president, Detroit; William L. Jenks, vice-president, Port Huron; Henry R. Pattengill, secretary, Lansing; B. F. Davis, treasurer, Lansing; Board of Trustees, Lawton T. Hemans, Mason; J. V. Barry, Lansing; Mrs. Nathan Judson, Lansing; Committee of Historians, Junius E. Beal, Ann Arbor; Rev. Frank O'Brien, Kalamazoo; Clarence E. Bement, Lansing; Joseph Greusel, Detroit; Judge J. H. Steere, Sault Ste. Marie; Collector, Mrs. Florence S. Babbitt, Ypsilanti, which report was unanimously adopted.

The program was then taken up by a paper on Names of Michigan Counties and their Derivation, by William L. Jenks of Port Huron. An intermission was announced during which punch and wafers were served.

Considerable discussion arose over Mr. Jenks' paper, and suggestions how to induce the different county pioneer societies to co-operate with this Society in regard to local work and regular meetings. Moved by Mr. Finney that the local pioneer societies of the State be notified from three to six months in advance of the annual meeting of the State Society, and that each society be requested to send annual reports and delegates. This was carried.

Auditor General O. B. Fuller gave a sketch of Charles E. Foote, Kalamazoo, Department Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Mr. Fuller was a seatmate of Mr. Foote in the House of Representatives.

Dr. Marker sang, "Bonnie, Sweet Bessie" and "Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes." Mrs. Winifred Dodge of Adrian gave an interesting paper on "Landmarks of Lenawee County." Mrs. M. B. Ferrey reported the gifts presented at the meeting and also read a short memoir of Mrs. Sophie Bingham Buchanan of Grand Rapids. Dr. Marker sang, "Down Among the Dead Men," which closed the afternoon's program.

The exercises were opened Wednesday evening at 7:30 o'clock with a song by the boys of the Industrial School, the "Language of the Flag." This was a poem written by the speaker of the evening, Will Carleton and set to music by Joseph Rix of Lansing, leader of a local orchestra. The boys displayed the United States and Michigan flags, making a very pretty sight. A paper on "The History of the Diocese of Grand Rapids," by Father Robert William Brown of Grand Rapids, reviewed the church and showed its marvelous growth.

Dr. Marker sang "Kavanaugh," after which the feature of the whole occasion was the lecture of Will Carleton. Mr. Carleton claimed Michigan as his birthplace and said that living in New York City was only temporary, and that he was acting with other Michigan residents as missionaries, for God was surely in Michigan. He recited many of his poems leading up to them with little bits of advice, considerable pathos, and very much humor. His claim to the sufferings from pioneer privations because his father had told him of them, his illustrations of the progress of the times, through music in the churches, donation parties, schools, funerals, Fourth of July's, and automobiles, were surely pioneer reminiscences. But philosophy was not ignored, and his remark that joy and sorrow touched so closely on each other's heels, was proven by the fact that the echoes of laughter raised by the humor of the speaker had not ceased before the memory of losses experienced or grief endured, sobered the audience. The Senate Chamber was crowded to the doors, and the speaker's power to hold and interest them so great that many remained standing during the entire time he occupied the rostrum.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

BY C. M. BURTON

I always feel that the address of the president, which is supposed to precede our annual meeting, is superfluous, when he has so little to say. The reports of the various officers include nearly everything that can be told of the work performed by the Society. The annual meeting is mostly taken up with the election of officers and giving the members an opportunity to make new and renew old acquaintances. Of late the society has had two meetings each year; the annual meeting in June, and a mid-winter meeting in some city of the State other than the capital. At these two meetings the public was always invited, and the proceedings known to every one, but besides these meetings there is a year of hard work that the public knows little about.

Mrs. Ferrey, who is in charge of the rooms in the Capitol can always be found at that work, and in addition, there is the work of the various committees that is going on all the time. The collection of materials for our annual publication; the supervision of the printing; making of the indexes, and the final distribution of our books among the libraries and schools of the State, take up the entire time. All this work is done without the knowledge of many of the members of the Society, and this is the real work that occupies every working day from the first of June in each year, until the thirty-first day of each succeeding May.

During the past year, as you will observe from the reports of the officers of the Society, we have been re-printing some of the books of which the supply was exhausted. We have also added one new volume to our collection, and have volume thirty-seven nearly finished. Upon the completion of that volume, we will have issued thirty-nine volumes, consisting of two volumes of indexes and thirty-seven volumes of annual publications.

Several years ago we found, in the City of Washington, a mass of manuscripts that had been collected by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the great Indian writer. These papers were taken care of by the Smithsonian Institution, and copied for our use. Some of them were printed in volume thirty-six and many more will appear in volume thirty-seven.

I hope soon to see a volume filled with the Margry papers. Pierre Margry was the archivist of Paris for many years, and collected and printed six volumes of documents relative to the early explorations of Lasalle and others in this part of the new world. The books were printed in French and are not well known among students who do not

read that language. We are having these works carefully examined, collated with the original documents and translated for our use. The printing in our series will begin soon, and we will look forward to that book with great expectations, feeling assured that every historical society in America will be as much interested in it as we are.

I think I am not overestimating the matter when I state that the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society is doing as good work as any society in the United States.

REPORT OF SECRETARY H. R. PATTENGILL, 1910.

The Historical Societies of the United States are so widely separated that we do not realize there are between 400 and 500, 300 of which are duly listed. Nearly every state is represented; South Dakota and Arkansas being among the later ones. Practical work in the Society of California stopped in 1895, and though it was revived it soon after disappeared completely with many valuable records and exhibits, during the fire which followed the earthquake of 1906.

Several states publish no regular books, but confine themselves to reports and pamphlets. Alabama and Mississippi have adopted a State Department of Archives and History, and Tennessee is organizing along the same line. Minnesota makes a specialty of geneology. Michigan's State Library is becoming very rich in genealogical lore. Pennsylvania turned her attention to local histories. Wisconsin's pre-eminence is British history especially referring to the Old Northwest. Connecticut has 1,300 works on local New England history. Kansas and Missouri have files of all the newspapers in the respective states, and each editor becomes ex-officio a member of the State Historical Society. New York expends $50,000 for historical work. New Jersey publishes state papers, which include public documents, marriage and death records, and genealogies. Vermont divides its work into three divisions, viz.: history, natural history, and horticulture. Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania have the largest societies, expending respectively, $18,000, $12,000 and $24,000 annually. Wisconsin leads, with $43,000 besides endowments which swell the sum to $55,000 annually.

Many cities give local grants, Buffalo making an appropriation of $5,000 annually. Our own Detroit spreads a tax of $15,000 yearly for its art museum.

Three states house their historical societies in magnificent buildings; viz.: Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania; Wisconsin expending nearly half a million on building and furnishings.

Michigan is the only state using its historical books for educational purposes. It expends less money for the same amount of work than any other state. Numbered consecutively, it has the largest number of volumes, although if you count all State departmental reports Massachusetts heads the list.

When once our State is thoroughly aroused to the immense wealth of historic material, to the unique features of events, to its variety of resources and interests, and the study of Michigan history made compulsory with both teachers and schools, we shall have better and more loyal citizens. In the examinations of the libraries, calling direct attention of schools and clubs to the neglect of local and State history, the clerk, the last two years, has visited over twenty counties, with the result of arousing local interest and enthusiasm among the listeners. More time and study has been given the subject and many historic sites located and marked.

This year we have to record the death of the following members: Dr. John R. Bailey of Mackinac Island, formerly a surgeon in the regular U. S. army, and author of book on Old Mackinac; Dr. J. W. Hagadorn, for many years a practicing physician in Lansing; Dr. William H. Haze whose obituary is included in this volume; Frederick M. Cowles one of Lansing's pioneers who always brought a fine bouquet for both the county and State pioneer meetings; Arthur C. Bird, formerly secretary of the Michigan Agricultural College, and filling the office of Dairy and Pure Food Commissioner at the time of his death; Captain James A. Baker, a veteran of the Civil War; Lester Hudson and wife for many years residents of Lansing; Henry Whiteley an editor of Millersburg, but formerly connected with the State Land Office at Lansing; Hon. E. O. Grosvenor whose biography will be found in this volume; Mrs. Sophie Bingham Buchanan who sang Indian duets at our meeting with her sister Mrs. Gilbert of Grand Rapids; P. H. Warner whose memorial written by his son, ex-Governor Fred M. Warner, follows; Hon. Arthur Hill whose memoir appears in this volume; Judge John Patterson a valuable member of and contributor to this Society; Mrs. Mary A. Barber, wife of a former esteemed vice-president of this organization.

GIFTS AND LOANS TO THE MUSEUM, JUNE, 1909, TO JUNE, 1910

Fork, presented by Bradley Messer, Perrinton, brought to Michigan, 1879.

Six shells from "Wenona," Bay City, presented by C. S. Crossman, New York City.

Presented by Mrs. George A. Dyer and daughter: Twenty-two badges; Bible, 1844; Bible, 1846, (Roman Catholic with Crucifixion frontispiece); Religious Tradesman, 1804, with preface by Isaac Watts; old English reader; Odd Fellows offering, 1852; hymn book, 1820; Paisley shawl; Dresden figure; piece of lace curtain used during Grant's administration; piece apple tree under which Lee surrendered; bead bag over one hundred years old, made by Maine Indians; geological maps of Michigan; framed picture; copper from upper peninsula.

English reader, dated June 3, 1827, presented by Mrs. M. Cole, Norvell, also old letters dating from 1850-1889; promissory note and stamp, 1866; hand sewing machine, candle snuffer with Japanese tray, book "Infidelity."

Bake oven, used in 1836, presented by Mrs. Carrie Hallenback.

Bullet mould used in war of 1812, presented by W. L. Brown.

Presented by James E. Pilcher, New Director of National Volunteer Emergency Service, book of marriage certificates, 1834-1838; book on Life of Elijah H. Pilcher; ministerial appointments of the Foo Chow Mission; marriage certificate of Timothy Holsworth.

Red hoop skirt, worn in 1865, presented by Mrs. Elizabeth Andrews.

Presented by Mrs. Fannie Zimmerman, four early books.

Young deer horn, presented by Walter Kimball.

Leather wallet, used for thirty-five years by Walter Kimball and presented by him.

Plate, presented by Miss Rhoda Bradish.

Papers containing articles of pioneer days, Charles E. Barnes, Battle Creek, Mich.

Photograph 16th Michigan Regiment, Fredericksburg, 1836, presented by George D. Sidman, Philadelphia, Pa.

Wooden plate or trencher, presented by Bethiah and Charles Bradish, Adrian.

Old razor, Miss Rhoda Bradish, Adrian; also old spectacles and case, buckle, Ontario Repository, (4) 1809 West Farmer, 1821 (2).

Sheep shears, Charles Bradish, Adrian.

Three candle moulds and old papers, by Mrs. Charles Bradish, Adrian.

Apple parer, harness making machine, knee buckle and glasses, shuttle for weaving yarn, parts of wooden loom, presented by Bethiah Bradish.

Lime water pitcher and cake basket, Parmelia L. Stone, of Sheridan.

Lock from house, Rix Robinson of Ada.

Beads from Indian grave, Mrs. Headley, of Ada.

Relics from Indian graves, Mrs. Burt of Ada.

Michigan Manuals for the years 1871, '73, '75, '77, '79, '81, '83, '85 (three), '89, '91, '93, presented by Mrs. George Van Buren.

Loaned by Mrs. Florence Babbitt, one pewter pitcher.

Tin cup used by Newell A. Dyer, assistant surgeon in Civil War, presented by Mrs. Dyer, Bath; also tin pepper shaker over seventy years old; blue and white saucer over seventy years old; stone jug, steelyards and iron hook; one sampler made by Mrs. H. J. Ware, dated 1832, presented by Mrs. Dyer, Bath.

One candle stick, china; fifteen friendship cards, presented by Mrs. E. M. Brock-

way, Mason; also wooden sand shaker; black straw bonnet, china match safe; candle mould; twenty-eight marriage certificates.

Presented by Miss Mary Brockway, Mason, Mich., glass tumber; brown jug; pieces of bric-a-brac; match safe; glass bottle; tallow candle; bone handled knife.

English Bible of 1874, presented by Mrs. Sabrina P. Ayers.

Book on Solomon's temple (1840), presented by Anne Bobins.

Hymnal, owned by Alvah Holmes, brought to Michigan in 1860, bought in 1853.

Picture, Detroit and Michigan Methodist Conferences, presented by Mrs. E. M. Brockway, Mason.

Received from Mrs. Ellen Judson, picture, photograph of brown pottery, copy of Co. F. Enterprise, published in Santiago, July 26, 1898.

Bound book from Missouri Historical Society.

Pamphlet, "Founder of St. Louis," Missouri Historical Society.

Portrait of Charles J. Walker, presented by the Board of Correction and Charities, also portrait of F. H. Rankin.

ARTICLES PRESENTED THE SOCIETY AT THE JUNE MEETING, 1910

Badge presented by Mr. George Dallas Sidman, worn by him when visiting McKinley in the spring of 1898; badge worn at the unveiling of the Custer monument, Monroe, Mich., June 4, 1910, with picture of Gen. Custer.

Presented by Mrs. N. F. Jenison, post card picture of boulder marking location of the first house at Tecumseh, Mich., erected by Musgrove Evans and wife, June 2, 1824.

Presented by (Mrs.) Dr. Blanche Haines, Three Rivers, two pictures of skeletons.

Presented by Mr. Clarence Frost, Adrian, Mich., strap rail used by the Michigan Southern Railroad, from 1835-52.

Presented by Mrs. Maria Miles, Mrs. Carey's daughter, umbrella given to Mrs. Carey by Abraham Lincoln in the year 1864.

Mrs. Florence S. Babbitt's collection, presented to the society:

One china vase, white with gilt decorations, handle on each side, white leaves in relief.

One china celery tray, green leaf shape, with brown veins.

One earthern tea pot, man with costume of red, green and tan.

One blue china box, about eight inches long, medallion in center of cover, with man's head in medallion, white and gilt trimming.

One white Ridgway syrup pitcher with metal top.

One Tom Thumb pitcher (Parian marble), decorations in relief.

China ornament, figure of a man, handle projecting from center, receptacle for holding things on each side.

Presented by W. E. Crotty, engraving of the Battle of Gettysburg, taken from the painting shown in the Cyclorama, which cost $40,000.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1910

To the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:

I herewith submit my annual report, as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand June 1st, 1909	$964 51
Received for membership fees	45 00
Received from State of Michigan	2,000 00
	$3,009 51

DISBURSEMENTS

Expenses, Annual Meeting	$92 50
Expenses, Board Meeting	56 65
Expenses, Incidental	46 99
Salary, Mrs. Ferrey	1,003 00
Salary, Miss Dew	30 00
J. S. Fox, Editorial Work	320 50
Joseph Greusel, Editorial Work	240 28
Miss M. Agnes Burton, Editorial Work	149 00
Mrs. Florence S. Babbitt, Fire Place Collection	291 23
Mrs. Florence S. Babbitt, Brown Collection	515 00
	$2,745 15
Balance on hand June 1st, 1910	264 36

B. F. DAVIS,
Treasurer.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Byron A. Finney, Reference Librarian of the University of Michigan presented a report as delegate from this Society to the American Historical Association, as follows:

Permit me to report without detail that the section of the American Historical Association "On the problems of State and local historical societies" held a meeting in the hall of the house of delegates at Richmond, Va., Thursday forenoon, December 31st, at which some dozen or more societies were represented. I was the only representative from our Michigan Society. The chairman was Evarts B. Greene, professor in the University of Illinois, and secretary, St. George Sioussat, professor in the University of the South. The program was as follows:

(a) Report of committee on Co-operation among Historical Societies, by Dunbar Rowland, director of the Department of Archives and History, Mississippi.

(b) The Application of Photography to Archive and Historical Work, by Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, of Washington.

(c) Historical Exhibitions, by Albert C. Myers, secretary of the Pennsylvania History Club.

The conclusion of the committee on Co-operation was that the best thing that could be undertaken by the Historical Societies interested would be the printing or reproducing by photography of the principal documents connected with the history of the Mississippi Valley. Mr. Leland, who has been representing the Carnegie Institution in the records of France relating to America, within the past year, gave a very clear exposition of the convenience and value of the use of photography in reproducing documents, and showed by a few examples that quite a percentage of our reprinted documents were in some respects untrustworthy on that account. It was thought that the Canadian government would have to check over very carefully a large portion of its documents. Prof. Jameson of the Carnegie Institution supplemented Mr. Rowland's report for the committee by explaining that the expense of the proposed co-operative work of the Mississippi Valley was estimated at about $2,000. They thought that if they could get ten societies to join in the project it might be carried out. Mr. Roland of Mississippi said that that State would contribute $200 towards the undertaking. Mr. Owen said that Alabama would contribute $200. A member from Nebraska thought perhaps Nebraska would be able to put about $100 into it. Mr. Thwaites from Wisconsin said that they could depend on $200 from

that State. I stated that I was not authorized to say anything definite for the Michigan Society, but I felt quite sure that we would be able somehow to enter into the subscription. Illinois State Society has some doubts as to their being able to devote anything from their finances. In talking with Prof. Jameson later, he thought that the Chicago Historical Society might go into it. Perhaps something may be expected from Ohio and Missouri. It seems that the work cannot be undertaken unless $2,000 is assured, and you will probably have communication from Secretary Sioussat or the committee on co-operation, which was continued, asking assistance and explaining more fully the reasons and probable value of the work. It seems to me that by going into this we will get documents valuable to our own State and avoid more duplication of work. In that respect it might be an economy to enter into this co-operative project.

In connection with the matter, it is asked by this committee that projects for reprinting of documents by local societies may be delayed or held in abeyance for a while until the question of photographic reproduction may have been considered and the proposed co-operative project determined.

Mr. Finney also presented the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATUE FOR STATUARY HALL

At the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, in June, 1909, a committee consisting of Byron A. Finney, Ann Arbor; Edward Cahill, Lansing, and Joseph Greusel, Detroit, was appointed to take into consideration the advisability of the suggestion to the State legislation by this Society of a statue for Michigan's remaining niche in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington. By the act of Congress establishing this hall as a national gallery, each State was entitled to two statues. Most of the States have already placed one and some of them two statues in this hall. The legislature of Michigan has placed there one statute, that of Governor Lewis Cass (in 1889), but has not yet selected the other.

One name considered by your committee, that of Father James Marquette, was found to have been already chosen by Wisconsin in 1895. That State has not yet chosen its second statue. Many names were considered by the committee, among them being the following: Senator Chandler, Governor Blair, Father Pierce, Judge Cooley, Cadillac, Pontiac, General Custer, Governor Mason, President Angell, Peter White,

Governor Felch, Governor Alger, Senator McMillan, Senator Palmer, Major Gladwin, Judge Campbell, and others.

The committee did not feel justified in reporting the name of any living person and could not agree on any man in the past history of the State whose prominence and influence seemed to warrant the proposal of his name for this statue with any prospect of such recommendation being accepted favorably by the legislature.

Mr. Greusel of the committee was strongly in favor of Major Gladwin and his reasons therefor may properly be included in this as a minority report: "With here and there an exception the masses of our own people and the entire population, one might say of the country outside the limits of the State, regard Michigan as being of very recent creation, as far as concerns its organized government. Most people date it from 1837, others go back to 1812, and only here and there a student of history knows aught of the anterior government. It might be worth while to correct these listless and inaccurate ideas concerning established civil government in Michigan, and make more prominent the historical fact that our peninsulas were a Crown colony of Great Britain, and before that, of France. Actual colonization received little encouragement under the French regime. It was different with the English. On that account let us go back to 1760, and conspicuously to 1763, and select Major Henry Gladwin, commandant at Detroit, and civil governor. This Gladwin was a soldier in Braddock's army. He learned from Washington lessons in Indian warfare. These lessons stood him in good stead at the siege of Detroit by Pontiac, 1763-4. The figure of Gladwin would please the artistic taste and lend itself well to sculpture. The old style knee breeches and hose, buckled shoes, ribboned garters, ruffled shirt and lace wristbands; and such a picturesque, long flowing and embroidered coat as we are accustomed to see in the pictures of Washington. The figure of this man thus arrayed, with the insignia of his army rank, his sword, his chapeau, and his long hair in a beribboned queue, would arrest the attention of visitors to Statuary Hall. It would be picturesque beyond anything else that is there, and most worthy in an artistic sense. The remark of the stranger would be 'Who is that?' and the answer, 'Major Gladwin, commandant at Detroit in 1763, at the siege by Pontiac,' would fix a historical date, and prove the extent of our history as antedating the Declaration of Independence."

Your committee, therefore, realizing that the near future may bring men prominent enough for this nomination, although perhaps favorable to the remembrance of a representative of our earlier history, beg leave to report that they do not think best to make a definite recommendation for Michigan's second statue at this time, and would ask to be discharged from further consideration of the subject.

The chairman of the committee has appended to this report a compilation of the various petitions, resolutions, etc., connected with the selection and presentation by the Michigan legislature to the United States Congress for Statuary Hall of the statute of Lewis Cass.

Respectfully,

BYRON A. FINNEY,
EDWARD CAHILL,
JOSEPH GREUSEL.

Lansing, June 8, 1910.

The report was accepted and the committee discharged.

Mr. Finney also sent the Society a very comprehensive report of the full proceedings of placing the first statue of Gen. Cass in the Statuary Hall at Washington, D. C. This report has been filed in the archives of the Society. The legislature of 1910 and 1911 passed an act placing the second statue to Zach Chandler, at a cost of $14,000 and one thousand for expenses. See *Pub. Acts Session, 1911* p. 136.

THE SIXTH MIDWINTER MEETING AT KALAMAZOO

The Sixth Midwinter meeting was held in the Court House at Kalamazoo, Tuesday afternoon, January 31, 1911. The session was opened with a prayer by Rev. W. B. Dickinson of the Congregational Church. George C. Winslow, president of the Commercial Club, in the absence of Mayor Charles H. Farrell, followed with an address of welcome as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is my pleasing duty to assure you, that you and the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society are very welcome. Not only are we glad to be honored by your coming, but we expect to be greatly benefited in many ways. We also hope to show so much interest in all matters pertaining to the grand work in which you are engaged that you will not think your efforts have been in vain.

Some of us think we realize, in a slight degree, the value of all that a historical society stands for, and we trust our conception of the matter may be widened after hearing what you have to offer us. We also hope from what you can assure our people that a permanent society will, in the near future, be the result of your visit; for we are sure it only needs the quickening spirit of your presence and the warmth of your help to make such an organization a success in every way.

Our section of the State is rich in all that could be asked for in historic material, for since the days of the early missionaries, "Those Advance Agents of Civilization," up to the present time, we can boast of a line of unusual interest. This beautiful valley was indeed "The Happy Hunting Ground" of the Indian; our river the avenue of travel for the missionary and trapper; our "Oak Openings" the charm of the settler and beyond compare. Our very name is music to the ear of strangers and men of letters have striven to best sing our praises.

It is strange that only at this late day we fall in line to save the remnant of a heritage which will soon be forever lost, and if even a portion shall be rescued from oblivion, it will be worth many times the cost to us, for those who seek in future years what has to us seemed so commonplace. Again allow me to express to you a hearty welcome.

C. M. Burton, president of the Society responded in substance as follows:

The present State society was not of as early origin as the Historical Society of Michigan, usually known as the Detroit Historical Society, founded by General Cass in 1828. Among its most prominent members were Henry R. Schoolcraft, Major Henry Whiting, Major John Biddle and several others well known to every student of Michigan history. Schoolcraft was placed at the head of the Indian department; Whiting received promotion in the U. S. army and Biddle became a member of Congress. This caused the failure of the society and although attempts were made to revive it which flourished for a short time, it was not until 1874 that a permanent one was started. The volumes have been since issued annually with a degree of regularity. The latest books have contained the Cadillac, Schoolcraft, Bond and Perrault papers which are very valuable historically.

But the work would never be accomplished without the cooperation of the counties. Kalamazoo should gather, give and preserve of its great wealth of material. We should secure all records pertaining to Abraham Edwards, member of the legislative council, Titus Bronson, founder of beautiful Kalamazoo, and others. Mr. Burton expressed the pleasure of the Society in seeing so many pioneers present, and hoped their interest would be quickened, and that they would continue to tell their stories not only in county meetings and pioneer picnics, but that these should become a part of the States' publications. Each president of the county societies, becomes ex-officio a vice-president of the State Society, and as such should be a gatherer and contributor to the Collections.

The Gaynor club of Kalamazoo College gave some selections which elicited much applause. Mrs. Alexander Custard of Mendon gave a fine paper on the "French Settlements in St. Joseph county." She delivered her address without notes in such a pleasing and conversational man-

ner that she interested all. Hon. E. W. DeYoe read a letter to J. D. Clement from Joseph Lomax, first president of the Grand Rapids and Indiana railroad, who now resides in Indianapolis. Mr. Lomax had just celebrated his one hundredth birthday.

Indianapolis, Jan. 25, 1911.

J. D. Clement, Esq.:

Dear Sir:—Your letter of Dec. 29 came duly to hand, in reply to which I enclose a short sketch of the Grand Rapids & Indiana Ry. Co.

Respectfully yours,

JOSEPH LOMAX.

The Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad Company organized by Joseph Lomax, who was its first president, was originally organized to establish a railroad between the city of Grand Rapids and the Ohio river. But disagreements and failures in several companies caused an abandonment of that line and the organization of the line from Grand Rapids to Fort Wayne, afterwards extended to Mackinaw.

At this time there were about half a dozen "Landgrant Railroads" in the State of Michigan, and the State required each to construct a section of its road before the next meeting of the State legislature. Some of the railroad companies complied but the Grand Rapids & Indiana Railroad Company applied for an extension of time, and at each session the legislature granted an extension of time. The lands had been generally described by agents and employes of the road, and the president of the company passed over them on two several occasions and made very careful examination as to the character and quality of the soil and timber, as well as the character and value of the natural water power. The result of this examination induced him to place a very high value upon the land grant.

To secure and hold the land grant, several congressional acts and many acts of the State legislature had to be obtained—all which were done under the management of the company's president. He wrote all the Articles of Association and accompanying papers, completing its organization from its Indiana terminus to the Straits of Mackinaw.

He first went over the line accompanied only by a professional packer. At this time there was no white settlement after ten or twelve miles north of Big Rapids along the route. Agents of the company were sent to England and employed James Samuel, an engineer of high standing representing English capital, to come to America for the purpose of making a professional examination of the entire project. In the summer of 1861 Mr. Samuel with H. V. Poor of New York commenced plans for the construction of the railroad. But soon thereafter the first Bull Run defeat occurred and Mr. Samuel returned to England declaring to

the president of the company that he believed that we had "no Government" and that he would report to the parties who had sent him to America, and efforts to secure European negotiations were suspended. In the spring of 1866 the president of the company resigned for the purpose of having Judge Samuel Hanna take charge. Judge Hanna was elected president of the railroad company and published a pamphlet of over one hundred pages exhibiting the condition of the road, and value of its land grant. He was a successful railroad builder and intended to complete the first twenty miles beginning at the city of Grand Rapids. But a few days after its publication he became ill and died suddenly.

The following statements are from this report: "Some progress has been made in the surveys and grading of portions of the road, but owing to the rebellion, the high prices of materials the difficulty in procuring labor and its high prices, and the general discouragement produced by the uncertainty of war, nothing has been done, and no progress made in the work for the last five years—until last year, when the grading of portions of the line between Grand Rapids and Fort Wayne was resumed, and some ninety or one hundred thousand dollars of additional work done. There was also work done in grading on the twenty miles next north of Grand Rapids, which is nearly ready for the iron, and a large portion of the ties on hand.

"The Company's Financial condition: Upon examination into the Company's financial affiairs, I am prepared to state that the following figures may be relied upon as approximately correct:

G. R. & I. R. R. Co.	Dr.
To capital stock disposed of	$709,036 18
First mortgage bonds disposed of	111,000 00
Floating debt	188,948 67
	$1,008,984 85

G. R. & I. R. R. Co.	Cr.
Work done equal to the earth work and bridging 61.3 miles	$429,100 00
Rights of Way obtained	50,000 00
Land Grant expenses, interest and discounts, and all other incidental expenditures	529,884 85
	$1,008,984 85

Municipal bonds voted and individual bonds taken on subscriptions to the Company's capital stock, about $600,000.00.

The Company's Land Grant of about one million acres under prudent

management after the construction of the road may be made to realize $10,000,000.00.

On the request of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Joseph K. Edgerton was made president of the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad Company. He commenced consulting the Pennsylvania Company but delayed work on the Grand Rapids & Indiana Railroad Company. At the ensuing meeting of the State legislature he and the railroad company applied for an extension of time for construction—but in his application he estimated the cost at several millions over Judge Hanna's estimate. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Dr. DeYoe spoke by invitation on the first postoffice in Kalamazoo, with J. G. Abbott the first postmaster. The office stood on corner of Rose and Main streets. Mails were very irregular having to be brought over the Indian trails; often being received only once a week, its arrival making a gala day. At the end of a year and a half the office was moved to the corner of South and Park streets. This point was complained of so much that it was then placed on East Main street just east of Burdick street and Isaac Willard was appointed postmaster. It remained there six years, Dr. Edwin Post as postmaster for one and one-half years. Anthony Cooley and Frank Marsh also officiated for short terms as postmasters. Alexander Ransom was postmaster in 1844. A brick building which stood on First street where the Bank Building is now was put up and twice demolished. Again it was moved to Pine street near the Children's Home. Anderson was postmaster four or six years. In 1853 William De Yoe was made postmaster and N. A. Balch deputy; since then the postmasters have been Waldo, Dr. Pratt, Dr. Stone, Kendall, A. J. Shakespeare, James Monroe and for seven or eight years Frank W. Cornell.

During Dr. Abbott's administration Kalamazoo consisted of seventy-five or one hundred settlers and was called Bronson. His home was opposite the Court House. In 1828 the land office was at Monroe but was moved to White Pigeon in 1831 and to Bronson in 1834. Land viewers came from New England and New York. The prevailing money was called Wild Cat currency. It had no staple value and the government refused to receive anything but gold and silver. In 1835 the sales of lands of the Kalamazoo office amounted to $4,000,000. There never was any deficit and honesty was well-known, even the Indians never molested the settlers and rarely robbed anyone of money. In 1834 the name of Bronson was changed to Kalamazoo. The settlers came to the country with bags of money. Those fortunate enough to have horses, throwing them over the pommels of the saddles, others trudged along on foot with the bags slung over their shoulders. It was no uncommon thing for these land lookers to stop at the Kala-

mazoo House, whose picture is shown on your program, and tying a tag on the bag of money throw it under the counter and go to bed and in the morning each received his own intact. Sales ran as high as $150,000 or $200,000 a month. A week or even ten days were expended by these land lookers who came from Kent County, Indiana, Lake Michigan and Jackson. When the hotels were crowded the overflow was taken care of by David Hubbard, Mrs. Daniels, Elmer Hawley and others. Sometimes there were bushel baskets marked to receive money, and with full faith in their fellowmen, these prospective land buyers would deposit their money, climb the ladder to their lodging and were not disappointed in receiving their money all right the next morning. Senator Dolliver always contended the country was growing better, but I doubt if any examples of such integrity could be produced to-day. No robbery as far as known was ever proven or even charged. A land agent under General Jackson was charged with a defalcation of $3,000. Upon the question of his removal the man said no improvement would result from a change as he did not need any more money, and the new man would. Kalamazoo at this time was the second largest postoffice, only surpassed by Detroit. The St. Joseph Enterprise (newspaper) was moved from White Pigeon. Mr. Gilbert contended that in 1836 the Kalamazoo Gazette was the oldest continuous newspaper outside Detroit. The first marriage was Isaac Dickery to Miss White. Mr. Wiemar was a merchant tailor.

The postoffice is a great factor in civilization. In those days there were no envelopes, all accounts were kept by stamps; newspapers and letters went by weight, distance also affected the price. Unpaid letters were five cents collected at either end of the route. If sent over 500 miles, postage ten cents. Now all accounts are by stamps bought from and paid to the government. It was customary for the postmaster to do many kind acts for his neighbors in writing their letters as he had free postage. The postmaster had to make up his mail by billing the number of letters with amount of postage. One bill reads:

Kalamazoo to Battle Creek, 5 letters, 3 cents each, 15 cents;
Kalamazoo to Battle Creek, 3 papers, 3 cents each, 9 cents;
Kalamazoo to Battle Creek, 3 papers, 6 cents each, 18 cents;

and the bill enclosed. Accounts were required of all letters received and sent. Kalamazoo is at present third in postoffice rank, Detroit leading and Grand Rapids second. He urged keeping newspaper files as they would give a good local history.

A violin and piano duet was given by Masters Lester and Wesley Marston. At the close the visitors were invited to another room where tea and wafers were served by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Women's clubs of the city. A fine setting was made by

the exhibit of curios, particularly a fine exhibit of Indian relics in charge of George F. Larned who explained to the audience the use and value of many specimens. Mr. E. A. Crane who had contributed much to the department was detained at Bronson Hospital by serious illness.

Mr. Martin spoke of the Vermontville colony and of the old trails.

Letters of regret were read as follows:

January 30, 1911.

Mr. J. D. Clement, Secretary, The Commercial Club, Kalamazoo, Michigan:

My Dear Mr. Clement:—I am very grateful for the kind invitation of the Commercial Club and the Pioneer Historical Society of Kalamazoo, to speak at their mid-winter convention, which will be held in your city on January 31.

It would afford me the greatest pleasure if I could arrange my engagements so as to be present on this occasion, but I find it will be impossible.

I fully recognize the successful and effective work which has been performed by the Society in the field of historical research. The efforts of those who have achieved so much along this line are of great value to Michigan and worthy of high commendation.

Please convey to the members of your Club my deep appreciation of the splendid things they are accomplishing in the business and civic development of your city. Such organizations as yours represent a high standard of citizenship and are furthering and fostering the best there is in business and municipal life.

With assurances of my high regard, I am

Yours very sincerely,

CHASE S. OSBORN,

Governor.

1720910

Galesburg, Mich., Jan. 27, 1911.

Mr. Louis H. Conger, Secretary Commercial Club, Kalamazoo, Mich.:

Dear Sir:—When I accepted the invitation, by your predecessor, to take a modest part in the entertainment by your organization of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, that acceptance was conditional upon my recovery from physicial complications then existing.

To my profound regret, those complications still exist in so aggravated a form, as make my presence an utter impossibility.

Realizing that the disappointment is mine, and trusting that no inconvenience may result from the above facts and also wishing the Commercial Club and their honored guests unqualified enjoyment of the occasion, I remain

Respectfully Yours,

I. B. ROGERS.

At the evening session over 500 persons were present. The opera house was staged by the management with appropriate settings. The exercises were in charge of the Lucinda H. Stone Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. H. B. Peck, chairman. The costumes were very rare and elegant, many heirlooms being exhibited. Mrs. E. N. Dingly, as Dolly Madison, carried out her part very ably and gracefully. Several ladies appeared with the extinct hoop skirts; one work-basket used was over one hundred years old and another lady had a choice fan of the same age. Snuffboxes and knitting work were also displayed. The fife and drum corps of the Grand Army of the Republic gave an inspiring selection.

"Michigan, My Michigan" was sung, accompanied by Mrs. C. C. Cutting on an organ about one hundred years old, and owned by J. D. Clement.

William L. Jenks, vice-president of the Society, made a plea for assistance in securing information how and when names of the several counties were obtained and their meaning. He gave an amusing account of his efforts to find the origin of the name of Crawford County. He also referred to Kakalamazoo or Kenamazoo, meaning "smoky" or "boiling," being given as name for the present county. Mrs. Lombard gave a solo "Killarney" and sang "Bonnie Doon," when called again on the program. Mr. Burton introduced Mrs. E. N. Dingley as Dolly Madison who recited "Whistling in Heaven" and whose return being called for responded with the song "Kitty Clyde." Several musical selections of quartettes, solos and choruses were given which elicited much applause for their genuine sweetness and merit.

A very high tribute was paid by Right Rev. John H. McCormick to Dr. E. H. Van Deusen, who, during his life was a public benefactor to Kalamazoo. Father Fitzpatrick read a memoir of William Maybury of Detroit, written by Rev. John Connolly, A. M., of Detroit, who was unable to be present. A quartette gave "Nellie Gray" and for an encore they responded by singing "Juanita." Mrs. Gipp sang "Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes" and responded to an encore with "The Old Arm Chair." A letter of regret to "Dolly Madison" from Governor Osborn was read by Mr. Burton.

Wednesday morning a board meeting was held but there being no quorum present only general business could be transacted. At eleven o'clock carriages and autos conveyed the visitors to Nazareth Academy, the place being the source of much surprise and great pleasure. The location is admirable and the buildings fine. The grounds charmingly laid out and appointments immaculately clean and sanitary, giving evidence of great care and faithfulness. A short program was given in the Chapel. The Nazareth Band played vigorously and well. The guests were shown the different departments, including the new Barbour

Hall recently dedicated. The Sisters then conducted them to the dining room where delicious coffee and sandwiches were served. Mr. Burton spoke words of commendation for the admirable work conducted, and returned the appreciative thanks of the Society for courtesies so bountifully extended to them.

The afternoon session at two o'clock opened with a musical selection by the Nazareth Academy Orchestra. Mrs. John den Bleyker prepared a paper on "Early Schools of Kalamazoo" which was read by Mrs. Bigelow, owing to the illness of Mrs. den Bleyker. A great deal of history was brought out and which appears in this publication. The father-in-law of Mrs. den Bleyker was Nathaniel A. Balch, a prominent pioneer of the county.

A pupil of Nazareth academy sang "To Mother, Boy, Be True."

George N. Fuller, A. M., of Ann Arbor, told of "The Early Settlement of Michigan."

A violin solo was encored and a piano solo by Mrs. Lautrette composed of airs from old melodies was excellently rendered.

The students of Nazareth Academy were asked to repeat their music which they did and sang "The Last Rose of Summer." A resolution was offered by Mr. Bement that the invitation from Pontiac to hold the next mid-winter meeting there be accepted, with Port Huron as alternate choice. This was carried.

Mrs. J. V. Campbell of Grand Rapids offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved: That the State Pioneer and Historical Society take immediate and necessary steps for the preservation of the so-called Governor Stevens T. Mason Flag, which he presented to the Brady Guards of Detroit, February 22, 1837.

C. E. Bement gave a paper on "The Needs of the Society."

Mr. Burton emphasized the importance of local assistance. He paid a fine tribute to the citizens of Kalamazoo who had made this the best and most important mid-winter meeting ever held. He thought much of it was due to its being acknowledged the largest educational center in the State. With such extensive enterprises in hand should follow the conservation of historical interests. That records of all kinds including documents and papers of value and interest which found their way to the paper-mill in the city and were ground up and information lost, should be systematically inspected with a view of the preservation of matters of public interests. Mr. Winslow said the people were too busy to give a great deal of time to the past, but he hoped the local society they were to organize would accomplish results.

Mr. Mary M. Hoyt spoke of her life passed in Yankee Springs Hotel about mid-way between Grand Rapids and Battle Creek. This edifice

was known as a tavern, seven stories high, all on the ground floor. She had known as many as one hundred to be lodged under its roof in one night. Afterwards she moved to Arcadia in 1851 and in 1857 came to Kalamazoo. Mrs. Deal, granddaughter of Henry Little, followed with references to her pioneer ancestors and promised gifts to the museum representing the family.

Major Soule, for many years treasurer of the University of Michigan, gave a short biography, explaining that his business had not been that of chronicler but to pass the hat. He was born in western New York in 1832, and came to Michigan when two years old and brought his parents with him. Settling in Calhoun County the Pottawatomie Indians were their nearest and almost their only neighbors. He and his sister were their constant playmates, there being only one white man they saw very often. The most of their supplies came from Detroit. The family came into the country with a yoke of oxen and a covered wagon and a horse fastened behind. Several times they stuck in the mud and all hands including his sister and himself were obliged to push. They took what was called the "army route," camping nights, passed through Canada and St. Clair and reached Marengo at the end of the week's journey. On the way they were on the lookout for land to preempt and came across quite a number of squatters. One time his father went on business which occupied him two or three days. The Indians came to trade. They offered two or three fish for some whiskey. They made a pocket by tying a corner of their dirty blankets and then wanted whiskey for fish. His mother feared the effect of liquor on them and said she had no whiskey. They passed their opinions of such conditions and on their departure they met his father, who was a justice of the peace, and said to him "Squire, your squaw dam fool no whiskey." The soldiers came from Fort Wayne to move these Indians when he was yet a small child.

He gave an account of the funeral of Wap-pi-zik. He had been bitten by a rattle-snake and the leg had to be amputated but with his wooden crutch, he could distance most of the runners, getting over the ground like a greyhound. Squire Soule preached the sermon. On account of snakes which the Indians avoided and disliked, they placed their dead in trees, covering them with grass. The bodies, the trees and the Indians have been gone several years. In his neighborhood there were probably about 150 Indians. They usually found them good and never regarded them as mean. There was one old fellow who ranked second to the chief who used to come to his father and borrow one dollar for one moon. Returning the money at the time mentioned. He wished to again beg the loan for two moons. His father marked the money and after several such experiences invariably found it the original piece. He

at last made up his mind that the savage took this way of testing his friendship. They stopped at Battle Creek where a dance was in progress and remembered the fiddler and instrument well. The usual price of a good Indian pony was $100. He built one of the first cow-catchers ever used on the railroads.

Mr. Edwin C. Snow gave some pioneer experiences as a printer. His wages were low and many times his only food was dry bread and none too plenty at that. He married and settled in the county afterwards, and seemed to think it wonderful that he raised ten children five of whom had blue eyes and the other five brown. His brother was older having been born in 1818 and taught school for fifty-three years.

Miss Anna Gales Fellows of Schoolcraft who was the daughter of Col. Abiel Fellows who came to Kalamazoo in 1829, gave some interesting items. Her father was the first postmaster in the county and made the first tax assessment, carried the mail from Elkhart, Indiana to Kalamazoo Prairie. He organized the first school district in Prairie Ronde, owned the first sawmill there, built the first house, getting his lumber from Bronson. He was buried from the new house built on the same farm, in 1833.

Haas's orchestra opened the closing evening session, with selections from patriotic airs. Dr. Slocum of Kalamazoo College spoke on the value of historical work and hoped the lessons received from the State Society and its work would bring forth results. Mr. Winslow urged the formation of a local society. The appointment of a committee for this purpose was proposed which resulted in the following names: George Winslow, chairman, Dr. Slocum, Mrs. A. J. Mills, Albert Little, all of Kalamazoo and Miss A. Thomas, Schoolcraft.

Mrs. M. B. Ferrey was called upon by the president to suggest work that could properly be done by county societies. She approved of the plan of Mr. Winslow, of making a card catalogue of short biographies of the pioneers, these to be deposited in the largest public library in the county. All historic spots should be located and suitably marked. The outlook was encouraging from the increased interest in the study of history. She mentioned recent markers placed by the citizens of Adrian, Tecumseh, White Pigeon, Grand Rapids, Detroit, Marquette, Mackinac and Monroe. Children should be encouraged in this work and more history studied in our schools. The Daughters of the American Revolution of Menominee offered a prize for the best history of the city and this was taken by a foreigner.

The orchestra gave selections from old familiar songs which were well received by the audience.

Mrs. Henry Hulst in charge of English work in the Grand Rapids schools gave a fine paper on "Indian Myths and Legends." Many of these she

collected from descendants of the Indians. She expects to put this in form for use in our schools and for library work among the children. Mrs. Hulst's clear, strong voice and engaging manner gave additional charm to her work.

Mr. Hemans gave an address as he said of "A Pioneer by One of Them." He recounted the life and labors of the Boy Governor, Stevens T. Mason. Mr. Hemans for some time has been engaged on a volume on the life of our first governor but the stress of public and private business has rendered its completion impossible. We hope soon to see it in book form. Mrs. Ferrey read a memoir of Capt. C. E. Foote, written by Auditor-General O. B. Fuller.

After a selection by the orchestra, Mr. Albert Little, of Litchfield, gave an account of his trip to Michigan in pioneer days, coming from Vermont by stage, Erie Canal and lake schooners, followed by a two weeks ride in a wagon drawn by two oxen, reaching Galesburg, November 11, 1831. He built a mill at Prairie Ronde. A trip from White Pigeon to Galesburg and return consumed two weeks. Frank Little died on South street. He had a log house 24x18 with an attic. Ralph Tuttle and wife occupied part, one-half being the Little home, and the other remaining half the Tuttle. First mill at Comstock was built by Richmond. In 1835 he removed to Grandville securing 1,500 acres government land, trading with Judge Hinsdale of Richmond, father of Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone. The land office was at White Pigeon. He spoke of as much as $30,000 being brought into the hotels in bags and these were left like hand baggage now, and found perfectly safe.

William Strong said postage was twenty-five cents per letter; his grandfather, who was county clerk, received a letter and was obliged to borrow money to pay the postage, but was fully repaid because the letter contained one dollar, leaving him seventy-five cents to the good. He attended school in what is now district number three. There were in all thirty-two pupils, tuition was paid in one quarter wood and one quarter board. They rode in a box cart, five boys of them and when the pin came out they were all dumped into the mud. They called at a neighbors who attempting to be hospitable gave them sourkrout for refreshments. He said five cents then looked to them as large as a cart wheel.

Professor Waldo was called on and said he would not confine researches to the county alone, that such great historical wealth was hidden away and constantly being discovered. Parkman, the French, and the early missionaries could be studied and even elucidated. He had advocated the preservation of personal pioneer accounts and records. The difference of 1831 and 1832 he thought showed that dollars unprotected in those days were safer than cents now.

Smith H. Carleton said he was ninety years old and planted the first shade trees in Kalamazoo. Mark Lee was their teacher and it was no uncommon thing to have to change teachers five or six times during the winter, the boys turning them out.

E. M. Crane who was born in Albion attempted to give a short sketch of himself when someone asked him for his experience as a collector. He declared himself to be at home on this subject having opened mounds in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and California. He had kept records of 536 mounds he had assisted in uncovering. He scouted the idea of their being used as tombs saying the Indians used scaffolding or trees on account of the snakes but were taught by the settlers to use mounds. He found few mounds below Natchez, most of them lying north. He thought the mounds antedated the Indians perhaps by a thousand years. In one mound he only found four bones of the ear. At Laporte he opened twenty-six mounds. He gave a very interesting description of his work displaying much knowledge and judgment. Mr. Burton said E. Lakin Brown who had been mentioned was an uncle of Mr. Scott who had recently left half a million dollars for a fountain on Belle Isle.

After music by the orchestra an opportunity was given for the people to meet President Burton and Mr. Hemans. Thus closed one of the most successful mid-winter meetings the society has ever experienced. A resolution of thanks was offered by Mr. Jenks and seconded by Mr. Bement to be sent to each of the following persons and organizations:

The Commercial Club.

Ladies' Library Club.

Twentieth Century Club.

Daughters American Revolution.

George C. Winslow, president local committee.

The local newspapers for excellent reports.

Very Rev. Dean F. O'Brien, local member State Society.

Officers and teachers, Nazareth Academy.

Mr. George F. Larned, charge of Loan Exhibits.

Haas' Orchestra, Gaynor Club and others for music, speakers and citizens.

ANNUAL MEETING, SENATE CHAMBER, JUNE 7 AND 8, 1911

Wednesday afternoon, June 7, 1911, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society opened the thirty-seventh annual meeting in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol. A good attendance of members and visitors were appreciative of the program presented for their approval. Twenty little folks from the Larch street school sang a folk song "Twenty Froggies" in costume. This was followed by the opening prayer by Rev. William Putnam of this city.

President C. M. Burton of Detroit gave a short address and said in part: "The meetings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society are distinctly an old people's meeting. It is where the remaining pioneers gather to discuss the affairs and incidents of the past, and the younger generations gather to learn of the things gone before at first hand. Some of the faces are not here this year that we usually see, quite a number having been called away.

"The past year has been one of good work for the Society as any we have ever had. We have published our annual volume of early history and are preparing others. During the past winter we presented to the legislature our bill for the annual amount for our sustenance, with $2,000 added for our growth and expansion in the work. Most of you know the result. The legislators appreciated the great work we are doing and the bill passed easily and unanimously both houses. When it came up to the Governor it was vetoed. The most of us believe the Governor acted upon the impulse of the moment, as it was thought it might well be taken care of by the State Library. However, no provision was made for such a course and this Society was left without any support. There is one thing very sure, that we will never lie down. The Society must be kept alive and the members must put their shoulders to the wheel.

"This Society was founded by a Governor and is one of the departments in the development of the State not to be overlooked. These semi-annual meetings bring together the pioneers, help to preserve the official records that otherwise might be lost. There is no State in the United States with so much historical matter in store as Michigan. We have issued thirty-nine volumes of this history and we have originated a custom that no other State in the Union has done in the gift of its books to the public schools. Wisconsin has $70,000 annually to keep up its historical work. We have the grandest Society in the United States and have done our work on only $4,000 a year. I am sure that if in two years from

now, the present Governor is still governor, he will allow us a greater amount than ever before."

The report of the Secretary H. R. Pattengill in his absence was read by Mr. C. E. Bement. There have been thirty-eight new members added, and eleven members called away by death, among them, Mrs. Mary E. Warner, who died June 5, 1911.

Mrs. M. B. Ferrey read the report of the Treasurer, B. F. Davis, in his absence. "Stars of a Summer Night" was the selection given by the Boys' Glee Club of the High School, under the direction of Prof. J. W. Stevens.

Mr. S. L. Smith of Detroit was called upon by the president and gave a short talk. He spoke briefly of the changes in conditions of life since pioneer days and of the energetic, pushing, ambitious businesslike Americans, far ahead of nations who already have acquired what they want. At the request of the Society he will prepare a paper for the next meeting. Theodore Potter, a former member of the Society and well-known by everyone was the subject of a tribute given by his close and admiring friend Rev. William Putnam.

The memoir of Judge John C. Patterson of Marshall compiled by Miss M. Agnes Burton of Detroit was read by Mrs. Nathan Judson. James Morse of the Michigan Agricultural College delightfully entertained the audience with two selections: "Angus McDonald" *Roeckel* and as an encore sang, "My Little Gypsy Sweetheart" from the "Fortune Teller." Miss Louise Freyhofer of East Lansing was the accompanist.

"Aunt Emily Ward" whose picture shown in the frontispiece of the program was the subject of a paper by Mrs. George N. Jones of Marine City. Mr. Burton also spoke briefly in regard to Aunt Emily's "boys." He referred to the Mesdames Turner, Longyear, Turner and Webber, the four sisters who were in attendance at the meeting. Mr. Burton in announcing the reception said of Mrs. Elizabeth Horner Burling, "When in 1832 Stevens T. Mason was Secretary of State, by order of his office he was governor ex-officio of Michigan until the appointment of Governor Porter, and again in 1834 he was the Democratic governor ex-officio. The Whigs were in power in the national government and as Michigan was not yet a state, they removed Mason and appointed John Scott Horner in 1835. He remained only a short time here. His daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Horner Burling, will be the guest of honor at the reception." "'Tis Better to be Laughing than be Sighing" from "Lucrezia Borgia" was sung by Miss Margaret Gilray of Sault Ste. Marie. She responded to an encore with "Loch Lomond" which closed the afternoon's program.

The evening's meeting was opened by two songs by the choir of Industrial School for Boys. This was followed by the memoir of P. Dean

Warner of Farmington, read by his son, Ex-Governor Fred M. Warner.

"Michigan's Loss" was the subject of the address given by Joseph Greusel, Detroit. He said in part: "In material facts Michigan has never lost anything through the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. We have saved for them. All civilized nations have made progress by such societies. Progressive nations have always prepetuated this sort of societies. Among the countries of Europe and the ruling powers of the earth, in every one are striking evidences of wealth and intellectual progress. In Berlin one finds the Museum of Hohenzollern wherein are personal relics and mementoes of the rulers of the nation, from their birth until their death. Here are placed beautiful robes worn on special occasions through long and historic lives. This museum is devoted to personal mementoes, also manuscripts book and maps. Another museum deals with specific countries; there you may see relics of the American Indians, second only to the Smithsonian Institute in America, relics from India, China, even the excavations of Troy, from South America and every country on the globe, are represented and show their history and progress. Large sums are expended annually to keep up these. Go to Italy, Rome, to Pagan and Christian countries alike, not for paintings and art, but for history and progress shown by the collections made by the people.

In Paris go see what the French government has done for such a society as this, which is given so little encouragement and not well sustained. France has a large staff of people perfecting the French language for the purpose of a dictionary. They have been working for years and it will take many more to complete the undertaking. Then again France expends millions of dollars for prizes to writers and inventors. Theodore Roosevelt was awarded $10,000 a short time ago. It all tends to the improvement of mankind.

Again in England, go to London; there the great British Museum was started by an individual, a collector of maps, books and manuscripts; a man whose hobby it was to gather £50,000 worth in his life time. He sold it to the British government for £20,000 and they have been spending millions since to extend the wonderful work.

Now look toward the less enlightened countries, how they encourage these things. Mexico, with its national museum of relics dated before the time of Cortez. The Aztec Indians, on canvass, illustrated objects and events which happened in their time and these are preserved under the encouragement of the government.

In the United States there are many states that recognize this work. In Washington, D. C., we find the Smithsonian Institute which was started by an Englishman, Smithson. They do there something that we are trying on a small scale to do here. For years this Society has been

making little donations to the educational world, worthy of admiration of any scholar and any one can learn many things from that little bit of a room on the fourth floor of the capitol, heaped up high with historic articles.

In Newburg, Orange county, New York, is a museum in which there are things that recall the time of Washington and the Revolutionary war, bonnets, Hessian boots and dainty satin slippers worn by the ladies who danced at the Colonial balls. The state of New York is proud to have such things preserved. Our state perhaps miss some things, but we are doing the best we can. We merely want encouragement.

A short time ago I read in a newspaper of Bancroft the historian, selling to the state of California, Spanish manuscripts referring to the early history of that state for $200,000. California has not the history or romance of Michigan, yet they paid $200,000 for that old manuscript to preserve it for the state's benefit.

We have a man here that is expending large amounts of money and time for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. What does he get out of it? Pleasure to contribute to the people of this state. What is the value of the thirty-seven volumes of this Society's Collection which tell of living Michigan history, of the rich past, the romance, the hardships, the struggles, the clearing of the land and the making of the log homes? Far beyond the $200,000 that the state of California paid for its manuscripts. We should remember there is a duty we must perform for our children and raise the intellectual standards. But the Society gets little encouragement. It has the sympathy of the people but we need more. It was started by individuals interested in the public and its work is for them for all time.

During Pontiac's conspiracy when he with his Indian tribes besieged Detroit, a man in the town started a diary, and every day wrote of the doings, of course all in the French language. This manuscript came into the possession of Lewis Cass. He gave it to Mr. Parkman who was writing a history of Pontiac, and afterwards was lost track of. A little over a year ago Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit received a telephone call from a man about to dispose of some half dozen barrels of old papers as rubbish, and wanted to know if he would like to look them over. Mr. Burton took them as a boy trades jackknives, "out of sight and unseen." He went through the papers and there found among those old manuscripts that French Diary. He is now looking for the writer. The owner of the book must have been a French scholar for the French men who could read or write in Detroit at that time were few and far between. Mr. Burton employed a French Catholic girl to translate the documents, and one day she asked him if he knew the manuscript was written by a priest, and proved her assertion by a cross placed at

the top of each page. This caused Mr. Burton to commence a search among the church and clercial papers of old Ste. Anne's which has the oldest continuous records of any church in the North West. One day in old Ste. Anne's church I came upon Mr. Burton and a photographer with the pages of an old register opened after the year 1763, photographing those names to compare with his manuscript and to run down the author of it.

Contributions have been many, to the Pioneer and Historical Society, to the museum and to the thirty-seven volumes published. Why should the work not be encouraged, this work worthy of civilized people? We have not lost one thing but we have gained a great deal."

"Early transportation, East and West," was the subject of an address presented by Lew Allen Chase, Fellow in American History, University of Michigan.

The singing of the "Yellow and the Blue" and the encore "Michigan my Michigan" by the Industrial School Boy's Choir was especially fitting for the occasion. This was followed by a short address by President H. B. Hutchins of the University of Michigan. He said in part:

"The University of Michigan has had a considerable part in the history of Michigan and I certainly have a great interest in this Society, and in regard to 'Michigan's Loss' I am in accord with Mr. Greusel. This is the duty of this state and the public should lend their willing support. I shall go back to Ann Arbor enthusiastic, and with renewed interest in the historical department. The University belongs to the state, not to the faculty or regents. Every one has a share and interest in it for it has done much for the cause of education. It certainly is worth all that it has cost the state. The high school system has been developed and teachers sent out from the University, which has also had supervisory control over the secondary institutes of the state, and I know and say it is certainly worth all it has cost the people.

I wonder if we appreciate that there are ten thousand graduates of the University in Michigan doing things worth while. There are students from every state in the Union at the University attracted here by educational standards. The life of the University is due to benefactions received from the Government, aiding it in making it one of the leading institutions of its kind in the United States, and now standing third in attendance. It is also at the head of all state universities in educational local school work, the idea coming from the ordinance of 1789. The system was completed and first embodied in the state constitution in 1810. The people first inaugurated such a system and it was supported by the people. We of the present day surrounded by such benefactions, little realize what it meant to launch such a system. It was done by such men as the father of Gov. Warner of whom the latter

read this evening, and to whom such opportunities were not afforded. Other universities sprang up in other states patterned after Michigan. We have students at Ann Arbor from every state. In only seventy-five years how is it that it has been built up, and how is it so much has been accomplished in so short a time.

There are several reasons in my mind; first, the success of the University of Michigan is due to the original plan. The founders did not contemplate merely a college or a university, but a university and a school system complete. The territorial act of 1817 planned a complete school system. At the present day we have not as yet filled out that system in all its completion. Michigan has not been hampered by tradition as are colleges in the east, but has been developed on a broad and most comprehensive plan. Secondly, the College was fortunate in its first president, and in all its presidents down to and including my predecessor. Thirdly, Michigan people have a passion for education; they will willingly vote money for education. Michigan has always impressed foreigners. There are 50,000 students in Michigan being educated at the expense of the public. This is covered by the large tax. If we are to do the work the people must come forward with their liberal support, votes and private donations. We have not only a state university but a national university. One of the things state universities strive for is to get non-resident students. It is an education to come in contact with students from other states. We have 350 from Ohio, 500 from New York, 300 from Indiana, 300 from Illinois, and so on. We have alumni all over, the largest number in Michigan, of course. These men are doing things worth while, loyal work for the University and state, and looking out for the prosperity of the University. We are attempting alumni organizations in nearly every county in the state of Michigan, about 53 when completed. These will act as an advisory board to the Board of Regents to assist in the governing of the University. We can do better, and we are doing it."

Rev. W. H. Thompson, assistant pastor of the First Baptist church, sang two selections, following which a reception was held to President H. B. Hutchins, Mrs. Elizabeth Burling of Ripon, Wis., Ex-Governor Warner and the alumni of the University of Michigan. Music was furnished by the orchestra from the School for the Blind, and punch and wafers were served.

Thursday morning June 8th was taken up with the board meeting.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the Girls' Chorus of the 8th grades of the public schools opened the program by singing "Ebb and Flow" *Oliver King.* Principal N. B. Sloan of the Lansing High School, read a paper on "Citizenship and the Public Schools." Miss Anna Louise Gillies of Flint pleased the audience by singing "Down in the Forest"

Rowland and the "Birth of Dawn" *Leoni,* Mrs. Jason Hammond accompanist.

Mrs. A. B. Avery of Pontiac read a paper on the "Revolutionary Soldier of Oakland County." Mrs. James H. Campbell, of Grand Rapids very pleasingly presented Mrs. R. Russell and Mrs. C. C. Demaray of Lake Odessa, Mich., the twin daughters of a genuine Revolutionary soldier.[1] Mrs. Russell spoke briefly for herself and sister saying that they were born in 1840, when their father was past seventy-eight years old. Each of the ladies were mothers of fourteen children.

The memoir of Rev. R. C. Crawford of Grand Rapids was written and read by Dr. H. C. Bartholemew of Lansing. This was followed by two selections "Anne Laurie" and "My Gentle Child" *Del Riego* sung by Miss Anna Louise Gillies.

The report of the nominating committee, Judge Cahill, Mrs. Mary C. Spencer and Dr. H. S. Bartholemew, was given as follows: President, C. M. Burton, Detroit; vice president, Hon. Fred M. Warner, Farmington; secretary, H. R. Pattengill, Lansing; treasurer, B. F. Davis, Lansing; board of trustees, Lawton T. Hemans, Mason, A. C. Carton, East Tawas, Mrs. Nathan Judson, Lansing; board of historians, C. E. Bement, Lansing, Junius E. Beal, Ann Arbor, Rev. Frank O'Brien, Kalamazoo, W. L. Jenks, Port Huron, Joseph Greusel, Detroit. This was passed upon and accepted. Mr. Jenks presented the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Trustees be requested to take such action as they shall deem best to distribute the publications of this Society now accumulating, in such manner as shall make them useful to the public;

Resolved, That the Trustees of this Society are hereby authorized and empowered to cause the property of the Society to be transferred to the State of Michigan whenever such action shall, in their judgment, be for the best interests of the Society. Both resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Judge Cahill proposed the following resolution which was also adopted:

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[1]October 24, 1910, on their seventieth birthday four of the Sophie de Marsac Daughters of Grand Rapids and one member of the State D. A. R.'s arrived to celebrate the day. Mrs. Demaray and Mrs. Russell have each fourteen children and with their families it swelled the number of guests to thirty-six. They were the recipients of many beautiful gifts. A foot race resulted in the defeat of Mrs. Demaray.

Their father, John Peter Frank, joined the Colonial regiment at Philadelphia in 1776, serving in Washington's army. At the close of the war he moved to Canada where he married his second wife and where the twins were born. At the age of ninety-five he was engaged in shingling his son's house and died after a week's sickness from heat prostration.

Mrs. Demaray moved to Michigan about 1860, and made her home in Bonanza, which was the name of the village a mile away from Lake Odessa, which has taken nearly all its population. They are among the youngest of the genuine D. A. R.'s and the only twins on the Revolutionary pension roll.

Resolved, That the cordial thanks of this Society are due and are hereby extended to the Board of State Auditors for their kind and hearty cooperation in making it possible to continue and extend the valuable work of the Society during the next two years.

Five minute talks were given by Wesley Emery, J. J. Bush and William Foster all of Lansing. Mr. Emery told briefly of his twenty-four years teaching in the public schools of Michigan and read a poem written by himself on his 80th birthday which he celebrated two years ago.

Mr. Bush declared Michigan to be the champion state on account of two living daughters of the Revolutionary war. He told of his grandfather's enlisting for service in that war when only fifteen years old. He spoke of his grandmother's family living in the big stone house in which Washington made his headquarters during the winter at Valley Forge, and of the minute descriptions of Washington and Knox that he had heard from his grandmother. The Hessian soldiers filled that lady with perfect hatred and contempt by their lawless ways and personalities. In conclusion Mr. Bush said, "This June day reminds me of a typical pioneer day, when the whole landscape was covered with the great silent forests and this beautiful land was God's own park. I go back in memory eighty-five years. I recall scenes of my childhood and remember well the log cabins built in a clearing in the great forests many miles from any neighbors. They did their work well who lived in that age which gave strength and courage. We hope the rising generations may meet the problems of their day as well as we met ours."

William Foster recited some of his interesting pioneer experiences.

Thursday evening "Mother Goose's Children," little living pictures were given and sung by the children from the Larch street school. This was followed by an excellent address by Mrs. Caroline P. Campbell of Grand Rapids of The Great Seal of Michigan, 1835 and Its Relation to the State Flag. Miss Anna L. Gillies of Flint sang two selections "Jean," *Spross* and "Robin Adair," *Carrie Jacobs Bond.*

Mrs. Elizabeth Horner Burling of Ripon, Wis., daughter of Michigan's last Territorial Governor, John Scott Horner, was introduced by the president and read a brief sketch of the life of her father. Mrs. Burling was proposed as an honorary member of the Society. Miss Gillies sang two selections "A perfect Day" *Bond* and "Love in May" *Arditi.*

Mr. Claude Buchanan of Grand Rapids read the memoir of his aunt, Mrs. Thomas D. Gilbert. Miss Margaret Gilray of Sault Ste. Marie sang "Spring's Awakening," *Buck*, with "You'd Better Ask Me," *Lohr*, as an encore.

Letters of regret, gifts and membership were read by Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, following which Miss Gillies closed the meeting by singing "Yesterday and To-day," *Spross.*

The absence of M. H. Bumphrey of Three Rivers was very much regretted but his paper "Early Kalamazoo and St. Joseph County" has been filed.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, HENRY R. PATTENGILL.

The publications of this Society now number thirty-nine volumes including two indexes of fifteen books each from volumes one to thirty inclusive. The free distributions of these books to rural schools having twenty-five books in their own libraries resulted in the necessity for many reprints and more judicious circulation. A careful examination of the early volumes showed mistakes which should be corrected and additional knowledge of historical facts which had come to light that should be added.

To the attainment of this end an editor was employed. H. S. Bartholomew began this work in July, 1907, and closed his labors in September at the opening of the University. Six volumes were revised in the two months and new indexes made or old ones corrected. Volumes thirteen and fourteen were gone over by Mr. Burton and daughter; volumes fifteen and sixteen by Hon. Joseph Greusel. These are more extended in notes and citations showing much research which added greatly to their value. Miss Burton has continued the good work begun by Mr. Greusel in volumes eighteen and nineteen and these are in the hands of the printer while twenty is being edited. All of these, with the one exception, have had new indexes made by Mrs. M. B. Ferrey who has become exceedingly expert in this work. Volume thirty-seven of the regular series is full of historical matter. Letters on the Early Fur Trade by Schoolcraft's brother-in-law, William Johnston, and the trials of the fur merchant as shown in the Narrative of Perault give pitiful pioneer conditions. Important lessons have been shown in the Bond and Schoolcraft papers, showing how history repeats itself as demonstrated by these records. The lettering and color of the covers have been changed thus making our publication more attractive than the usual official reports.

An excellent mid-winter meeting was held at Kalamazoo which not only resulted in the largest attendance and widest interest shown at these semi-annual gatherings, but in the organization of a county Historical Society to be auxiliary to the State Society and doing the same work for the county that we are trying to do for the State. The reception tendered by Nazareth Academy at the suggestion of Father Frank A. O'Brien, the concert given under the auspices of the Daughters of the

American Revolution, the tea served by the Women's clubs, the great assistance of the Commercial Club and the hearty cooperation of all the citizens generally made it a memorable event.

We learn to do things by doing and were just beginning to extend the work to such an extent that the legislature granted us an additional amount of $2,000 annually by a unanimous vote. In the closing hours of the legislative session Governor Osborn sent in a message vetoing the entire appropriation for the maintenance of the Society with the suggestion that the work could be done by the State Library. No appropriation, however, had been made for this additional burden and none could be at so late an hour. This action of the Governor would therefore have suspended the entire work of the society for two years had not the State Board of Auditors patriotically come to the rescue, and provided for the housing, caring for the pioneer collections and carrying to completion the historical volumes and work already underway.

The society and the Auditors are in receipt of letters from all portions of the State commending their action in the matter, and we here wish to express our appreciation to the Board of Auditors for planning to maintain our work, and to the people everywhere for kind and hearty words of commendation and praise.

We cannot refrain from calling attention to the debt the State owes to our president, Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit. No one in America has a richer collection of manuscripts, maps, books and data bearing on the early history of the North West Territory. Mr. Burton has spent a large amount collecting and caring for this historic matter. He has for a third of a century made the study and collection of Michigan history a delightful avocation. He has spent time, money and thought on the matter. All this rich treasure is ours to study and his time and knowledge are ours for guidance, help and inspiration. It is certainly to be hoped that no untoward action may rob the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society of Mr. Burton's enthusiastic support. It cannot be had for money.

Our museum is crowded to the limit and is now one of the most attractive features of the Capitol, and receives continually increasing throngs of interested visitors. Some day the State will provide larger quarters for the display. Let any who have rare old curios connected with Michigan pioneers plan to leave the same to the Pioneer Museum.

Probably no one person connected with this society works harder, longer, more loyally or more efficiently for the furtherance of the interests of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society than does the indomitable, tactful, persevering and able clerk of the society, Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, who does the work of at least three persons as such things go in other state societies. The Secretary's hardest lot is keeping her from

working herself to a nervous wreck. Largely through her visits, addresses and efforts the Women's clubs of Michigan and the county historical societies are working more and more in unison with the state society. Public sentiment is daily growing more and more favorable to us. School-teachers are slowly awakening to the value of the publications as assistance in school work. Really in spite of our temporary setback we are feeling very much encouraged. Come and join us.

The report of the secretary, of the finances is as follows:

Balance June 1st, 1910	$270 66
Received from memberships	32 00
Received from State Treasurer	3,827 60
Total	$4,130 26
Disbursements as itemized in Mr. Davis' report	2,302 48
Balance on hand June 1, 1911	$1,827 48
There is due on contract with B. F. Stevens and Brown for translating and copying manuscript for completion of the Margry Papers for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society books	$1,000 00
Salaries	233 20
Board meeting and expenses of annual meeting, estimated..	100 00
	$1,333 20

NEW MEMBERS 1910-1911

1543. Mrs. Angie Elizabeth Haze Hungerford, Lansing;
1544. Robert W. Brown, Grand Rapids;
1545. Mrs. Nora L. Loveland, Mt. Pleasant;
1546. Rev. William James Fitzpatrick, Kalamazoo;
1547. Mrs. Frances Eugenie Little Deal, Kalamazoo;
1548. Lucius H. Stoddard, Kalamazoo;
1549. George C. Winslow, Kalamazoo;
1550. Mrs. Cornelia Daniels Cummings, Galesburg;
1551. Frederic W. Gress, Albion;
1552. Mrs. A. B. Avery, Pontiac;
1553. Gustav A. Schultz, Albion;
1554. Joseph Greusel, Detroit;
1555. Mrs. Ethel Rowan Fasquelle, Petoskey;
1556. Robert E. Walter, Traverse City.

DEATHS

Henry E. Downer, Detroit, July 1, 1910;
Palmer H. Taylor, Ionia, February 3, 1911;
H. H. Aplin, Bay City, July 23, 1910;
Mrs. A. M. Hayes, Hastings, 1911;
Mrs. T. D. Gilbert, Grand Rapids, November 7, 1910;
Theodore E. Potter, Lansing, October 26, 1910;
John C. Patterson, Marshall, May 24, 1910;
Rev. R. C. Crawford, Grand Rapids, November 18, 1910;
John A. Dewey, Owosso, 1911;
Mrs. Mary E. Warner, Lansing, June 5, 1911.

GIFTS AND LOANS, 1911

Loaned by Mrs. Judson, pewter caster with seven bottles.

Poke bonnet presented by Miss Brown, Lansing.

Picture of historic tree, Traverse City, presented by Woman's Club of Traverse City.

White sauce dish, presented by Mrs. Talcott.

Candle mould brought to Michigan, 1858, hooks and board to tie candles on, curly maple bedstead, small wooden tub, presented by Mrs. Bradish, Adrian.

Horse's bit, presented by Mr. R. W. Cooper, Lansing.

Pink china snuff box, presented by Mrs. S. E. Cooper, Lansing.

Two McClellan tickets, sixth ward, Detroit, presented by Mr. Mathews.

Black leather trunk brought from Ireland, 1802; wicker basket; large black tray; twelve bound books, presented by Mr. Talbot.

Loaned by Mrs. F. D. Hadrick, photograph of Ontonagon squaw, 100 years old.

Picture of mother of Senator J. B. Harsh, Creston, Iowa, great grandmother Nancy Harsh Babbitt, born June 14, 1810.

Reports, Library Congress.

Historical collection, Maine Historical Society.

Confederate $2 bill, 1862, presented by C. F. Burr, Flint.

Bugle, presented by Joseph Edinger.

Two admission tickets to capitol when ex-President Roosevelt visited here, presented by Fred Hadrick.

Fan, over eighty years old, loaned by Mrs. S. E. Cooper, Lansing.

Presented from military museum, large collection of ore, minerals, etc.

Book mark used in State library, presented by Mrs. Ronan.

Personal card written by Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, presented by Mrs. Alexander Custard, Mendon.

Brown jug, made in 1849, in Leslie, presented by Mrs. P. A. Hahn.

Yorktown Railroad orders, 1881, presented by Mrs. Bogardus.

Loaned by Mrs. Mabel Scott, wooden box, hand made, 100 years old; three books, very early; printed picture on cloth; Chinese sacred lily; picture of her grandparents; four book marks, hand made.

Fluid lamp, presented by Misses Julia and Susan Wood of Benona Heights.

Brass candle stick nearly 200 years old, presented by Miss Julia Wood.

Almanacs, 1870, 1881, 1869, 1865; six magazines, 1861, 1856, 1861, 1859, 1854, presented by D. L. Garver, Hart, Mich.

Straw horse collar, presented by Mr. Burns of St. Louis.

Mrs. Kate Miller Wilson of Cleveland, Ohio, articles from the house of Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Miller, formerly of Colon, St. Joseph county, Mich.: Pincushion made about the year 1835; black stock style of 1870; gentleman's stock, style 1830; manual containing rules of legislature, 1835; manual containing constitution 1868, belonged to Zach. Chandler; Life and Character of Henry Winters Davis, oration delivered February 22, 1866; manual of legislature of Michigan, 1840; memorial address Life and Character of Abraham Lincoln, delivered February 14, 1866; almanac, 1849; "Wide Awake Vocalist," used in campaign of 1860; patriotic song book, songs sung during Civil War; memorial address on Wm. Pitt Fessenden, 1869; slide for necktie, made of beef bone, by Union soldier in the Libby prison during the Civil War; ruler, not less than sixty years old; letter seal; sand box, with sand, the old time blotter; Chicago Tribune of July 25, 1863, and April 24, 1863; Daily Morning Chronicle, April 16, 1866, May 12, 1866, May 13, 1866; New York Tribune, May 7, 1864, May 9, 1864; Christian Banner, May 31, 1862; Richmond Whig, April 26, 1865; framed letter head, used during the presidential campaign, 1840, Harrison and Tyler; framed notice "To passengers going west and north on railroad line," June, 1845; wild cat money; badge worn in Chicago during republican convention when Lincoln was nominated; letter written 1870 from Sioux City; autograph letter of Zachariah Chandler; letter written 1861 describing scenes in Washington, D. C.; letter describing scenes and incidents attending the surrender of Lee's army.

Clippings, presented by A. S. White of Grand Rapids, and Fred Hadrick, Lansing.

Presented by Mrs. Adeline Drake: Very old teapot; a doll, ninety-four years old; handkerchief, sixty years old; lunch sack, sixty-five years old; work pocket, sixty-five years old; needlework, eighty years old; knife and fork, eighty years old.

Presented by C. E. Walter, East Lansing, sixteen pieces broken bits of pottery from shell mounds, Alabama.

Presented by Prof. Allen, organic limestone filled with fossil corals.

Presented by Mrs. C. A. Gower, box of material for making wax wreaths; framed white wax cross; ink well; mother's wedding slippers; embroidered veil; small bonnet; yarn and homespun linen pieces; knit suspenders; shawl.

Original drawing of Capitol at Lansing, made by the architect, Col. E. E. Meyers, of Detroit, presented by Hon. David E. Heineman, Detroit, Mich.

LIST OF EXCHANGES RECEIVED JUNE, 1909-1911

1. Pacific Coast History Publications 2 vols.
2. Library of Congress, Reports (2).
3. Maine Historical Society, Vols. XIII, XIV, XV, XVI.
4. Connecticut Historical Society, Vol. XIII.
5. Ohio Historical Society, Quarterly Publications of Vol. VI, 1, 2, 3.
6. Illinois Historical Society, Vols. IV, V, VI, VII.
7. Iowa Historical Society, Biographical sketch of Thomas Cox.
8. South Dakota Historical Society, Vol. V.
9. Kansas Historical Society, Vols. X, XI.
10. Annual report U. S. National Museum of Magazine Subject Index (1909).

Reports from Libraries; newspapers, etc.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY FROM JUNE 1, 1910, TO THE CLOSE OF BUSINESS MAY 31, 1911.

Cash on hand June 1, 1910	$264 36
Received for membership	32 00
Received from State	3,827 60
	$4,123 96
Paid Will Carleton, lecture for Pioneer meeting	$54 00
Paid Sullivan & Co., punch for reception, annual meeting	12 00
Paid Dr. J. J. Marker for music, annual meeting	12 45
Paid B. F. Stevens & Brown for copying and translating nine Margry papers	500 00
Paid M. Agnes Burton, editing Margry papers	36 00
Paid Florence S. Babbitt on contract	530 00
Paid D. A. Wright for dictionary	10 80
Paid for expense of meeting at Kalamazoo	60 09
Paid Robt. Smith Printing Co., binding books	27 00
Paid miscellaneous expenses	39 88
Paid Salary, Mrs. Ferrey	1,000 00
Paid expense board meetings	14 06
	$2,296 28
Balance on hand June 1, 1911	$1,827 68

B. F. DAVIS,
Treasurer.

METHODS OF SECURING INFORMATION FOR LOCAL HISTORY

BY DWIGHT GOSS[1]

The chief mine of information for writing local history is the files of old newspapers. These are not only original sources of information, but of inspiration. They echo town talk. It is not only the news they give, but the news they omit, which is important to the careful student. For example, the local newspapers of Michigan from 1840 to 1860 are filled with national political news, letters from Washington, abstracts of speeches made in Congress, stories of public men and items of national politics. State politics and local matters are conspicuous for their absence, all of which goes to show that in those days Michigan people thought and talked about national affairs much more than they do now. They debated State rights and the slave power, and at all times and on all occasions discussed national political parties and policies. They carried national politics into social and business affairs. They were reluctant to associate and affiliate with their political opponents. We know this not only from our elders and tradition, but we see it in old newspapers which give such importance to men in public life and to national politics. The Civil War may have come to this State as a sudden outbreak and a surprise, but its volcanic fires had been burning for a generation in every hamlet and at almost every hearthstone of Michigan.

The observing student can see much in the advertisements of old newspapers. He will see what were the articles of trade, what people ate, drank and wore, what were their medicines and toilet articles. From old time-tables and travelers' guides he will see the lines of communication and the routes of travel; he can learn of streams then navigable, now unused; he can see how people amused themselves; from business cards and advertisements he will learn much about schools and churches, and lawyers and doctors, and preachers and teachers, and the business and progress of the community. Take a newspaper of to-day and compare it with those of 1896, 1886, 1876, 1866, 1856, 1846, and each will, in its news, its advertisements, its editorials, its market reports, its headlines and its general makeup, give a vivid picture of its date of issue.

Other sources of original information for local history are public records and court records. The city records and proceedings of the Common Councils are full of interest to the antiquarian.

[1]Read by Mrs. Goss at the midwinter meeting of January, 1907. Mr. Goss died in 1909. See sketch, Mich. Pion. Hist. Colls., Vol. XXXVII, p. 693.

The county records and Circuit Court records of every county are full of interest to the careful student. The court-houses always have much history within their walls. The probate court records furnish much from which history can be gleaned. Pioneers and citizens die and their affairs pass through either the courts or probate court and become matters of record. Dates and details of deaths and marriages and many other events can often be obtained or verified at the court-house.

Published reports are of great value to a local historian. Annual reports from the boards of schools, police, fire commissioners, health, public works, controllers and superintendents of the poor, in fact all public reports can be read with profit.

City directories, usually found on the shelves of the local public libraries, give much good and accurate information, and are complete annual directories. A directory gives not only names but residences and business places. A prominent old citizen may say that he commenced business or quit business on a certain corner in a certain year, while the city directory for that year or the following year may not agree with his statement. Generally the directory is right and the memory of the old citizen wrong.

Biographical sketches found in local histories, publications, newspapers and trade papers are valuable sources of information for writing local history. History can be written from biography. Local history, as well as general history, is made up from the lives of men.

An interesting source of information for local history is the letters and keepsakes which nearly every old family has of its members. There are account books, invitations, journals, pictures, programmes, newspaper clippings, and even pieces of furniture in many households which tell much of local history. Often they are too sacred for profane eyes, but if the historian and antiquarian has enthusiasm and tact he can generally unlock the secret drawers of family history and find much of public interest. Personally, I have had many pleasant hours and obtained much historic information in looking over family records and keepsakes in Grand Rapids.

One great source of information and inspiration for local history is living men and women who lived in the community long ago, but as every lawyer and careful historian knows the human memory is not always trustworthy. It may give good general impressions, but is often false in details. Again, human narration is generally more or less colored by prejudice, self-interest and conceit. Nevertheless, reminiscences can be used to good advantage by the student of local affairs. However, statements of that character should always be verified, if possible. There is more than one old settler in every town whose narration of past events is a source of inspiration in giving color to local his-

tory, but whose memory of dates and details is not to be depended on.

Family traditions are seldom reliable except to give color. The grandfather who tells what his grandfather said to him when he was a child generally has more imagination than truth in the story; yet the story may give a picture of great historic value, if discrimination is exercised in its use.

A diary is an excellent source of original information for local history. The citizen who keeps a diary or journal shold be known to every student of local history. Of course diaries are personal in their character, but their very personality makes history, and gives views of life that cannot be obtained from books, and are not preserved in tradition.

I have related what I have found of chief value in writing local history. Allow me to make some suggestions for the benefit of the persons who will write local history in the future: let every copy of every newspaper, trade paper, magazine and publication in the nature of a newspaper,[1] trade paper or magazine hereafter published be carefully kept; let every such publication of the past be collected and preserved. They make history.

Let every public report from any public body, public board, public officer be preserved; nay, more, let every report from any church, society, fraternity or organization of the community be preserved. It is history. Public and official reports and proceedings of official bodies may not be as interesting reading as newspaper reports, but they are more accurate. If the future historian has both before him he can write good history.

Let programmes and menus of banquets, balls, suppers, dinners, entertainments and other social functions be filed. They will tell our grandchildren how we entertain and are entertained, what we eat and drink, how we behave in public and among our friends. Local historical sosieties or libraries could cooperate with printing establishments and secure copies of such announcements and have them filed and indexed.

This is an age when illustration is demanded and is easily obtained. Photographers, amateur, trade and professional, are found everywhere. Every event of public interest—almost every event of private interest—has its picture taken. All such pictures should be preserved for their historic value. Every public library should have a picture department of local people and events. In a few years it would have great importance. I would suggest that such a department be started in historical societies and public libraries and all local photographers be invited to do-

[1]In Kansas the editors each send a copy of their papers to the Historical Society and this action makes them members. These files are preserved. A few years ago when a room belonging to this society was taken by another department a complete file of the Niles Mirror was sold by the state for paper rags. In 1905 a complete set of this paper was offered the society for the reduced price of $500.

nate copies of their pictures of local events, landscapes and groups of people.

There are many collectors in every community whose names and collections should be indexed for reference. Every historical society should know the autograph fiends of its neighborhood, the collectors of old furniture, the numismatists, the bibliomaniacs; in short, all the faddists, cranks and collectors of the community. They are all akin to the students of history and their collections have historic value.

It is the commonplace things of today which make history and romance for the future. The appearance of our streets, the views of our towns, the pictures of our residences, ourselves, our friends, our everyday life are to us so common that they have no value, but in the years to come they will have worth beyond price. What would we not give for a true picture of a Greek theater, a Roman triumph, a Jewish home, an ancient banquet, a Puritan wedding, Grand Rapids or Detroit at the advent of the first white man, the main street of the town Fourth of July with its first procession? What would we not give for a detailed account of a week from the life of Socrates, Caesar, Cromwell, Washington or an early settler of Michigan? In the centuries that have passed, history was a record of public men and political events; history is now a record of all people and all forces that work for civilization, progress and righteousness.

The records of the Michigan Pioneer Society are full of local history. There are articles by local writers from nearly every county of the State. In the collections can be found plenty of material for teaching history and inspiring students. It is not necessary to go to great libraries to write history; it is not necessary to go abroad for inspiration. It is not necessary to become a student in an advanced class of a great university if only to learn how to use original sources and obtain a literary style; it is not absolutely necessary to sit at the feet of the great masters; all these are aids, but if you wish to study and write about local affairs, paraphrase the good old motto of Michigan, "If you would write good local history, look about you."

DANIEL MARSAC[1]

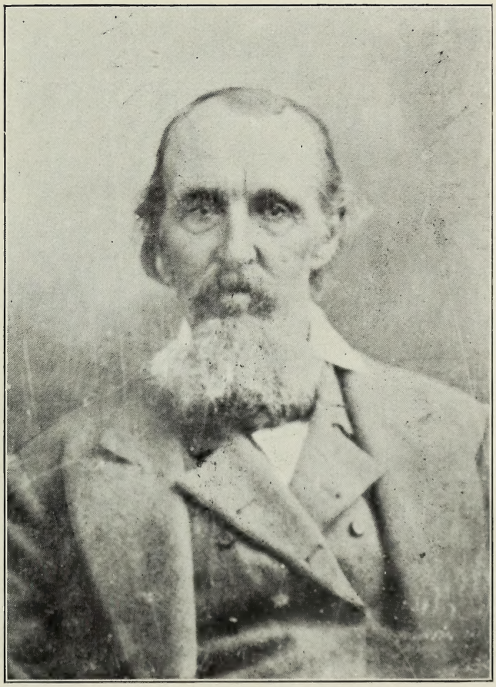
BY JOHN S. HOOKER

The subject of this sketch in 1828, through the kindness and influence of his uncle George Campau came to the mouth of Flat River (Quab-ah-quash-a), where he erected a small log cabin on the south bank of Grand River (O-wash-te-nong, see-bee). There he opened a trading post, his only customers, of course, were the Indians, as he was the only white man for miles around. He made his home with the chief (Wab-win-de-go). He was well liked by all the tribe and was a welcome guest in all their homes. Although but a mere boy he was a man of commanding appearance, tall, straight as a reed and an all-round athlete which in the eyes of the Indians went far in constituting a perfect man.

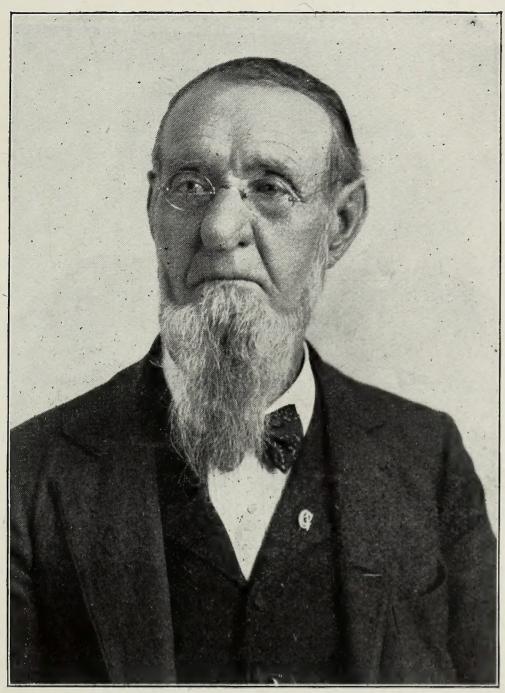
It was quite natural that the dusky maidens should look upon the young man with favor, but of all others Je-nute, the daughter of one of the under-chiefs, was most pleasing to him. She was truly a most beautiful and wonderful girl, notwithstanding her parentage. It is said, (in story) that he made many protestations of love and propositions to take her among his people and provide for her a home worthy the queen she was, to all of which she turned a deaf ear. However she did not deny or attempt to conceal her admiration of his noble qualities, but would not listen to leaving her people, claiming that she was a child of nature and of the forest.

As time passed young Marsac found it necessary to have a home of his own. His trade increased and it became necessary to have assistants. After much persuasion he induced Je-nute to come to his home as his wife and they were married after the rites and ceremonies of the Ottawa tribe. For several years they lived happily in their little home which he had made most comfortable. She proved all that a true and loving wife could. To them was born one child, a girl. When little Marie came to be eight or nine years old Mr. Marsac insisted that the child should be sent to Detroit among his relatives, to be educated. This nearly broke the mother's heart. This child was the idol of the whole tribe and was truly beautiful. Notwithstanding the opposition, he took her to Detroit where she only remained a short time when she

[1] *St. Anne's Church Records of Detroit*, give Daniel Marsac's birth January 25, 1812, baptized January 26, 1812. He was the son of René Marsac and Eulalie Gouin.



DANIEL MARSAC.



JOHN S. HOOKER.

was taken sick and died.[2] Only a short time after this Mr. Marsac went to Detroit and married a woman[3] of his own nationality and brought her to his home at Flat River. This was the crushing blow to Je-nute. The story is very pathetic, but I will simply say that she left and went among her people and died at an early age.

After Mr. Marsac's second marriage he did not prosper as well and his habits were not exemplary. He, in a measure, ceased trading with the Indians and turned his attention more to farming. He sold, or traded, his land on the south side of Grand River and bought on the north side a fractional eighty acre lot where he platted a portion of it and gave it the name of Dansville. This is now a part of that portion of Lowell laying east of Flat River.

In November, 1846 he sold to C. S. Hooker nine acres of this land for the purpose of building a flouring mill. Very soon after this he sold the remainder to one Abel Avery. Marsac and his family moved to Monroe, where they lived for several years and he engaged in farming. From there he moved to Georgetown, Ottawa County, where he again took up farming for several years. His next and final move was to Grand Rapids where he remained sometime. Just before his death he went to Port Sheldon and died there at the age of sixty-eight years.

By his second wife, he had eleven children, only two of whom are now living.

JOHN S. HOOKER OF LOWELL

(From Grand Rapids paper, Nov. 10, 1906.)

John S. Hooker was born August 29, 1830. Seven years later his father, Cyporean S. Hooker with the family settled at the trading post that has since claimed the French name of Saranac. It was July 2, 1837, when the Hookers took up their abode at Saranac and there was far too much work to be done that year to permit of a Fourth of July celebration. The elder Hooker was a builder. It was Cyporean Hooker who designed and threw one of the first bridges over Grand River. This structure was put up at Portland.

At Saranac Young Hooker met Che-na-go, son of Wab-she-gun, a young Indian with a heart as white as it was brave. Friendship between the white and Indian boy ripened and Mr. Hooker still cherishes the memory of Che-na-go as one of the brightest spots in a long and not unpleasant life.

[2]On March 27, 1839, there was buried in Detroit, a child, aged five years, daughter of Daniel Marsac and an Indian woman.—*St. Anne's Church Records, Detroit.*

[3]Daniel Marsac was married to Colette Beaufait, December 28, 1835, by Bishop Resé.—*St. Anne's Church Records, Detroit.*

In 1846 the Hooker family moved to Lowell, then a mere trading post with only one other white settler. Before this, John S. Hooker, because of his sharp voice had been named Cap-squa-itt by his Indian friends and the name stuck to him wherever he went among the red men. It was because of his universal popularity among the Indians and their evident faith in his fairness that as a mere boy he was employed as an interpreter for Alfred A. Dwight who opened the first store in what is now Lowell. Young Hooker made the first sale out of a real store in the shape of a pound of raisins to John Robinson.

The boy was next employed as manager of a store owned by Daniel Marsac, who went away soon after employing the young man and left him in sole charge for more than a year. Here he traded extensively with the Indians taking furs and rawhide in change for his goods. Mr. Hooker then employed two Indian families to tan and cure the rawhide into buckskin. Among those who tanned and cured for Cap-squa-itt was Negonc (bright), granddaughter of the great Ottawa chieftain Cob-moo-sa. Negonc was the prettiest, brightest and most intelligent Indian girl Mr. Hooker ever knew. She was a veritable infant prodigy at needle and bead work and was born on the site now occupied by Lowell's latest and finest business block, "The Negonce," which was christened by Mr. Hooker at the suggestion of its owners, on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone something more than a year ago.

After his early experience in the Indian trading stores, Mr. Hooker became an itinerant trader, during the bitter cold winters. During the winter months the tribes separated, two or three, or possibly half a dozen families, camping together in some sugar bush on the bank of a small creek for the winter. Here they trapped and hunted, collecting furs until the sap began to run, when they devoted themselves to the making of maple sugar. Hooker with his pack horses rode throughout the watershed of the Flat and Grand rivers trading with the Indians. He went alone. He stopped at any wigwam, a welcome guest wherever night found him.

In all his years of lonely packing in the country of the red man he never had a moment's difficulty or angry word with an Indian. He came to know every brave and squaw and papoose in the land of the Ottawas. In time he came to keep a record of them, the first and probably the only directory of those days.

The government came to rely upon Cap-squa-itt's directory. It called upon him for a census of the Ottawas when "payment" time came round each year. Mr. Hooker then consulted his directory. Made a hurried trip through the land of the Ottawas, checking up the number of papooses that had arrived since the interval of his last trading trip and sent his lists to Washington. The allotment of treaty money for lands north

of Grand River ceded to the government by the Ottawa Nation, was based on his report. The Indians drew eight dollars per head for young or old, and "payment" was a season of rejoicing and recourse to the "fire water" and other evils introduced among the tribes by the white brother. It is a strange thing that the Indian language does not include an oath. Swear words like fire water were importations of the white man's.

John S. Hooker has only pleasant memories of the Indians. His only trouble was with a drunken, crippled brave who insisted on interfering with a Fourth of July celebration years ago when Mr. Hooker was village marshal at Lowell. The brave attempted to stab Mr. Hooker in the back but a friend gave a warning cry and the marshal wheeled in time to disarm his would-be assailant.

On the other hand his life with the Indians was full of incidents of kindness. The Indian was imbued with the spirit of nature. Whatever he did was done on a broad, free scale. He hated mightily and never forgot a friendship.

Mr. Hooker tells of the murder of a white woman and child while he was still at Saranac. It was said the murder was committed by the Indians. The whole country was up in arms, Indian and white man joining in the search for the murderer. Mr. Hooker's father and hired man joined the search. The mother, fearful now of every Indian, and the small boy who could see nothing in an Indian to promote other than friendship, were left alone in the little home in the wilderness. After a day Wab-sha-gun and his son Che-na-go suddenly appeared. The Indian and his son beached their canoe and approached the house. Mrs. Hooker was terribly afraid. Her son, wondering at his mother's fear, greeted the Indians. The mother had counseled the boy not to tell of the absence of father and hired man, but Wab-sha-gun divined it. He questioned the boy who told the truth. Wab-sha-gun turned to his son. He directed him to go to the canoe and get his blanket. Che-na-go returned. The stalwart Indian pointed to the floor before the door of the homestead. "Che-na-go stay there," he said. "At night he sleep at door. If come, Che-na-go say, 'I am here, Che-na-go, son of Wab-sha-gun.' "

The young Indian never left the door at night. Before the portal stretched his protecting body. Not even when the men returned did he forsake the post. There he slept, refusing a trundle-bed, and there he lay rolled up in his blanket when his father came at night to the door of the Hooker home.

The murder was not the work of Indians. Wab-sha-gun, most skilled of all Indian trailers, in ten minutes showed his white brothers where the murderer had stepped, where the twigs were broken short by the sole of a heavy boot. "Not moccasin," said the Indian. "Moccasin break this way," and with his own foot he broke twigs and held up the curved, multi-broken twigs. The murder was doubtless the work of the father

and husband, who was years after said to be in hiding in California.

Mr. Hooker wonders, and not unnaturally, that no one in Grand Rapids has ever used the Indian name by which the town was known. When there have been contests for names he has been tempted to send the word Bock-we-ting, meaning rapids, for this is the Indian name of Grand Rapids. Years after the Indians had gone the old settlers in and about Lowell when starting upon a trip to Grand Rapids spoke of "going to Bock-ting." The word was shortened by the settlers. And it was to Bock-ting Hooker and the other young men came at payment time to be employed as interpreters in the Grand Rapids stores.

Wash-te-nong was Grand river, meaning longest river. Shaoshkometick was pine woods; Sogetah (mouth) was Grand Haven's Indian name; wawa was goose; wawashcash, a deer; miingun, wolf; omeme, pigeon; pena, partridge; washtena, pretty; nemoose, puppy; namocoche, dog; kewon, your wife; wewon, my wife; mozhick, much; chicke-Rimewun, rain. These were some of the common Indian names. Mr. Hooker knew and still knows the language of the Ojibwas as he knows the English. He was in later years Indian court interpreter, acting in many important cases. He points to one peculiarity of the Indian tongue. In it nowhere is there is a sound calling for the use of an "r."

SOPHIE DE MARSAC CAMPAU[1]

BY SOPHIE BINGHAM BUCHANAN[2]

When quite a young girl in short dresses, I came here to attend school, residing with my brother, a clergyman. Naturally, in his position, he met many of the older and more prominent citizens of this then thriving and growing village of nearly two thousand inhabitants. Among others, we soon heard of this honored and friendly man, Mr. Louis Campau, and his beloved wife, Sophie de Marsac Campau, as the "Founders" of this Valley-city, of which we now are so justly proud.

Later when I came here a bride in 1854, I became more interested in them, passing as they did so frequently my own home on East Fulton street, and hearing of their kind-heartedness and benevolent work among the Indians and the poor of this city. Giving a hearty welcome to strangers and pilgrims who had left home and friends in the east, and

[1]In gathering material for this brief sketch of Mrs. Campau I am indebted to Mrs. W. F. Ringuette, Mrs. Ringuette Mallock, Mrs. J. W. Stanley, Mr. and Mrs. Dennis Campau, Mrs. Danforth, Mrs. E. B. Powers, Miss Lucy Ball, Mrs. James Campbell, Mrs. S. L. Withey, and to the marble tablets in the Catholic cemetery. —Author.

[2]For memoir of Mrs. Buchanan, see this volume.

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venturing thus far, were seeking to make another and a better somewhere among the western wilds of Michigan. Many through the inducements held out by these humane pioneers, were persuaded to remain and cast in their lot with the fortunes of this little Indian hamlet. Hearing of several families stranded at Ionia, Mr. Louis Campau[3] went there, brought them here, and his good wife joined him in looking after and caring for them in their own home until they could get a start. Among those who came first, were Joel Guild, Aunt Hattie Burton, and others.

Sophie de Marsac Campau, was born in Detroit, September 25th, 1807. Her father,[4] Major General René de Marsac, came from a fine old French family in France at an early day, and with his wife Eulalie Gouin, made their home in Detroit. Susanne Marsac married William H. Godfroy and was the mother of Mrs. E. B. Powers. Their parents were well-to-do and prominent people of the old regime in the city of the straits.

From all we can learn of Sophie de Marsac's home life, it was a simple, joyous, happy and contented one. Her father a man of comparative wealth in that early time gave his children every advantage possible. Sophie was educated at the convent and was taught needle-work, cooking, dancing, deportment, and all the necessary accomplishments of that day

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[3]Louis Campau was born in Detroit, August 11, 1791. He was married twice, his first wife dying at Saginaw where he was in the fur business before he went to Grand Rapids. *Memorials of Grand River Valley*, p. 10 of memorials.

[4]René Marsac, born at Grand Marais, in Grosse Pointe, 27 Aug., 1777, married at Detroit, 21 April, 1806, Eulalie Gouin, born at Detroit, 9 May, 1785, daughter of Charles Gouin and Susanne Boyer. Eulalie Gouin was buried at Detroit, 18 Jan., 1847. Their children were:

1. Julia Gouin Marsac, born Feb. 1st, baptized at Detroit, 29 April, 1806, married at Detroit, 16 Jan., 1827, Anthony Rivard, born at Detroit, 5 Dec., 1798, son of Michael Rivard and Agnes Saucier. Anthony Rivard was buried at Assumption church, Greinerville, 2 Nov., 1887. Julia Marsac died at Detroit, was buried at Assumption church, Greinerville, 20 March, 1888.
2. Sophie Marsac, born at Detroit, 25 Sept., 1807, married there, 9 Aug., 1825, Louis Campau, born at Detroit, 16 Aug., 1791, widower of Ann Knaggs, son of Louis Campau and Therese Moran.
3. Susanne Marsac, born at Detroit, 3 Feb., 1810.
4. Daniel Marsac, born at Detroit, 25 Jan., 1812, married there 28 Dec., 1836, Scholastica (Colette) Beaufait (Beufait), born at Detroit, 10 Feb., 1816, daughter of Louis Beufait and Marie Louise Saucier.
5. Therese Marsac, born at Detroit, Dec. 15, 1814, married there 24 Jan., 1837, Julius Patrick Bolivar McCabe, the author of the first directory of Detroit.
6. Charles Marsac, born 3 April, baptized at Ste. Anne's, Detroit, 26 May, 1817.
7. Emily Marsac, born at Detroit, 1 March 1819, married at Saginaw, Mich., before a civil magistrate, Toussaint Campau, born at Detroit, 7 Nov., 1818, son of Henry Campau and Geneveva Marsac. This marriage was ratified in the Catholic church at Saginaw by a missionary priest, 2 Sept., 1843, and was recorded at Ste. Anne's, Detroit. Both bride and groom resided at Saginaw.
8. Marie Edesse Marsac, born at Detroit, 1 Aug., 1821.
9. Henrietta Marsac, born at Detroit, 12 Dec., 1823.
10. Eulalie Julia Marsac, born at Detroit, 3 July, 1827, married there, 20 Nov., 1845, Franklin M. Wing, born in 1820. Both bride and groom lived in Detroit.

(From notes by the Rev. Christian Denissen, who died in Detroit, Oct. 27, 1911.) (See also Records of Ste. Anne's church, Detroit.)

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But the course of *true love* even for Uncle Louis and Aunt Sophie did not for a time run quite smooth; for being cousins of the fourth degree, the limitations and restrictions of their beloved Church in this regard were only overcome in the granting of a dispensation by Rev. Father Gabriel Richard (vicar-general) permitting the marriage which he himself performed, "giving them the *nuptial blessing* according to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church." The date of this marriage was obtained from the records of St. Anne's Church in Detroit. Two years later Louis Campau with his bride started out on their long journey through the wilderness, and settled in their new home on the banks of Grand River.

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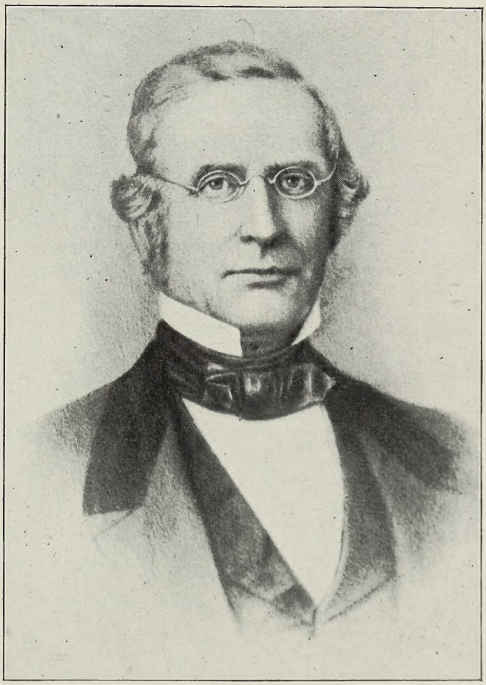

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Shall we not indeed even at this late day, *do honor* to this brave, yet gentle woman, who seconded in every way possible her husband's efforts by her self-sacrificing spirit, her generosity, her large-heartedness and simple kindness, to these people of a darker skin, who ministered with her own hands to their necessities and when trouble or sickness came helped to lay their little ones away when disease lessened their thinning ranks. She, like the Master of old, "went about doing good."

May we not by following her example and sweet spirit of charity, and by emulating her virtues, be of service in some way in this work-a-day world, and the effect of her influence on ourselves still be so felt as to let *our* world know, in a quiet way, that we women of to-day of this Valley City have not lived in vain.

DANIEL BALL[1]

BY C. C. COMSTOCK

Daniel Ball was born in Cheshire County, N. H.,[2] and removed with his parents to western New York while he was quite young. This I learned from him after I became a resident of this city in 1853. From and after that time I became intimately acquainted with Mr. Ball in business and financial affairs, and our business relations were continuous so long as he remained with us. It now seems that my dealings with him during those years were greater than with all others of this city and I have nothing but kind words to speak of his memory. At that time he seemed to be the life of the city and it appeared to invite capital and men of energy, and such effects are far-reaching. Examples for good or evil are contagious, and his stimulated others to activity. The effects may be seen in the building up of this prosperous city. If this place had been deficient in all the enterprises in which Mr. Ball was then engaged, it would have had the appearance of

[1]This paper was written by C. C. Comstock for the Old Residents' Reunion at Sweet's Hotel, Grand Rapids, Feb. 19, 1895, and by request read by his daughter, Mrs. Lucius Boltwood, at the midwinter meeting, Grand Rapids, Jan., 1907.

[2]Daniel Ball, son of John Ball and Nancy Bradbury, was born July 30, 1808, and died at Jamestown, N. Y., Dec. 30, 1872, aged sixty-five years. He married Mary Covert in Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 13, 1832, and had three children: Byron D. Ball, born July 19, 1833, died Feb. 4, 1876; Mary E. Ball, born Feb. 23, 1836, died, ——; Julia E. Ball, born Oct. 20, 1838, died ——. Byron D. Ball married Martha M. Linnell, July 26, 1854, and had five children, Julia M. (died in infancy), Daniel, Byron L., Ashley L., and Martha, all living. (Furnished by Daniel Ball, grandson.)

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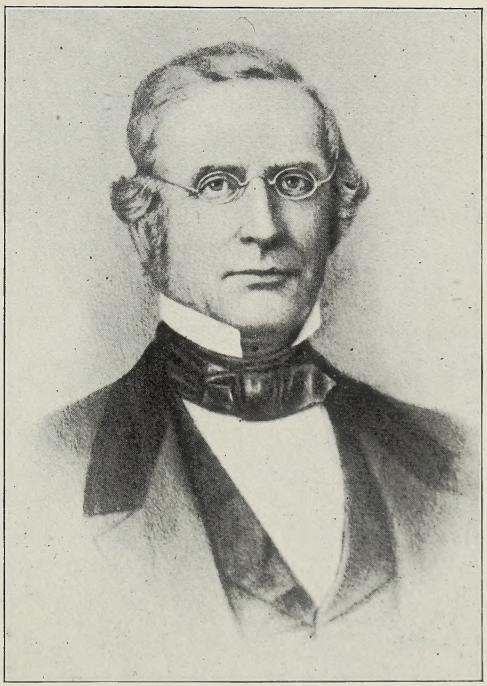

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rest, July 31st, 1869, in her sixty-second year, beloved and revered by all who knew Sophie de Marsac Campau.

Shall we not indeed even at this late day, *do honor* to this brave, yet gentle woman, who seconded in every way possible her husband's efforts by her self-sacrificing spirit, her generosity, her large-heartedness and simple kindness, to these people of a darker skin, who ministered with her own hands to their necessities and when trouble or sickness came helped to lay their little ones away when disease lessened their thinning ranks. She, like the Master of old, "went about doing good."

May we not by following her example and sweet spirit of charity, and by emulating her virtues, be of service in some way in this work-a-day world, and the effect of her influence on ourselves still be so felt as to let *our* world know, in a quiet way, that we women of to-day of this Valley City have not lived in vain.

DANIEL BALL[1]

BY C. C. COMSTOCK

Daniel Ball was born in Cheshire County, N. H.,[2] and removed with his parents to western New York while he was quite young. This I learned from him after I became a resident of this city in 1853. From and after that time I became intimately acquainted with Mr. Ball in business and financial affairs, and our business relations were continuous so long as he remained with us. It now seems that my dealings with him during those years were greater than with all others of this city and I have nothing but kind words to speak of his memory. At that time he seemed to be the life of the city and it appeared to invite capital and men of energy, and such effects are far-reaching. Examples for good or evil are contagious, and his stimulated others to activity. The effects may be seen in the building up of this prosperous city. If this place had been deficient in all the enterprises in which Mr. Ball was then engaged, it would have had the appearance of

[1]This paper was written by C. C. Comstock for the Old Residents' Reunion at Sweet's Hotel, Grand Rapids, Feb. 19, 1895, and by request read by his daughter, Mrs. Lucius Boltwood, at the midwinter meeting, Grand Rapids, Jan., 1907.

[2]Daniel Ball, son of John Ball and Nancy Bradbury, was born July 30, 1808, and died at Jamestown, N. Y., Dec. 30, 1872, aged sixty-five years. He married Mary Covert in Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 13, 1832, and had three children: Byron D. Ball, born July 19, 1833, died Feb. 4, 1876; Mary E. Ball, born Feb. 23, 1836, died, ——; Julia E. Ball, born Oct. 20, 1838, died ——. Byron D. Ball married Martha M. Linnell, July 26, 1854, and had five children, Julia M. (died in infancy), Daniel, Byron L., Ashley L., and Martha, all living. (Furnished by Daniel Ball, grandson.)

a dead town, and nowise inviting for strangers to locate here. One such man alone may be the cause of the building up of a great city and cause it to surpass its rivals. I had scarcely heard of Grand Rapids one month before I came, while Kalamazoo, Battle Creek and Ionia were familiar names. It is the live towns where men can find employment as laborers, and for their capital, which draw together a healthy population. A town built by speculators without the industries is a failure. Prosperity only lasts while it is being built. Perhaps the Hon. William T. Powers with Morris Ball as partner in the manufacture and sale of furniture and lumber, were the next in push and enterprise, but their capital and help employed was small when compared with that of Daniel Ball. The much larger proportion of the residents were worthy and law-abiding citizens, but furnished little employment for mechanics or laboring men. The only power used for manufacturing was taken from the east side canal and Coldbrook, except one steam sawmill just completed by Powers and Ball at the head of the Rapids. There was not one hundred dollars worth of sash and door machinery in use, and but one machine for dressing and matching lumber, and the price for doing that work was $4.50 per thousand feet. The industries seemed hardly sufficient to support the inhabitants then here, for very little of building and improvement was being made. There were many highly honorable merchants and professional men for a place of its size. The place was full of speculators, all prepared to sell fortunes by the acre, where great cities were sure to be built, and it was said there were forty thieves ready to distribute among themselves all the estates of venturesome new settlers; but I think that Mr. Ball had no friends among them, for he was too deep for their plots and too well fortified to be assaulted. There was no scarcity of lawyers, for the first time I was compelled to appeal to the courts, I called on nine who were retained against me, before I found one running loose, and after I gave him my case, I found him closeted with my antagonist several times, probably to learn the strong points in my suit. At the first trial the judge decided in the way to do the "greatest good to the greatest number" of lawyers, and the ends of justice required eight years of litigation, when I thought it should have been reached in three months.

There were no railroads to this city at that time and the only inlet or outlet for goods and merchandise was by way of Grand River, or by hauling with teams from and to Battle Creek or Kalamazoo. For transportation of all farm products and other merchandise, except lumber and shingle which were rafted, the people were dependent upon the steamboats of Daniel Ball. He had boats running from the head of the Rapids to Lyons, and more from below the Rapids to Grand Haven, always making the necessary improvements in the channel at his

own expense. He brought the wheat and other grains from all points up the Valley this side of Lyons, to the head of the Rapids with his boats, then with his teams delivered it in the city or to his boats below for transportation to other markets. There were a few other steamers built to run in competition with Mr. Ball's line, but I think the undertaking proved unprofitable and was soon abandoned. In looking as he did after the details of this business alone, it was enough to baffle the minds of ordinary men. He also owned the foundry and machine shop where the Butterworth and Lowe works now are, and kept a large number of employes there. With the Hon. Martin L. Sweet, he made nearly all the flour produced in the city. They owned and operated two large mills. He was the owner of perhaps one-half of the real estate between the line of Division street and Grand River, from Lyon street to Coldbrook street, including the east side canal, and a large portion of the Kent plat south of Monroe street, now covered with costly blocks and other improvements. He, also, owned Island Number 1 on Pearl street and much other improved and unimproved property in this city, at Lyons and other places in Michigan, requiring great care and attention. But the most useful, risky and difficult of all in those days of uncertainty was the banking business, in which he predominated in this part of the State. For a time he was operating three banks in this valley. One in this city,[3] one at Ionia and one at Lyons. For protection against worthless and counterfeit money then in circulation, it was necessary to consult a bank note detector, published almost daily. Eastern capitalists were fearful of losing all money loaned upon western securities, but in the fall of 1854, business and manufacturing was increasing rapidly and there was great need of more money, therefore I negotiated a loan of several thousands of dollars with a bank in New Hampshire for Mr. Ball to add to the capital of his bank, and about one year later, two of their directors visited Grand Rapids and were so struck with admiration of Mr. Ball and his capacity for business, that they trebled the loan. Our worthy and successful townsman Mr. Harvey I. Hollister[4] of the Old National Bank took his first lessons in banking from Mr. Ball and was his faithful and trusted cashier in this city so long as Mr. Ball remained in business here.

It is hard for business men of the present day to conceive of the hardships of those times and especially so after the fall of 1857. Prosperity was worth nothing except the immediate necessities of life, and those were largely exchanged for other goods. Money worth everything;

[3]This bank was called the Exchange Bank of D. Dall and Co., and was located in the second story (reached by an outside stairway) of the Daniel Ball warehouse which stood on the exact area now occupied by the Old National Bank offices. The lower floor was a storehouse for all kinds of merchandise brought by boats. *Michigan Tradesman*, Sept. 8, 1908.

[4]See Vol. XXXV, p. 643, this series.

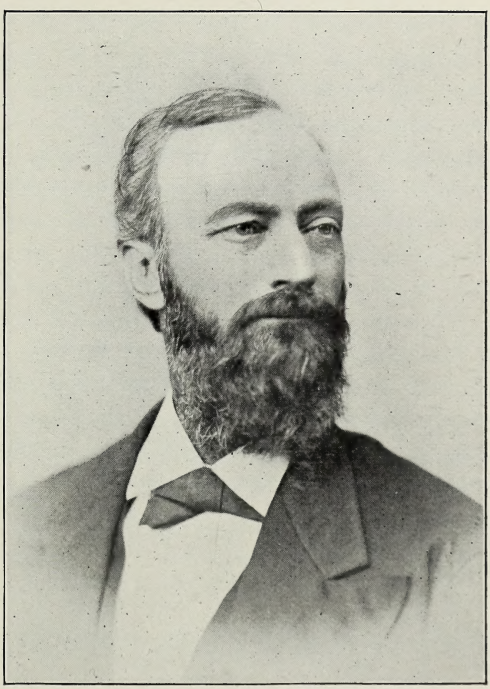
three per cent per month at the banks, and from six to eight per cent for eastern exchange.[5] Some people called it robbery, still I doubt that the profits equaled the losses. I had a clerk and salesman in my employ who loaned one hundred dollars of his own money to a real estate dealer, and charged and received eight dollars every thirty days, year in and year out for its use.

Mr. Ball was large in stature with manly features. In the management of extensive and complicated business affairs, under like conditions, I have no proof of having ever met his equal. He was a father to the industries which make permanent prosperity possible. His transportation line was as essential as our railroads are today. His various enterprises gave employment to a small army of laborers, overseers, skilled mechanics, clerks, bookkeepers, bank and boat officers and much business for the legal profession. He paid one lawyer $1,400 per year for looking after his land titles alone. With his banks he upheld the merchants, the manufacturers and the business of the valley. His genius and enterprise opened up the paths to wealth for his fellow-men. He was not haughty, but easily approached by the most humble. His habits of temperance and morality were never questioned. He had no sectional prejudice which prevented him from aiding every worthy enterprise without regard to its location. He had little time to demonstrate his kindly and neighborly feelings, but I remember no other business man who came to my bedside when I was brought low and nigh unto death in 1855.

In closing up his business affairs in 1864,[6] his only desire seemed to be to honorably discharge all obligations against him. I think that he exhibited the highest order of business talent, never excited, but always cool and calculating, tireless in his energies and highly esteemed by all in his employ. From them I never heard a murmur. The Hon. Henry Seymour, once a trusted agent of Mr. Ball, was afterwards with me in business and always spoke in the highest terms of praise of Mr. Ball. Such men always meet with opposition from envy, if from no other cause, but without noise or parade, he seemed to possess in his nature an irresistible under-current and power of combining forces to meet and turn aside all obstacles. He was intensely earnest in all his under-

[5]During the period from 1850 to 1860 rates of exchange were enormous, reaching at one time as high as ten per cent, and never going lower than one-half per cent on any kind of paper money or coin. About the only currency in circulation in the Grand River valley at that time was that of Illinois and Wisconsin banks and what was known as "Daniel Ball currency." Items furnished by Daniel Ball (grandson).

[6]In October, 1861, Daniel Ball and Co. were forced to go into liquidation, having suffered numerous failures of individuals and banks of issue in Illinois and Wisconsin. They paid all their obligations in full, with interest before his death. One of the principal causes contributing to Mr. Ball's failure was the demand made by eastern investors that they be paid in specie instead of notes. (Furnished by Daniel Ball, grandson.)



GEORGE H. CANNON.

takings, never idle, the lamps in his office went out late at night, and the stars that now shine upon his early made grave witnessed his return to his never finished task in the morning. He bore his burdens like the still waters which run deep, but he did not have in his nature that mirthfulness which sometimes acts as a safety valve to an overtaxed brain. Being a man of stately form and great endurance he proved that there is a limit to human exertions. I think his greatest mistake was in allowing himself to be so heavily loaded with business that he had no time for rest, not one full day in seven, and old age came upon him prematurely long before he had seen threescore years. Then with energies exhausted, he left the fruits of his wonderful efforts for others to gather and enjoy. I feel incompetent to do justice to his memory. I am not master of language to fully express my appreciation of the value of his life in this community. Unless a man dies almost in the midst of his usefulness, it matters not what he may have done that is past, he is little missed and soon forgotten. So it was with Mr. Ball. His health and fortune had suffered and for thirty years his friends have been silent and the envious have held their peace. He died in New York, but his mortal remains rest in the valley he loved and served so well. We have loved and lost other great men. We miss them from our councils, from private associations, from places of trust, from acts of benevolence; they were our guiding stars and their memories should always be held sacred, but not within my knowledge has the welfare of this city ever been so dependent upon the life of any of her citizens, as it was upon the masterly genius and serene fortitude of Daniel Ball.

PREHISTORIC FORTS IN MACOMB COUNTY[1]

BY GEORGE H. CANNON[2]

But a few years elapsed after the linear surveys were made in Macomb County when home-seekers were in evidence, selecting lands for settlement and occupancy. The surprise was very great when it was discovered that the region had once been occupied by a people now extinct and unknown. In various places, but more often in the vicinity of rivers, were seen mounds of earth or stone, and evidences of once cultivated lands of considerable area, and when along and near to the north branch of the Clinton river no less than three structures enclosing areas of from one to three acres in extent were discovered, the interest became very great among the settlers to

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1907.
[2]For memoir, see this volume.

know who those people were. As there was no mistaking the fact that they were the work of human hands, much speculation was indulged in as to what purpose they were designed to subserve and why they should have been constructed at all. The Indians then occupying the field were as ignorant as the Whites, they had no traditions, even of their origin or by whom they were constructed; all was garbed in mystery. Whether built by the so-called mound builders or others no one could tell. There they stand silent mementoes of a once industrious and numerous people now entirely extinct.

Except for the ravages of time, these when first seen were in the same condition as when left by the builders. The native forests had covered these works, trees of large size were found growing in the area, in the ditch, and on the embankment. The earth was thrown up into a ridge several feet wide at the base and about four feet in height from the bottom of the trench. Gateways or openings in the embankments were found in each enclosure which were called by the first settlers Indian forts. The fact that the outline of these interesting structures have been proved to us is entirely due to the effort, public spirit and forethought of Dr. Dennis Cooley who caused a survey to be made as early as 1827 or 1828. At that date the axman had not done his work nor the plow leveled the embankment. Mr. John B. Hollister, county surveyor for Macomb County was employed to make the survey. As I write the report is before me, dated April 10, 1830; the ink is scarcely faded, the distances and courses along the embarkment are easily made out and are shown in the diagrams, figures 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Figure 4 shows the relative position of the structures as I found them forty-five years later. Mr. Hollister was slow in making out his report and appears to have required much urging. I copy that portion of his letter which shows how he got even with the Doctor's prodding, and I imagine a satisfactory smile crept over the Doctor's face as he read it. "I have no apology to offer, my dear sir, nor anything like an apology, as that would be entirely useless as I am sensible it would add insult to injury; suffice to say that I have procrastinated from day to day, month to month and from year to year. Now if you will forgive this long neglect of mine *I will pray* when I think the *Gods will hear me* that all your frailties may be forgiven at the great bar of retribution." We are thankful that the Doctor got the report as it is, I believe, the first authentic survey ever made of such structures in Michigan. From this we learn that the north fort, diagram I, is situated on the east half of the northeast quarter section 3, 25 north range 12 east, now township of Bruce. It is near the north line of the section and its area was a little over an acre. The embankment

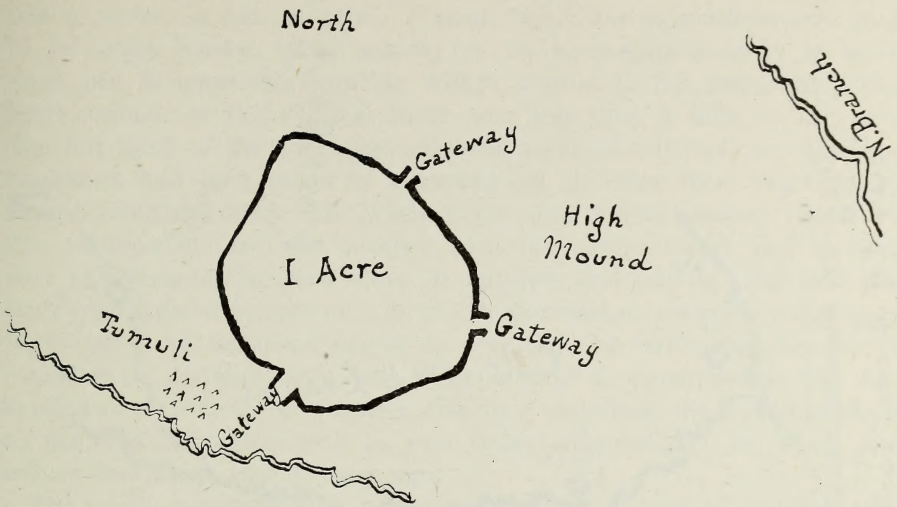


Figure 1 Scale 8 rods to inch

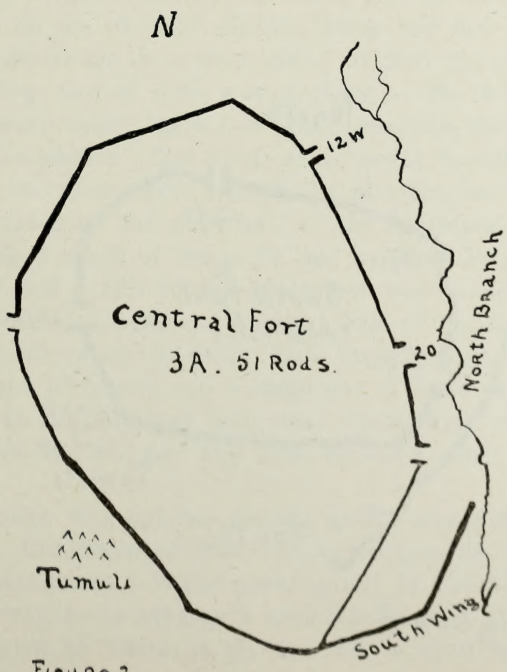


Figure 2.

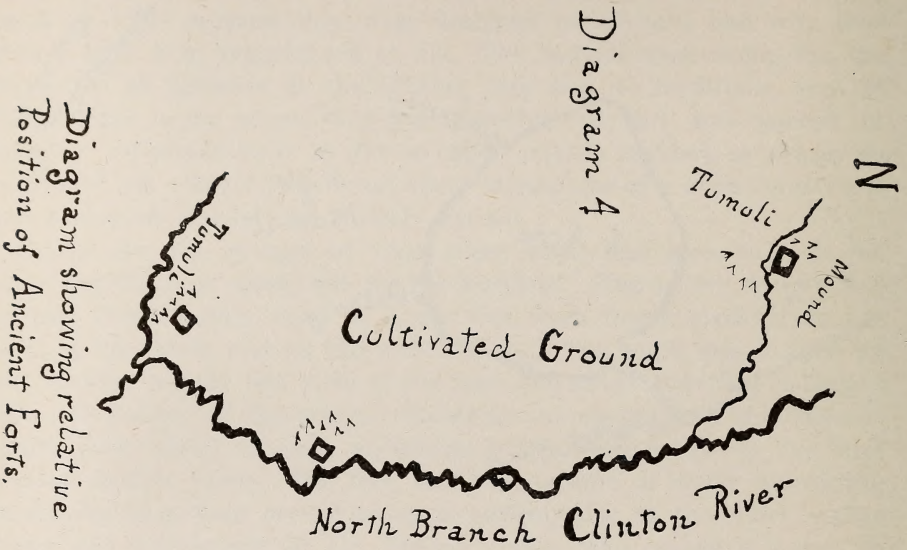


Diagram 4
Diagram showing relative Position of Ancient Forts.
N
Tumuli
Mound
Tumuli
Cultivated Ground
North Branch Clinton River

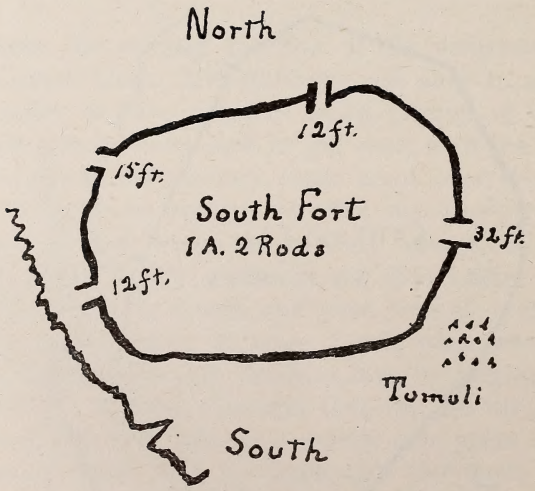

North
12ft.
15ft.
South Fort
1A. 2 Rods
32ft.
12ft.
Tumuli
South

Figure 3

had three openings, supposed to be gateways of ten, twelve and fifteen feet in width, as seen in plan. A small brook flowed southeasterly near to its south border. The country in its immediate vicinity is quite level, but becomes more rolling within a mile to the westward. The north branch of the Clinton River was less than a mile to the east The flat land to the southward showed signs of cultivation. The embankment had been made by throwing up the dirt from the outside, except along the south side, when at my visit it was scarcely traceable. The whole structure was covered with the native forest and at that date had been undisturbed since its builders had left it. The first settlers report the existence of a large circular mound, situated a few rods to the east, of sufficient height to overlook the entire country for a considerable distance, supposed to be used as a watchtower. The embankment measured very nearly 800 feet including the openings, and so far as I am aware may be seen today substantially as when the survey was made eighty years ago.

The large or central fort, as we may consider it, was in a direct line some three miles distant to the southeast,—diagram 2—situated on elevated ground on the right bank of the river, and had an area of three acres and fifty-one rods, aside from a wall some 200 feet in length, which the surveyor designated as the south wing. The circumference of the large work was 1,268 feet. There were three gateways of narrow width, two on the east near the river and one on the west side. The structure stood on an elevated plateau some ten feet above the river which flowed close along its eastern side. Within the area was a small pond, but nothing else of note was apparent. To the southwest and near the bank were many tumuli or small mounds, the supposed burying ground of the people. The whole structure it is said had an imposing appearance and must have stirred the imagination of the observer. This fort is situated on the west half of the southwest quarter of section 18, township 5 north of range 13 east as given by Mr. Hollister.

About a mile and a half to the southwest was found the third fort, diagram 3, its location being on the west half of the northeast quarter of section 25 north range 12 east. This structure had four openings, two of twelve, one of fifteen and a large one of some eighty feet, which may have been an uncompleted wall near which were extensive tumuli. Its circumference was 870 feet and area included more than an acre of land.

The north branch was not far distant and a small stream was near the south side. Evidences of once cultivated ground were to be seen near all these structures. While great credit is due Mr. Hollister for making this survey he is strangely silent in regard to much that we now would be glad to know as he says not a word as to the height

of the embankment, depth of the ditch, from which the earth was thrown, and other information which at that date was easily accessible, as all was there just as the builders left it, a minute examination would have been of interest to the archeologist of today. It is to be hoped that further research may bring to light other similar works elsewhere in our State. At present I know of but one similar structure, and that is situated a few miles below Detroit in Springwells. It is of about the same size and similar to Fort No. 1, described in this sketch. It is mentioned by Bela Hubbard in his Memoirs of Fifty Years who also gives an interesting account of mounds in its near vicinity.

That these structures were the work of many hands there can be no doubt. The erection of such extensive embankments without the aid of any tools with which we are accustomed must have required thousands of workers and for a long period of time.

OLD BALDOON

BY MRS. JANE M. KINNEY[1]

This settlement of Highland Scotch people led by the Earl of Selkirk, is in Canada up the river that empties into the St. Clair River, nearly opposite Algonac and the mouth of which is at the north end of Walpole Island.

About five miles up the Sydenham River or Chenal Ecarté we find in Dover Township south of and bounded by the Indian line of the 1790 surrender, on the north by the Chenal Ecarté on the southwest and by Bear Creek on the Sydenham River on the southeast lies that triangular tract of land in area some 950 acres known as the Baldoon farm. The property at one time of the Right Hon. Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk[2] of St. Mary's, Isle Kirkcudbright, Scotland.

Upon what understanding he became possessor of these lands, whether upon condition of settlement is not very well known, but that he received absolute title to the same as also to lands adjoining south of Bear Creek by patents, the former bearing date 18th March, 1806 and the latter at different times in 1806-1807, that he was also to receive, as was generally believed by the earliest settlers, the lands known as the Baldoon range of lots between Chatham and Bear Creek upon conditions of settlement similar to those enjoyed by Col. Talbot in the Lake Erie grants,

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June 27, 1907.

[2]See sketch of the Earl of Selkirk, Vols. XXXVI, p. 59, and XXXVII, p. 613, this series. The name "Dundas" is a mistake for "Douglas" in both sketches.

is also probable as the surveyor-general's instructions reputing certain surveys thereof said they were undertaken on the Earl's behalf.[3]

It may not be generally known that lot 24, Dover, 189 acres and lots 1-2 Chatham, 389 acres now forming the town of Chatham north of the River Thames, were patented to the Earl of Selkirk, 28th of March, 1807, at all events to the Baldoon farm so named after a Highland Scottish Parish. In 1804 the Earl came, with a company of Scotch people, to settle them on these lands. It would be impossible at this time to speculate as to his personal motives. Selkirk's arguments to induce the people to take part in his schemes were not without plausible exaggeration and honeyed words. He may have been a philanthropist but was just as surely an adventurer, and used those things necessary to forward his plans.

For weeks and months the subject of going to America to Canada was the sole text of conversation until about about a dozen families consented to take part in his schemes and started for America. The Isle of Mull was the home of nearly all who sought a home in the new country. Among those who first reached Baldoon were: Angus McDonald, farmer of Argyle, Daniel McDonald, piper of Argyle, Peter McDonald, school-teacher of Argyle, Allen McLean, farmer, Donald McCallum, farmer, Charles Morrison, Argyle, McPherson, farmer of Argyle, Buchanan, John McDonald, Albert McDonald of Argyle, John and Allen McDougall. Strange as it may seem the lands bordering on the Chenal Ecarté were not the low, marshy over-flowed lands of today. The banks were at all places well defined and the mistake made by Selkirk was more in the light of later events than of the dates of which I write. There has been a gradual transformation by the rising of the water. The Earl had provided that each family should have a farm of its own and land which could soonest be brought into cultivation was selected and laid out along the river bank on the southeast side of the river Sydenham and just west of where the town line reaches the river. Selkirk also sought to provide material for the houses. Everything during the fall and winter that could be done was done toward preparing these houses and getting ready to break ground for cultivation in the spring, but with the few facilities for the work, sickness and the thousand and one other discouragements, there was little happiness and many a strong heart that never before weakened almost cursed the day when they set out for Baldoon.

The Isle of Mull from which these brave people sailed is the largest of the Inner Hebrides and belongs to the county of Argyle. It is triangular and washed by the Atlantic on the west and north and on the north-

[3]Selkirk made application for land for his settlement in 1803. See *Letter from Lt. Gen. Hunter, Feb.* 28, 1803, Vol. XXIII, p. 429, this series.

east by the Sound of Mull. The comfortable homes from which they went looked out on a rugged head-land putting out into the ocean where its bluff and rocky base was continually lashed by the heavy swells. The somber old castle on its summit spoke only of the days when Mull itself had its clans and petty governments. When they sailed from Tobermory it was a sad parting; neighbors and friends flocked to the shore to say a last good-bye; parents giving a last embrace to their children whom they could not expect to see again.

The trip to Kirkaldy was uneventful but there they met their first disappointment. War had been declared between England and France and French privateers were on every sea. Selkirk thought it not safe to proceed and they settled down at Kirkaldy to wait for a year, anxious as they were to see their new home. At last on a beautiful May morning they went on board the good ship Oughton, the breeze hardly strong enough to fill the sails, and the sun in all its splendor marked old Scotland's shores bright and glorious, the low swell of the tide gave back its shining rays in one continuous reflection filling the hearts of most with pleasure as it denoted a safe and comfortable voyage. The first event on shipboard was of a sad nature. When out about three weeks a young boy, the brother of Mr. John Buchanan, was taken sick and buried at sea. There was a dead calm at the time, all preparations had been made. The ship had been made as trim as possible for the occasion and the sailors were dressed befittingly and stood in double file on each side of the remains. The captain read the burial service from the prayer book and the friends took a last sad look, then the body weighted by shot, was dropped overboard and immediately carried hundreds of fathoms below.

The sadness of the relatives was augmented by the sadness of such a burial and made an impression never to be forgotten, on the children who witnessed the burial at sea. It was five weeks before land was sighted. As large fog banks cleared away the banks of Newfoundland appeared. Another week elapsed before they reached Montreal. When they left the ship they naturally judged the whole country by what they saw first. The scenery at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River is wierd and majestic, and to tourists, furnish subjects for unlimited admiration. But the Highlanders were looking for a home, a place to till the soil expecting to own large fertile farms and the rock-bound shores somewhat modified their happy anticipations. There were seven hundred miles to travel before the home selected by Selkirk could be reached and there must be time to prepare for the long cold winter.

Arrangements were at once made to transport the people and their household goods around the La Chene Rapids in a long procession of French carts and, as it was a pleasant time of year, gave opportunity

to view the country and become somewhat acquainted with the quaint plodding French inhabitants and their manners. At La Chene they transferred to batteaux. Up to this time the journey had been comparatively easy. The men had not been called upon to exert themselves. They now found that progress meant steady and never ceasing work.

Kingston was at last reached and the first experience in batteaux was over. The next morning a little vessel, bound for Queenston, awaited them. As they were ready to sail Selkirk came on board. He had come by way of New York and hastened across the country to meet and give cheerful news of the new home in the west. It took four days to reach Queenston, and here they waited a few days to have the goods transported by portage around the Falls of Niagara. You may imagine their surprise at Niagara Falls as none had ever dreamed of their grandeur. A safe distance above the falls they resumed the batteaux and pulling slowly against the obstinate current wound their way to Lake Erie skirting the shores until they reached Amherstburg and after a short rest they came in open boats to Chenal Ecarté, landing early in September, 1804. At last they had reached the home nestling under the majestic elms.

One word in regard to the far-famed mysteries of Baldoon. Suffice it to say there was nothing that could not have been done by a sleight-of-hand performer. I have heard our grandfather say he watched closely for some days, and although unable to see who did the tricks, for such they were, he thought them the work of some one, either in spite or for simple play on the credulity of those in the home.[3]

Scarcely had they set foot upon their new settlement, when misfortunes overtook them. No proper provision had been made for their reception. The ship carpenters and others sent in advance to prepare cabins for their accommodation had decamped without accomplishing their purpose. It is said they had run off to Sandwich for fear of the Indians. Their position was terrible, their isolation complete. The nearest inhabitants were on the "Thames," seventeen miles distant, and accessible only by a devious trail, known to and attempted by few, across the Plains via. Big Point and the higher ground to "Dolsen's." Lot No. 5 on the river Dover, west. To the north and east the forest stretched unbroken. To the south and west extended the equally boundless St.

[3]The Baldoon mysteries here referred to were written up under the title of *The Belledoon Mysteries* by Niel McDonald and read like a fairy tale. The unfortunate family which suffered from these manifestations was that of John McDonald, son of Daniel. A great deal of testimony was taken in proof of these mysterious happenings of 1829-1830, but no plausible solution of the mystery was ever found. In the neighborhood were a school teacher and two soldiers of Fort Gratiot and when McDonald sought the protection of the law, these people disappeared. From that time the annoyances were never again experienced. This led many to attribute them to sleight of hand. *Original letters and pamphlet mentioned above.*

Clair and the expansive Grand Marais. Exposed to the intolerable heat of an August and September sun, to myriads of mosquitoes and poisonous insects, to the miasmatic vapors of a vegetable decaying soil and neighboring fetid bogs, barely covered with tents or some other off-hand and nondescript shelter which eventually had been provided, they fell sick with those dire diseases (malarial fever and dysentery) and no less than forty-two out of their original number fell victims the first season of their arrival.[4]

The particular spot at which these Highland Scottish Israelites effected a landing into the Baldoon land of promise was at a point where a "Sny" bends or cuts into the "farm" a little below and east of the small creek which enters the former stream there. Here, was erected shortly after the arrival of the settlers upon a knoll facing the "Sny" about 100 yards or so distant therefrom, and at a point pretty correctly marked by the old and solitary willow tree, the "Baldoon House" or "Castle" a story and half structure, which stood for several generations, and until the past few years, a well-known and historical landmark in that vast expanse of prairie landscape. A longish house, steep roofed, with a large verandah in front, at the ends of which and incorporated within it, were built two small apartments used as storerooms or pantries. From the "Castle" a row of cabins, which the Earl had erected for the settlers who were to occupy the lands on the northwest side of the farm, the eastern portion of the same on Bear Creek being reserved for his private sheep, whose sheepfold lay near the stream and whose site is now, in 1881, bearing for Mr. Little of Wallaceburg, a very heavy crop of onions. A little east and south of the "Castle" stood a storehouse erected for the general benefit, and attached to which in log hewn pens, were housed the horned cattle and barnyard animals. North and slightly eastward and not far distant on another elevated knoll, lay exposed to the summer's midday sun and the winter's northern blasts, the little "God's acre" of the colony, a spot in which were laid to rest for their long sleep, after their wearied journey over sea, after many trials and grievous sickness, in the delirium of which they dreamed of their beloved Scottish hillsides and homes, those of the pilgrim band, fathers, mothers, children who died the year of their arrival.

No spot in the history of the settlements of the county is so replete with associations of so sad and melancholy a character. The most callous, the most unsympathetic, could scarce view that forlorn and neglected spot without a tightening of the heart, a moistening of the eye. Here, too, but at some distance and towards the gore or point, was erected by Laughlin McDougall, probably with the Earl's consent, about the termination of the War of 1812-1814, the old Windmill whose broad

[4]See letter of Selkirk to Lt. Gen. Peter Hunter, Feb. 1, 1805, Vol. XXIII, p. 433-4 this series.

sail arms for many years formed a familiar and grateful guidepost for wearied travelers and early navigators of the Chenal Ecarté and Bear Creek. Nor was the location devoid of interesting reminiscences of a less sorrowful character. In the "Castle" in the year 1814, the American General McArthur fed and feasted and maybe in company with his more friendly Scottish brethren of Baldoon, whilst in the neighborhood along the "Sny" and Bear Creek, bivouacked his rugged troopers. So fed the same year Yankee Capt. Forsyth and his soldiers, less generous, however than the former, for it was he, not McArthur, that plundered Baldoon of its sheep and cattle, the settlers of their stores, and even the Earl of his dress and small clothes, which latter with a marquee tent and other articles had been sent, in the early days of the colony in anticipation of his Lordship's extended visit, and in which garments Forsyth and his uncouth followers dressed and strutted to their own admiration. Here, also, the Earl's successor, the Hudson Bay trader Dr. John McNab and his squaw spouse, "kept hall" and watched his flocks; and here, too, lived, preceded him in occupation, and following him next in possession, Indian Agent 'Squire William Jones. These lands that knew the Earl now, know his family not. Settled under his auspices a little in advance of, but concurrently with the lands on the Red River[5] of the North, the lands of Baldoon, which at one time gave promise of a successful future, are now at best wettish meadows. The Lands of Selkirk, or Red River are supporting a large, increasing population, and sustain on the banks of the river of that name, in the city of Winnipeg, a town of 12,000 inhabitants.

But in that year, by treaty dated 7th Sept., 1797, the principal chiefs, warriors and people of the Chippewa Nation of Indians did, by an instrument under their picture signatures (totems) surrender and convey unto His Majesty, King George III, for and in consideration of the sum of eight hundred pounds (Quebec currency), value in goods, estimated according to the Montreal price all and singular that tract of land lying north of the Indian line and east of the St. Clair, in area about twelve miles square, and comprising within its boundaries the western portion of Chatham Gore above named, said instrument being subscribed to by thirteen Chippewa Chiefs as principals, three Ottawa chiefs as witnesses, four interpreters, six Indian and Western District officials, and the representative of His Majesty, Alex. McKee, D. S. G., D. I. G., I. A.

"I shall be well satisfied to have you for one of my tenants, and the terms proposed are such that you will find more for your advantage than to take up a lot of land for yourself.

[5]Red River Settlement was made by Scotch and Irish in the fall of 1812. See *Selkirk Correspondence; Letter-book of Captain Miles Macdonell, Canadian Archives*, 1886, *Note E.*

"It is my intention to let the farm of Baldoon, with the sheep and other stock on shares, according to a plan which I have explained to Mr. Clark, of Queenston.

"I am yours, &c.,

"Selkirk."

"To Lionel Johnson."

The reason for the abandonment of Baldoon by the greater part of the settlers was primarily the rising of the waters. No doubt the cause so often contributing to change of residence that is, the idea of bettering our conditions, led some to go.

Mr. Angus McDonald, printer came to Michigan buying the land where Algonac is now situated. Mr. J. K. Smith married Miss Catherine McDonald and she lived to a good old age, in the Smith mansion, at Algonac and was the mother of Abram Smith esquire of that place, Mr. Samuel Lattee Smith of Detroit, Mr. Angus Smith of Milwaukee and several elegant and accomplished daughters. One of the direct descendants married a descendant of Cadillac. One is the wife of a Bishop, while many married men who have risen to high positions in the Dominion of Canada. My grandfather Hugh McCallum was an only son in a family of sisters whose father and mother died in one month after reaching Baldoon; of fine physique and good education he was, although very young, a leader. He was a teacher, and as it is called in Canada, a writer and was doing the work of a conveyancer and was the great friend of all who trusted their business to him. At the breaking out of the War of 1812 he volunteered, remaining all through the war. At the siege of Detroit he was awarded a medal for gallantry, afterward when many of the Baldoon people went to the Falls of Bear Creek he followed. About two miles from Baldoon he surveyed and platted the village and named it Wallaceburg, after the Scottish Chief Sir William Wallace. He was the first postmaster and merchant. On the breaking out of the Rebellion he raised a company and was made captain.

I have in my possession many letters written to my grandfather by the Earl of Selkirk, his agents, surveyor-general, postmaster-general and men prominent in law and business at that time, in Detroit, Sandwich and Toronto, showing the difficulty of postal facilities or of obtaining paper, postage and quills for pens.

I have also a number of articles, among them my great-grandmother's Psalm Book in Gaelic brought by her from the Isle of Mull to Baldoon, an arithmetic of my Grandfather's and a book on navigation, that are all over 100 years old. The Psalm Book was published in 1777. It is, indeed, a far way from Scotland to Baldoon but who shall say that the coming was vain or in any way to be regretted.

OLD FORT HOLMES[1]

BY PETER WHITE[2]

There is something about the magic words fort, fortress, fortification, that attracts the attention and arouses the curiosity of most of us. To those who have been permitted to live or travel in the region of the Straits of Mackinac the words have a deeper meaning. A circle described with its center on the Island of Mackinac and its diameter reaching to the Soo will include more historic spots than any other territory of equal size in the United States west of the Alleghany Mountains.

Since 1679 there have always been stationed within this area detachments of troops either under the flag of France, England or the United States. The establishment of the palisaded fort at St. Ignace by La Salle in 1679 under the name of Michillimackinac, from which floated the Flag of France, its transfer to the south side of the Straits in 1712,[3] where it was the scene of the Pontiac massacre in 1763, and its transfer under the flag of England to the Island of Michillimackinac in 1780,[4] still retaining its same name, its surrender to the U. S. in 1796, its capture by the British in 1812 to be again surrendered in 1815, and its abandonment by the United States in 1895 are the connecting links in the long chain of historic years. It is not my purpose to dwell on the circumstances leading up to the building of the several forts or their abandonment, but I wish in a few words to throw some light upon the history of the grass grown moat and walls of old Fort Holmes, now the property of the State of Michigan and under the control of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, of which I have the honor to be the president.

After the close of the Revolution, or to be exact, in 1796, the forts and posts along the Northwest frontier were surrendered, and under orders from the War Department, Uriah Tracy made a trip of inspection and reported on their condition and needs. His letter which is on file in the War Department in so far as it relates to this territory, reads as follows:

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[1]Paper for the annual meeting, June, 1907, but not read owing to the illness of Mr. White. This is the last of several valuable papers given by him to this society.

[2]For memoir of Peter White, see Vol. XXXVII, pp. 620-639.

[3]Late in the fall of 1712, Vaudreuil sent out Sieur de Lignery with three boats to re-establish Fort Michilimackinac. When the fort was again mentioned it was located on the south side of the strait. Vol. XXXIII, p. 571, this series, and *Early Mackinac* by Meade C. Williams, p. 18.

[4]Transferred to the island: Correspondence relating to this will be found in Vols. IX and X, this series.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 20th, 1800.

Hon. Samuel Dexter, Sec. of War:

In consequence of your predecessor's request to visit the posts in the Western territory, I proceeded to Plattsburg, ———— and on to Fort Michillimackinac.

Our Fort at Michillimackinac from every consideration is one of the most important posts we hold on our western frontier. It stands on an island in the strait which leads from Lake Michigan into Lake Huron four or five miles from the head of the strait. The fort is an irregular work partly built with a strong wall and partly with pickets; and the parade ground within it is from 100 to 125 feet above the surface of the water. It contains a well of never failing water, a boom (bomb) proof used as a magazine, one stone barracks for the use of the officers, equal if not superior to any building of the kind in the United States: a good guardhouse and barracks for soldiers and convenient storehouse for provisions, etc., with three strong and convenient block houses. This post is strong, both by nature and art, and the possession of it has great influence with the Indians in favor of the United States. The whole island on which the fort of Michillimackinac is situated belongs to the United States and is five or six miles in length and two or three miles in width. On the bank of the strait adjacent to the fort stands a large house which was by the English called "Government House" and kept by the British commandant of the fort which now belongs to the United States.

The Island and country about it is remarkably healthy and very fertile for so high a northern latitude.

(Signed)
URIAH TRACY.

The breaking out of the war of 1812 found the Fort garrisoned by only fifty-seven soldiers, ignorant that war had been declared and consequently wholly unprepared to defend itself. From the report of Capt. Roberts commanding the British forces, we learn that he utilized the heights above the fort for the mounting of his cannon and was able to force immediate surrender of Fort Michillimackinac. In fact the Articles of Capitulation are headed: "Heights Above Fort Michillimackinac."

We have not been able to find in any of the correspondence that anything further was done upon these heights for over fifteen months. Capt. Bullock, the commandant, in a letter to Noah Freer,[5] Military Secretary, Montreal, under date of Oct. 3, 1813, says, "Mr. Dickson[6] (Indian agent) and I have consulted together as to the means of defense for the security of Michillimackinac and we are all of the opinion that a reinforcement

[5]See Vol. XVI, second edition, this series, note in appendix, p. 40.
[6]See Vol. XVI, second edition, this series, note in appendix, p. 1.

of at least 200 men, with an officer of Engineers and twenty Artillery men would be required; a stockaded block-house (with a well inside stockade) would also be most essentially necessary to be built on an height about 900 yards in rear of the fort. This height completely commands the Fort and should an enemy with cannon once get possession of it the fort must consequently fall."

His recommendations evidently bore fruit, as a letter to Gen. Drummond, dated July 17, 1814, signed R. McDonald (McDouall)[7] says: "I am doing my utmost to prepare for their reception (the American forces). Our new works on the hill overlooking the old fort are nearly completed and the blockhouses in the center will be finished this week, which will make this position one of the strongest in Canada. Its principal defect is the difficulty of finding water near it, but that obviated and a sufficient supply of provisions laid in, no force that the enemy can bring will be able to reduce it."

There is no evidence to show that it was used at the time of the battle on the north side of the Island except as a reserve point.

Later, through a letter written to Capt. Bulger by Lieut. Col. McDouall, we learn that by the 1st of March, 1815, he says: "Fort George[8] greatly improved and in a progressive state of improvement; the block-house to be unroofed and lowered and the long gun mounted on a circular pivot, the ditch still more widened and deepened, and the glacis raised to a height that will nearly cover the Fort. With immense labor stores and magazines have been excavated in the hill close to the entrance of Fort George, and neatly finished, which are bomb proof, and will hold all our provisions and valuables, a bakery now going on, also undertanks for 400 bbls. of water, making in case we do not find spring, and the hill itself surrounded by an abattis of great extent. Depend on it that the greatest difficulties insensibly diminish on being resolutely encountered."

After Fort Michillimackinac was restored to the United States in July, 1815, the name of the fort on the heights was changed to Fort Holmes in honor of Major Andrew Hunter Holmes, who was killed in the attempted recapture of the Fort a year before. It was garrisoned for a few months, when it was abandoned and later the blockhouse was taken down and used as a stable in front of Fort Michillimackinac. Major Holmes[9] was a Kentuckian, a very popular and gallant officer,

[7]McDouall. See Vol. XVI, second edition, this series, note in appendix, p. 27.

[8]This was called Fort George by the British as a compliment to their king.

[9]Maj. Holmes of the 32nd Regiment, was second in command in Col. George Croghan's attack upon Mackinac in 1814. His body was sent to Detroit and was buried in the old cemetery on the corner of Larned street and Woodward avenue. Later it was removed to the Protestant cemetery near Gratiot, Beaubien and Antoine streets. Meade C. Williams in *Early Mackinac* says that he was a promising young Virginian and knew Thomas Jefferson. Heitman's *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* states that he enlisted in Mississippi. *Annals of Fort Mackinac by Kelton*, pp. 47, 51.

and belonged to the 32nd Infantry. He was shot in five (5) places at once.

Capt. C. Gratiot[10] gives us some light on both forts in his letters and also with the plan he made and forwarded at the time of his visit here in 1817. Writing from Detroit on Feb. 10th, 1816, he says: "Your letter relating to Michillimackinac came safely to hand. The importance of its possession has been fully demonstrated during the late war and it has also proven that it has secured to those in possession an uninterrupted intercourse with the Indian tribes residing on the borders of Lake Michigan and the waters of the Illinois and Mississippi river. Had it not fallen, as it did in 1812, the enemy never could have been able to call together such large bands of Indians as he kept engaged on the frontier prior to the recapture of the country by Gen. Harrison; and it is also well known that to the condition of these Indians the disasters which attended our arms in these quarters may be attributed. Its geographical situation is admirably fixed to intercept all intercourse between Lake Huron and Lake Mich. Permanent possession of it by the government ought, in my opinion, to be considered of immense importance for the future safety of the whole northwest territory."

On the 25th of November, 1817, he writes as follows: "The present work on the heights (Fort Holmes), the plan and section of which are herewith enclosed, consists of a wooden blockhouse enclosed by a thin rampart refitted with small pieces of timbers mounting four pieces of traveling carriages.

"This work was thrown up by the English whilst in possession of the Island during the late war as an important rallying point in case of attack. Its dimensions, together with its construction, does not present a sufficient defense to recommend its reconstruction in permanent material.

"Fort Mackinac, a plan and section of which are also enclosed, requires no further repairs than the renewal of its platform. This post must necessarily be kept up as it is in the channel of communication between Ft. Holmes and the harbor."

The following year Capt. Gratiot made a study of the fort and drew up a complete plan for rebuilding Fort Holmes, which plan (consisting

[10]Charles Gratiot was born in Missouri in 1788 and died in St. Louis, May 18, 1855. He graduated at the United States military academy in 1806. He was chief engineer of Harrison's army in 1813-14 when he was breveted colonel. He was in the defense of Fort Meigs in 1813 and the attack on Fort Mackinac in 1814. In 1815 he was appointed major of engineers and steadily rose through the ranks. In 1828 he was in charge of the Engineer Bureau of Washington, D. C. In May of that year he was breveted brigadier general and was appointed inspector of West Point. Dec. 6, 1838, he was dismissed by the President for having failed to pay into the treasury money entrusted to him for public purposes. He was a clerk in the land office in Washington from 1840-1855, when he died, destitute. Fort Gratiot was named after him, also Gratiot villages in Wisconsin and Michigan. *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography.*

of fifteen sheets) is now on file in the War Department. In 1820 the buildings were used for other purposes and Fort Holmes became the prey of the relic hunter. Three years ago when the Commission started to create a park in front of Fort Mackinac, it was necessary to remove the old buildings there and among them was the old blockhouse. The timbers were saved and this spring the old building was restored to its original position. The last legislature appropriated the sum of $800 toward the work of restoration. The War Department has kindly arranged to furnish guns of as near the pattern of that period as they have and when all is completed we would ask and invite the Society to hold a meeting within its historic walls.

FORT MICHILIMACKINAC

Old Fort Michilimackinac, (Mackinac) is known to more of the people of these United States than any other fortification now standing. Its snow-white walls have for 125 years attracted the attention of the passing voyager, and as he approached the shore below he marveled at the strange picture on the heights above, the mixture of medieval and modern. In these happy days of peace it is the Mecca of thousands of visitors from every state of the Union and, although no bluecoated sentinel meets one at its gates, the feeling of security is impressed as soon as one passes over the drawbridge and enters the sally-port.

For over 230 years the name of Fort Michilimackinac has been known from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the most northern inhabited point of this continent to the Gulf of Mexico. Over its walls, in its several locations, has floated the flags of France, England and the United States. For its possession wars and intrigues have, up to the close of the war of 1812, been going on. Indian massacre and starvation have depleted the ranks of its brave defenders and could all the records of councils of the Indians and the councils of the French and English colonial departments become known, it would be found that this post was considered of more value than any other two posts controlled by the countries interested.

To the hardy French, with their love of adventure, religous zeal and trading instinct, we are indebted for the early exploration and final settlement of this region. The traders, pushing out from the settlements along the St. Lawrence River in small barques and batteaux, manned by the half-breed inhabitants of that region, reinforced by soldiers in search of fortune and renown, always had a member of the Society of Jesus along with them. Starting out with sword in one

hand and the Bible and Cross in the other, they intended to form new empires and expected to open and control, with the contents of one hand or the other, the commerce and trade of the unexplored regions beyond. Meager indeed were the facilities of transportation and communication. Few members of these expeditions took the trouble to record their adventures and from mere fragments of piecemeal journals, the later day historian has not been able to give as concise a story as we could wish. A correction to the above can be made in part when we refer to the records of Marquette, La Salle and Joliet. In fact, it is to the writings of these that we are able to form an idea of this region at the time Fort Michilimackinac was established.

In 1671 Father Marquette had established a mission at St. Ignace and had attracted to him the friendly Indians near there. La Salle came in the year 1673, during the month of August, after a stormy passage up the Lakes, in the barque Griffon in which he noted the woody cliffs of the turtle-shaped Isle of Michilimackinac standing out in the clear air, a guardian sentinel of the harbor of St. Ignace.

Anchor was cast in the little bay, now the busy scene of shipping and, with many a salute, the entire party landed to offer up, in the little rough chapel built some years before by Marquette, thanks for their safe voyage. La Salle found a palisaded fort built and occupied by the friendly Hurons. After the religious ceremonies were over the trading spirit was pre-eminent and La Salle was able to secure from the country around a cargo of furs. The Griffon, under the command of the pilot set sail, it being the intention of those on board to return the following spring with fresh supplies and rigging for another boat. But in her passage down the lakes, she somewhere was struck by one of those September storms common to this region even to this day, and found an unknown grave. La Salle remained and built the first Fort Michilimackinac, overlooking the Bay of St. Ignace, where he had cast anchor a short time before. On a tall staff at the gate floated the flag of France.

From this time on trade flourished and in 1694 Cadillac[11] came with a detachment to strengthen the fort and protect the increasing number of traders. At this time it was looked upon as one of the strategic points and to conciliate all parties was the immediate task Cadillac found before him. Under successive commandants a garrison was kept here, but the government of New France desiring to make the settlement at Detroit the center of the fur trade offered such inducements as to cause most of the friendly Indians to migrate there followed by the ever-present trader. A settlement having grown up on the south side of the Straits the fort was moved over there in 1712 and the flag of France again raised over its walls. Thus was established the second Fort Michilimackinac.

[11]See Vol. XXXIII, p. 72, this series.

With the surrender of Canada and its dependencies after the battle of the Plains of Abraham, the province of Michilimackinac and the fort was transferred to England and the French domain in this region was extinguished forever. The Indians did not take well to the new garrison. The English traders were not as liberal in their dealings as the French had been and one complaint brought on another. Wampum belts were circulated and when, early in 1763, they found that in truth their French father had ceded them to the English King, their indignation was boundless. Messengers were sent from one tribe to another and it was resolved that upon a set day attacks should be made simultaneously upon the English forts.[12] June 4 was the birthday of the English King and in honor of the day the Chippewa Indians offered to play a game of ball with the Sacs outside the gates of the fort. The offer was accepted and that the garrison and traders could see the game the gates of the fort were left open and all were free to enter. A vast crowd had assembled and during the game the ball was purposely thrown over the stockade into the fort. In an instant 300 screaming savages were crowding through the gates into the Fort, drawing their tomahawks and filling the air with their war cries. But few of the garrison and inhabitants were saved and the trials and sufferings of the survivors were such as to keep others away from the place for a few years. The fort was without a garrison until 1767 and during the early years of the Revolution the walls were strengthened and the garrison added to. But fearful of attack by the forces of the United States, Major De Peyster, in November, 1779, sent over men and supplies to the Island of Michilimackinac for the erection of the third Fort Michilimackinac.

It was first occupied by the English troops on the 15th of July, 1780. While the fort was not completed at that time, enough had been done on it to make it safe from surprise and to serve as a good depot for supplies. The walls with the blockhouses were built and buildings for the officers and men were erected as fast as the material was ready. After the close of the Revolution the surrender of this fort to the United States was the subject of much correspondence and it was not turned over until 1796.

Until the opening of the war of 1812 it was occupied by a small detachment of United States troops and, when the British forces came down from St. Joseph's Island on the 17th of July, 1812, demanding and receiving its surrender, they found only fifty-seven men, including officers, in the garrison. Porter Hanks, the commanding officer, in his official report to General Hull, calls attention to the small garrison and to the fact that the opposing force was from 900 to 1,000 strong, the

[12]Pontiac's war. See Vol. XIX, this series, second edition.

greater part of whom were savages. Again the Flag of England was floating over the walls of Fort Michilimackinac. The British at once set in to add to the defences of the island and, when the forces of the United States, under the command of Colonel Croghan and Major Holmes, attempted its capture, they were defeated and the greater part of the attacking force with Major Holmes were killed. No other attempt was made to effect its capture and, after the war was over, it was surrendered to the forces of the United States and was the last place occupied by the British troops and the final act of the drama. The Stars and Stripes were raised on the 18th day of July, 1815, and have ever since floated from the walls. Although the garrison was removed in 1895, it is still kept up ready to defend the liberties and rights of the people of the land of the free and the sunrise and sunset guns awake the peaceful retreats of this Fairy Isle.

Today we have the same walls, blockhouses and buildings that were erected years ago. There are but five original blockhouses of that period standing in the United States and we have three of them here, grim remainders of the days of savage warfare. The old stone quarters built and used as officers' quarters since 1780 are standing and, with the care given them, will stand for 125 years longer. The old sally-ports, with the attendant drawbridge and portcullis, call attention to the days when the foe most dreaded was near at hand.

Three forts and three flags are all within sight of each other and to-day the ruins of the other two forts can be traced in the crumbling walls at St. Ignace and Mackinaw City.

EARLY DAYS IN GRAND RAPIDS[1]

BY MISS LUCY BALL

In 1836 my father, John Ball,[2] was practicing law in Troy, New York. It was a year when conservative eastern capitalists speculated wildly in western government lands. Some of father's friends, knowing his love of travel, proposed to him that he take their capital west and buy and sell land on speculation. Father readily accepted the offer.

He left Troy July 31st, 1836, in company with a Mr. William Mann. They crossed New York state by railroad to Utica then by the Erie Canal to Buffalo; from there they went by steamboat to Toledo and Detroit. It took them one week to make the journey. They found cor-

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June 27, 1907.
[2]See biographical sketch, Vol. VII, pp. 496-509, this series.

ner lots in Detroit too high to promise any advance, so they took the steamboat for Monroe. Father had a letter of introduction from the Hon. Job Pierson,[3] a representative of New York state from the Troy District, to the Hon. Austin E. Wing, delegate from the Territory of Michigan, and a resident of Monroe. Monroe at that time claimed to be the business place for all the south part of the state with the best kinds of prospects for growth; but they decided to go on to Toledo, and also went up the Maumee River to Maumee and Perrysburg, but could not decide to make any purchases. On returning to Monroe, Mr. Mann was taken ill, so, leaving him behind, father determined to investigate government lands that were still to be had in Hillsdale county.

In looking over father's papers I find a copy of a letter he sent at that time to Mr. Mann. There is no date on it but it was probably written the last part of August, 1836. His first impressions are so original that I will make copious extracts from this paper. There are no entries for the first and second days when he was in Lenawee county.

The memorandum begins thus:

"Third day of Departure: Having fallen in with a Mr. Treat of New York State, going to Jonesville to see a land agent and get land, etc., and finding so poor a chance in Lenawee, I resolved to go to Hillsdale, but on Sunday morning the stage was so full and they went on and left us. But we got onto a load of oats and went as far as Springville, twelve miles, and stopped.

"Fourth Day: First stage full but an extra carried us to Jonesville over hill and by lake, much poor land. My New York companion did not find his agent and was all up a tree.

"Fifth Day: Hired a horse, rode seven miles into T. 6 S. R. 2 W., found a young man that knew the lay of the land, having ranged much. Left my horse, sallied out with him four miles through wood marsh and into a tamarack swamp and there we found the two vacant lots we were in search of, not two inches good land on them.

"Sixth Day: Took horses, went into T. 8 S. R. 2 W., to a Mr. Bird's, the only settler in the town; left horses and went into T. 7 S. R. 3 W., and looked at three lots; these some better, though not good, returned, slept in same room with men, women, etc.

"Seventh Day: Started out early, could not find line, so dark, and in half an hour came on to rain hard, came back dripping, laid by till it broke away in P. M., and then went out in wet bush in T. 8 S. R. 2 W., and traveled six or seven miles, saw three lots not worth seeing; came in wet and disheartened.

"Eighth Day: Good weather, went into T. 8 S. R. 3 W., and ranged

[3]Job Pierson, one of the first board of directors of the Bank of the City of Troy, elected July 10, 1833.

over land through briars and brambles; came back, took horses and came to young man's house.

"Ninth Day: Came early into Jonesville, turned shirt, (to those acquainted with father's immaculateness in personal attire this shows the situation truly desperate), and got your letter, it did me good to learn you were better but found myself quite in the fog to know what next to do, wish! how much I was with you to see if we could not unravel something. The offices are closed, the land poor and our funds too low for even them."

The tenth day found Mr. Ball at Jonesville. His discouragement and embarrassment were complete. "Thought of going to the Grand River country, or the Indiana, or the Lord knows where," but finally, on learning that the offices were closed so there was no buying the lands "they perhaps would not want" and further that specie was only accepted he resolved to return by stage to Monroe, but found that the stage was full. Still by breakfast time an empty wagon came along so he jumped in and came to within four miles of Tecumseh.

"Eleventh Day: Came on to Tecumseh and then was dropped again and found another chance to Monroe, but conceive my surprise and disappointment at finding that you had departed without leaving any word. Yes, they said you did say something but they knew not what. It was cursed provoking I will assure you.

"Twelfth Day: Went with Mr. Bukly (Buckley[4]) out south on a fine pony to see the country; found it better than I had expected. Is not a lot with a house and thirty acres improved, at $1,000, a good purchase?

"Thirteenth Day: Lounged, etc.

Fourteenth Day: Lounged and talked at night to Mr. Richard Mann, who came in from Toledo, thought strange not to find you with me.

"Fifteenth Day: Went about the place with Richard Mann.

"Sixteenth Day: Rode out with Mann to see the country, purchased two farms of three hundred and twenty acres." (This purchase in Monroe proved to be a losing venture.)

The memorandum then gives a description of various pieces of land in T. 7 and 8 S. R. 3 W., being the south part of Hillsdale County. He then adds:

"The above I have seen, yes, and many more that the devil would flee from; no real good ones are left us; besides I have information on which I can rely that the E. ½ of the S. E. ¼, Sec. 7 T. 7 S. R. 2 W., is better than any I have seen, except no water, and if I take it up must

[4]This is undoubtedly Gershom Taintor Buckley who was born at Colchester, Conn., March 8, 1780, removed to Williamstown, Mass., when a young man, was in the war of 1812 and was commissioned major of cavalry. In 1836 he moved to Monroe. In 1844 he was appointed register of the United States land office. He died at Monroe on Oct. 16, 1862. *Wing's History of Monroe Co.*, pp. 311-312.

pay $2 for they were to sell it to another man. And the N. W. ¼ of Sec. 34, in same township, may not be taken though they say a man has gone after it. It has timber and is well worth taking as any left, they say, and I rely upon it.

"Should the best that I have described be taken, let the whole go to the bugs, for all I care, still I leave the whole to your judgment."

Mr. Ball arrived in Detroit after this trip the twelfth day of September.

Quite disheartened he returned to Troy. His friends were not at all discouraged and sent him back. A land office had been opened in Ionia for the sale of the lands in the Grand River Valley, and he was told to try his luck there. He returned to Detroit October 1st, bought a horse and started for Kalamazoo by the territorial road. He found company in eastern friends until he reached Kalamazoo, and on the suggestion that they continue with him to Ionia they said that they would not risk their lives and health in any such enterprise, so alone he turned northward, spending the first night at Yankee Springs, where Mr. Lewis had a log cabin. My father in common with all the travelers of that day always paid a glowing eulogy to the hospitality he received at Yankee Lewis' Tavern. Mrs. Lewis had the best of suppers, and there was the biggest of fires in the fire place to welcome the hungry traveler. The next day he stopped at Mr. Leonard's on the Thornapple, night brought him at Mr. Daniel Marsac's at Lowell. Following the Indian trail he reached Ionia the next day. Ionia at that time consisted of a half dozen houses, the land office and a tavern. After studying the maps at the land office he started for Grand Rapids, arriving there Oct. 18th, 1836.

He described Grand Rapids at that time as being inhabited by half French people, who had followed Louis Campau, and half speculators, like himself, and a very lively little place. Mr. Louis Campau's house situated where the Widdicomb Building now stands, and Richard Godfroy's[5] house, standing on the site of the Aldrich Block, were the most pretentious houses. There were a few small houses on Waterloo, now Market street, and warehouses on the river. The Eagle Tavern was the only hotel; the Bridge Street House was just started. There were also a few houses north of Monroe street, but lots were selling at fifty dollars a foot on Canal and Kent streets, so father thought it no place to speculate in, and immediately started for the woods, locating and purchasing lands in Allegan and Barry counties.

I can not tell all of his adventures in locating land, but one of his trips was in Ottawa county. He and Mr. Anderson started from Ionia,

[5]Richard Godfrey. Mr. Godfrey's house was burned and two women burned in it. See sketch of Godfrey, Vol. VI, pp. 331-2, this series; *Kent Co. History*, p. 821.

spending the night in Grand Rapids, and before breakfast the next morning went to Grandville. They went to the house of Mr. Charles Oakes, who protested that he could not feed them though he would care for their horses while they went into the woods, but after some urging Mrs. Oakes got them a scanty breakfast. I want to say a word right here of Mrs. Charles Oakes.* Her father was an Indian trader by the name of Boliou of Mackinaw Island. He had married an Indian wife and they had two daughters, who were carefully educated in Mr. W. M. Ferry's mission.[6] One daughter married Mr. Charles Oakes of Boston and the other a Danish gentleman by the name of Borup. Mr. Charles Oakes was connected with the Grandville Company that laid out and platted Grandville, being one of the first settlers there. Both families went from there to the Upper Peninsula and afterwards settled in St. Paul, and became very wealthy and their descendants are still living in that city. This Mrs. Oakes has translated a number of beautiful Indian legends and songs which are to be found in Schoolcraft's "Algic Researches."

But to continue the story of this trip:

They were sent on to Rush Creek where a sawmill was being built, and Mr. Boynton[7] kept a boarding house, to get supplies to take into the woods. Mrs. Boynton had no bread for them, and they were forced to wait while she baked them a loaf of unleavened bread, so with this and some raw beef they started to locate some pine lands of which Mr. Anderson had a memorandum.

They started due west on the section line, and after walking all day, did not find their pine lands, so roasting their beef by the fire, they rolled themselves in their blankets and lay down to sleep as best they could, though the howling of the wolves and the tramping of the deer could be heard all around them. The next day, on going a little farther, they came into a dense forest of beautiful pine and spent the day trying to learn its extent. They slept that night without their supper, saving the little they had left for breakfast. They continued their prospecting the next morning but warned by their failing strength they started north thinking to find a road between Grand Haven and Grand-

*Mrs. Oakes was Julia Beaulieu or Boliou as it was sometimes spelled. Her sister Elizabeth married Mr. Borup. Charles H. Oakes was one of the early prominent traders among the Ojibways, who commenced in opposition to the Astor Fur Co., but was soon bought out and engaged by that company. See *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. V, pp. 384-5. Mrs. Oakes' Indian name, as found in the Treaty of Aug. 5, 1826, is Teegaushau. *McKenney's Tour of the Lakes*, p. 484. For biographical sketch of both men, see *History of St. Paul, Minn., Biography*, pp. 38 and 210.

[6]See Ottawas' Old Settlers, Vol. XXX, p. 573; Vol. IX, p. 238, this series.

[7]There were three Boyntons, Nathan, Jerry and William. Nathan came first in 1836 and started to build a log house but falling ill he returned to Grandville in August and asked his brothers to finish it for him. This they did. See *History of Kent Co.*, pp. 205, 236, 242.

ville. They did strike an Indian trail and some Indians, whom they tried to induce to take them up the river in their canoes, but the Indians were going on a hunting expedition and the silver dollars offered were no inducement to them. So they footed it the best they could and night overtook them again before they reached the settlement. The next morning found them near Grandville, and fortunately there was a supply of food, to which, after being out three days on one day's rations, they did ample justice.

A little later Mr. Ball returned and located 2,500 acres of pine land. These pine lands had oak openings, and there grew the largest oak that was even seen in Michigan. It was seven feet in diameter and had a clean trunk about seventy feet high with a beautiful spreading top. It was cut down and sent east for navy purposes.

The winter of 1836 and '37 was an open one and was spent by Mr. Ball in camp or on horseback. He explored through the counties of Kent, Ottawa and Muskegon. At one time he went down the Grand River in a sleigh to Grand Haven and there made the acquaintance of Mr. W. M. Ferry, Mr. Luke White and Mr. T. D. Gilbert, lifelong friends. In the spring of '37 he was poled down the Grand River by Capt. Sibley[8] and his men, and walked up the beach to Muskegon where he found the Indian traders, Mr. Joseph Troutier[9] and Mr. William Lasley.[10]

[8]This was undoubtedly Ebenezer Sproat Sibley who had from 1830 been interested in the roads which were then being built through the forests. In 1830 he was superintendent for construction of the road from Detroit to Chicago and in 1833, the Saginaw road. In 1838 he was delegated to pay the Grand River Indians their annuity and Charles H. Oakes witnessed the pay rolls. Col. Sibley was born in Marietta, Ohio, June 6, 1805. His father was Solomon Sibley and his mother Sarah Sproat. They came to Detroit shortly after this. Ebenezer graduated from West Point, served under Gen. Scott in the Black Hawk war and commanded troops under Brady in the Patriot war. In the Mexican war he served on the staff of Gen. Taylor as assistant quartermaster and was breveted major for his gallantry at the battle of Buena Vista. He was on duty at Fort Leavenworth when on account of ill health he resigned and returned to Detroit, 1864. He married twice; his first wife, Harriet L. Hunt, was the daughter of Judge Hunt of Washington, D. C.; the wedding occurred in Detroit, May, 1831, at the home of Gen. Charles Larned and is described by Friend Palmer in "Early Days in Detroit." His second marriage occurred March 23, 1843, at Savannah, when he married Maria A. Cuyler, daughter of Judge Cuyler of that city. He died Aug. 13, 1884, leaving two sons, Frederick T. and Henry S. Sibley. See *Historical Register and Directory of United States Army; Detroit Free Press, Aug. 14, 1884; Detroit Daily Advertiser, April 11, 1843; Michigan Courier, May 29, 1833; Early Days in Detroit by Palmer; Cullum's Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of West Point.*

[9]Joseph Troutier was the second settler on Muskegon lake. He was born in Mackinac, Aug. 9, 1812, and resided there until coming to Muskegon in 1835. He traded with the Indians and in 1836 assisted in forming the treaty by which the Indians gave up the lands lying north of the Grand river. *Memorials of Grand River Valley*, pp. 436-7.

[10]William Lasley was of French origin, born in Pennsylvania. He early went to Mackinac and settled in Muskegon in 1835, trading with the Indians In 1852 he sold his mill and retiring from business died in 1853. He married Louise Constant, "Lisette," daughter of Pierre Constant and an Indian woman. She lived to be quite aged in Oshkosh, Wis. They had a son, Henry S. Lasley, a prominent merchant of Montague, Muskegon Co. *Memorials of Grand River Valley*, pp. 437, 525.

The former had a clerk, Martin Ryerson,[11] who afterwards became the millionaire lumberman. On returning to Grand Haven, he came back in a log canoe. Paddling up the river in a log canoe is not the most enjoyable way of navigation, and he got off at Mr. Yeomans',[12] the only settler on the river below Grandville, stopped there over night and footed it the rest of the way.

In the spring of 1837, Mr. Ball took up his residence permanently in Grand Rapids, boarding at the Eagle Tavern, which was then kept by Louis Moran.[13] He was obliged to make many trips to Detroit to change his notes and drafts into specie as President Jackson had decreed that only specie could be exchanged for Government land. He took this trip in as many different ways as was possible, the two principal ones being either by Battle Creek on the territorial road, or by the northern route, as it was called, which from Detroit brought the traveler the first day to Kingston, the next to Mr. Williams'[14] on the Shiawassee, the next to Mr. Scotts'[15] on the Looking Glass, these being the only settlers in Shiawassee and Clinton counties. At one time he stopped at Mr. Edward Robinsons'[16] who lived in a log house a mile below Ada. He had a baker's dozen of children but still welcomed the traveler to his small quarters.

This continued travelling soon made him well known to all the isolated settlers in Michigan. It was also known that in politics he was a Democrat or Jackson man, having first voted for Andrew Jackson in 1824. In the fall of 1837 Governor Mason was up for re-election and Mr. Ball was nominated on the same ticket for State Representative for the unorganized counties of Ottawa, Kent, Ionia and Clinton. I find among father's papers a curious old dodger gotten out by Mr. Mason's opponent,

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[11]Martyn Ryerson was born near Paterson, N. J., Jan. 6, 1818. In 1834 he came to Michigan, reaching Grand Rapids in September. He was soon in the employ of Richard Godfrey, and in 1836 (May) he went to Muskegon in the employ of Joseph Troutier. In 1841 he went into the milling business. In 1851 he moved to Chicago where he remained the rest of his life. *Memorials of Grand River Valley*, pp. 437-9.

[12]Erastus Yeomans and his family came to Ionia county in the spring of 1833. See sketch, Vol. VI, p. 303, this series.

[13]The Moran family were of French extraction, coming to Detroit soon after Cadillac. The homestead was on Woodbridge St., and was demolished only a few years since. Louis went to Grand Rapids in 1833 to work for Louis Campau. He kept a tavern at Scales Prairie and then moved to Grand Rapids in the Eagle, a log tavern very primitive, the beds being of prairie grass called prairie feathers. In 1837 he met with reverses and cheerfully became a teamster. After his father's death he acquired considerable property. He married a daughter of Judge May.

[14]Alfred L. Williams purchased of the government in August, 1831, and settled upon it soon after. John I. Tinklepaugh was the first settler and farmer who brought his family with him into this country. See Vol. II, p. 479, this series; *History of Shiawassee County*, Vol. XXXII, p. 247, this series.

[15]Capt. David Scott, see vol. V, pp. 325-326, this series.

[16]Edward Robinson was one of seven brothers, one of them, Rix Robinson. He came to Michigan upon the advice of his brother Rix, bringing his family with him, in a party of forty-two persons. See sketch of Rix Robinson, Vol. XI, p. 186, this series.

Mr. Trowbridge, in which the settlers on government land were warned that they would be arrested if Mason was re-elected; it reads as follows:

SETTLERS

BEWARE!

Conrad Ten Eyck, U. S. Marshal, left Detroit yesterday for the Grand River Country, for the pretended object of electioneering for Stevens T. Mason. It is well known here that his real object is to arrest the Settlers on the Government lands. Be on your guard, he has a large lot of blank capias, and after the election, every Settler will be brought to Detroit.

Daniel Goodwin Esq., U. S. District Attorney, was seen on Saturday several times with Ten Eyck. Some forty or fifty persons have already been arrested by Mr. Titus, one of Ten Eyck's deputys!

Gov. Mason has no doubt been advised by Ten Eyck of this movement. Settlers, are you willing to be dragged from your homes and brought three hundred miles, at this season? If you are not, Beware—beware of Conrad Ten Eyck, U. S. Marshal, and Silas Titus, his deputy.

Ten Eyck is the same man who has tried to rob the state of $13,000, for the passage of the rail-road across his farm. If Trowbridge is elected he cannot get it. He will dupe you and then arrest you. Mark him well.

Detroit, Oct. 30, 1837.

The only polling place for Ottawa County was Grand Rapids. Seventy men came down the river on a steamboat and marched in line to the polls. Father received 397 votes out of the 505 cast. He was the third representative from the district after the organization of the state government, the first being Maj. Roswell Britton from Grandville, Judge John Almy of Grand Rapids, being the second.

It was in the middle of the summer before Grand Rapids began to feel the effects of the great financial panic of 1837. It was so far away from the center of civilization that it was several months before it felt the depression that was effecting the eastern cities. When it came time for Mr. Ball to take up his duties in Detroit he practically had no business to leave behind him for buying and selling of land had ceased. So all he had to do was to put his effects in a saddle-bag and mount his horse. He left Grand Rapids December 15th arriving in Detroit the 23d. He put up at the old National Hotel, where the Russell House now stands. (The Pontchartrain in 1911). At first he had a room to himself, but as the hotel grew more crowded he was requested by the

landlord to receive a roommate. It proved to be Mr. Barry, afterwards Governor Barry. This incident had a bearing on the growth of Michigan as will be seen later.

The sessions were held in the old Territorial Hall. Mr. S. K. Bingham was made the speaker of the house. The Democratic party was in majority both in the senate and the house. Their first work was a continuation of the revision of the laws started by the previous legislature. This was a period in our state history when there was state ownership of the railroads.[17] The previous legislature had authorized a state loan of five million dollars for internal improvements, and its first use of this money was to purchase the Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad that obtained its charter from the territorial government in 1832. Only thirty thousand dollars had been expended on it.

The legislature then took up the work of appropriating money to the three roads and two canals that were to cross the State. They started the survey for these roads, and much time was consumed by contesting claims of aspiring villages on the different lines. The line to go through the central tier of counties would have been glad to have monopolized the whole. That everything was not smooth may be seen from the following memorial, which I found among Mr. Ball's papers.

> "To the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan:
>
> Gentlemen:—As a reply to the many and varied assertions of interested persons, that we are opposed to the Southern Railroad, we distinctly state, that as delegates from Niles and that portion of Berrien County on the Northern Survey, we, and those we represent, will go as far to sustain the integrity of the Southern Railroad, established by the Legislature, as any person or persons can, having at heart the best interests of the State, her well known policy, and the views of her citizens.
>
> Respectfully,
>
> JACOB BEESON[18]
>
> ERASMUS WINSLOW
>
> JOSEPH N. CHIPMAN"[19]

The name of the Detroit & St. Joseph Railroad was changed to the Michigan Central, and had progressed as far as Ypsilanti. The following is an invitation to the legislators to take a ride to Ypsilanti but on their return there was an accident some two or three miles out of Detroit and they had to foot it in.

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[17]It was not until 1846 that Michigan had sold out the last of its railroads to private corporations. *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. III.

[18]Jacob Beeson was receiver of the land office of Detroit, 1861-1865, and president of the Board of Trade in 1875. See sketch, Vol. VIII, p. 23, this series.

[19]Joseph N. Chipman. See sketch, Vol. XVII, p. 395, this series.

"Office of Internal Improvement
Detroit, Feb. 2, 1838.

Sir:—The Commissioners of Internal Improvement respectfully invite you to take a seat in the cars, which will leave the Depot at the Campus Martius to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock, for Ypsilanti.

By order of the Board.

To Mr. J. Ball. J. BURDICK, President."

I find still another invitation at this same period, which I will also give:

"Railroad Ball

The managers respectfully solicit the Company of Mr. John Ball and Lady at Mr. J. A. Collier's Hotel, in Dearborn, on Thursday, 15th March, 1838, at 6 o'clock, P. M.

Managers.

Wm. Ten Eyck	A. B. Gibbs
E. D. Lord	H. S. Levake
A. H. Howard	J. L. Ankrim

Detroit, March 12, 1838.

The Locomotive and Car Governor Mason, will be in readiness, at 5 o'clock, to convey the Company to the House."

These three railroads projected at that time by the State Legislature afterwards passed into the hands of private corporations and became our Southern Michigan, Michigan Central and Grand Trunk roads. I must not forget to add that thirty thousand dollars was laid aside to improve the navigation of the Grand and Maple rivers.

Mr. Ball was on the committee on education; the laws establishing the schools and University of Michigan had been passed in the first State legislature and there were many petitions for using the educational fund for sectarian colleges and schools, to which he was much opposed. The state library was already begun, and I find among his papers the report of Mr. O. Marsh,[20] the librarian, and the list of books that had been purchased by an appropriation of $2,000.

The organizing of townships took up considerable time. The number of townships was quadrupled in Mr. Ball's district, and Grand Rapids was incorporated as a village. It was this winter that the Canadian Patriot War[21] occurred that helped to bring emigrants to Michigan.

[20]Orin Marsh. See Vol. XXXVI, pp. 621-629, this series, letters, sketch and portrait.

[21]Patriot war. See paper by Levi Bishop, Vol. XII, p. 414, and by Robert Ross, Vol. XXI, p. 509, this series.

General Scott came to Detroit on business connected with this war on a steamboat during a January thaw. That thaw occasioned a great flood in Grand Rapids, quite as large if not larger than anything it has experienced in these days.

The Legislature did not adjourn until April 7th. Mr. Ball sold his horse and returned in a wagon to Grand Rapids in company with Mrs. O'Flynn, Mrs. Watson and Miss Lucy Genereau,[22] (John Godfroy's first wife), ladies well-known in pioneer days. The passage took them six days, but they had such a good social time that the journey did not seem long. On arriving home he found things sadly changed, Grand Rapids was no longer the lively little place he found when he first went there. A blight had fallen on Michigan, its lands and its finances were at a discount, for this was the time of wildcat banking. The People's Bank of which Mr. Louis Campau became president, had commenced operations, but not having the required specie on hand when the bank commissioner called, this commissioner, Mr. D. V. Bell, after giving them a month's grace to raise the funds, put it in the hands of a receiver, appointing Mr. Ball. The summer was passed in winding up that business. He made but one trip at that time and that was to Port Sheldon,[23] a village that was started by Philadelphians and was expected to outrival Grand Rapids. Everyone was leaving Grand Rapids that had money enough to get away. Mr. Ball went east to visit but returned for he was in love with Michigan and thought that there was no more beautiful site in that State than at Grand Rapids.

The United States Congress of 1841 offered to new Western States five hundred thousand acres of land to be used for internal improvements. Michigan gladly accepted this offer in its next session. Mr. Barry was then governor, and knowing Mr. Ball and his experience as a woodsman, he asked him to select some lands in the southwestern part of the State. Mr. Ball had hardly enough business in his law practice at that time to prevent him from accepting the offer, which he gladly did, happy for a chance to get into the woods again. He asked the governor for some advice as to whether he should make these selections near the settlements or down the lake, and whether they should be farming or pine lands. He answered that he would leave it entirely to his judgment. He started out exploring, taking Frederick Hall,[24] of Ionia, with him and James Lyon, son of Judge Lyon of Grand Rapids. On his first trip he explored the eastern part of Ottawa County, north of

[22]Lucy Genereau (Genereux) was the first wife of John F. Godfrey, son of Gabriel and Betsy May Godfrey. She was one-quarter Indian and educated by Louis Campau and wife.

[23]See Vol. XXVIII, p. 527, this series.

[24]Frederick Hall was register of deeds in Ionia county in 1843-4. He died about 1884. See sketch, Vol. III, p. 489, this series.

Grand River. He found most of it first class beech and maple lands. Then he made a trip to the Muskegon river to see the prairies near Croton, but found them only pine plains. He then struck Flat river and explored around where Greenville now is. Luther Lincoln[25] and son were then the only inhabitants of Montcalm county. He also explored as far as the Pere Marquette river, following the Indian trail to Muskegon Lake, where he found one sawmill and a half dozen houses. Swimming his pony across the head of the lake after a boat, and doing the same at White Lake, where Mr. Charles Mears[26] was the only settler, he struck the lake shore at the Clay Banks, where he found Indian planting grounds. He returned by an inland route, and thought this trip one of the hardest he had ever made.

After giving a good deal of thought to the matter he decided to report sections of land nearest the settlements. This was opposed by some people, they fearing the State would hold the price of these lands so high that it would impede immigration, but Mr. Ball reasoned that the State's indebtedness was so widely diffused among its inhabitants that enough pressure would be brought to bear upon the legislature to put the lands on the market at a reasonable price. The result showed that his opinion was good. He selected nearly four hundred thousand acres of the five hundred thousand of improvement lands. He made his selections near the settlements and it resulted as he anticipated. The legislature of 1843 passed a law putting the price of these lands at $1.25. They were payable in State dues, which at first could be bought at forty cents on the dollar.

The settlers who had previously "squatted" as it was then called, on the lands that had been purchased from the Indians north of the Grand River by the Washington treaty of 1836, and that were surveyed in 1839, had remained with fear and trembling that they might lose their improvements.

Most of them were too poor to purchase their farms at that time and some of them even raised money at 100 per cent to do so. But they now saw their advantage and came to Mr. Ball to select their lands though at first they were afraid he might select them.

Mr. Ball had to receive his pay, too, in State warrants, which was unexpected by him, and on his complaining to Governor Barry he was answered that the law provided only such funds for that purpose, and

[25]Luther Lincoln and his son, a boy about twelve years old, lived near the junction of the Flat river and Black creek, where he built a mill. He was eccentric and before his death his mind was clouded for several years. His son went to Kent county after his father's death and was killed by lightning. *Montcalm and Ionia Counties*, p. 473.

[26]Charles Mears was born in Massachusetts in 1814 and took up this claim in 1837, engaging in the lumber business with his brothers. In 1850 he left Michigan and in 1875 moved to Chicago. See sketch in *History of Chicago by Andreas*, Vol. II, p. 692.

that he should have noticed the provision of the law before. The governor suggested that he indemnify himself by making some good purchases with what funds he had. These lands were first offered for sale in August, 1843, at the State Land office at Marshall. Mr. Ball was there and bought some lands for some of the settlers who had furnished the means. That was all the sales that took place at that time. No one offered to purchase them on speculation.

Up to this time all the emigration was going past Michigan to Illinois and Wisconsin, but, hearing that there were selected lands in Michigan to be had at a reasonable rate the emigrants stopped and looked at them. Mr. Ball kept a run of all the sales in the land offices and had corrected plats. He was there to meet the emigrants and give them his knowledge in regard to the lands, so most of them, although they came just to look, remained and others followed them.

Mr. Ball was tired of living in the backwoods alone and threw his whole heart and soul into the work of detaining these emigrants. It is the saying among the old settlers that anything he undertook generally succeeded. Anyway the flood of emigrants began to come in. He aided them in every way possible, not only with advice but with money, for but few of these early farmers could boast of five hundred dollars, and many of them had not enough to buy their places. Many times he would make the payments for them and give them time on his fees.

How warmly and kindly he spoke of these first settlers who built their log cabins and cleared the forests, their wives, too, playing their parts as well as the men, and after a few years of privations and hardships they found themselves in possession of farms, houses, cattle and horses. This kindly feeling towards these farmers was fully returned by them. I think it was about this time that he gained the affectionate title, by which he was so well known in southwest Michigan of "Uncle John." He took as much interest in their prosperity as if they were his own family and they all looked to him for advice and assistance. It was under these circumstances that he gained the reputation, and I think justly, of having done more than any other man of early times to promote the settlement of the Grand River Valley.

A VISIT TO THE HOME OF CADILLAC

BY C. M. BURTON[1]

One of the objects I had in going to France in the winter of 1906-7 was to visit the birthplace of Cadillac and to personally inspect the home and surroundings of the man who is so prominently connected with the early history of America.

I was in Paris during parts of January and February, 1907, and in the manuscripts in the colonial department in the Louvre, I found several papers written either by Cadillac, or concerning him, that in some way, indicated the manner in which he obtained and retained the name of LaMothe. It is maintained that the family name of the founder of Detroit was Laumet. He came to the French possessions in America when a young man and soon became familiar with the entire Atlantic coast line and was called upon to give information to the officers in the navy regarding the English colonies. In several of the early official reports he is referred to as young Lamothe, possibly because he had relations by that name. It matters little how the first mistake was made, he very soon became known in the colonial department as LaMothe. After his name had once so appeared in the records it was easier to so continue it than to correct it, and thus, from the very beginning of his American life, he was known by that name. In the record of his marriage with Marie Therese Guyon in Quebec in 1687, he signs his name LaMothe Launay, and in the record he is termed Antoine de LaMothe, sieur de Cadillac, son of Jean de La Mothe and of Jeanne de Malenfant. There is something uncertain, and possibly undetermined, about the name and antecedents, but we will pass over that for the present, hoping that the story will be untangled in the future.

On the sixth of February, 1907, we (Mrs. Burton and I) started from Paris by an early train, and reached Montauban the same evening. This city is thirty-one miles from the city of Toulouse so often referred to in Cadillac's correspondence. Montauban is in the department of Tarn-et-Garonne, on the River Tarn, and contains about 30,000 people. It is a very old city, founded in the twelfth century, and was one of the early strongholds of the Albigeneses, the French Protestants. Notwithstanding its subjugation to the powers of the Catholic Church, a few years before the birth of Cadillac, it retained a great following of religious reformers. These men submitted to the open observance of adherence to the church while they practiced, in private, a larger freedom

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1907.

of religious thought. The entire country was imbued with the principle of religious freedom and the people so continued to think, even after the outward observance of Protestantism was denied them, and many of them now retain the religious opinions of their Albigensian ancestors.

No one can read the voluminous correspondence of Cadillac without observing that, although he was a good Catholic churchman, he was a Protestant against the impositions of the Jesuits and the tyranny of the Church as imposed by that order.

It was in the neighborhood of Montauban that Cadillac was born and passed his early youth and old age, and near here his remains were buried.

Our first visit was the home of the Chanoine Fernand Pottier, President of the Archeological Society. He was not at his home when we called, but the attendant asked us to step in and wait a few moments for him. I took advantage of the delay to inspect a part of his home. As president of the Archeological Society he appears to be the custodian of all its collections and the rooms and walls of his home are filled and covered with pictures, curiosities, relics and thousands of rare articles that belong, either to the Chanoine personally or to the Society. I was was quite prepared to meet a student and was not surprised, when a little while later, the Chanoine (or canon) of the Catholic Church came in and introduced himself to me. He is a very pleasant little old gentleman, probably seventy years of age, and as we discovered, the idol of the village, for everyone seemed to think very much of him and appeared to love him as if he was in reality, as he was spiritually, the father of the community. On learning our errand, he at once set about entertaining us. He first took us to the office of Mr. Edouard Forestie, printer and lithographer. Here I found some twelve or more volumes in manuscript, containing the records of the district of Tarn and Garonne from 1527 to 1620. These books were once in the custody of Jean Laumet, the father of Cadillac. He was the judge of the court of the district and it was his duty to examine these records and certify to the possession of them. His name is endorsed, officially, on each of the volumes. Mr. Forestie is carefully examining the books for the purpose of extracting new data relative to the Laumet family. He has prepared a book for his own use, in which he has devoted a page to each year of Cadillac's life and, as he has been working at it for several years, his book is filled with interesting material.

I spent a considerable part of the day with these old volumes and in conversation with several members of the Archeological Society who called at the office. According to a previous arrangement with the Chanoine we returned to his home in the afternoon, where we met another and younger priest, about thirty-eight years of age, professor of English,

in the seminary of Montauban. Although the general conversation was Cadillac and his family, the host took pains to entertain us with other matters connected with their village. From the windows of the house we were shown the Pyrenees in the distance, and within the dwelling many of the archeological specimens were explained to us. We were escorted to the museum of art, it was thrown open to us—though not usually opened on week days—and the entire collection was explained for our entertainment. We were invited to dinner in the evening, at the house of the Chanoine, and here we returned after a visit to our hotel. The two priests were again with us with a young lawyer of the village, who talked English a little. After dinner the members of the Archeological Society began to assemble until the house was comfortably filled with visitors—all intent on seeing the Americans who had come so far to find out something of their famous countryman—Cadillac. His name was familiar to them all and anything concerning him was of interest to them.

On the third floor of the priest's house was a large room used for the meetings of the Archeological Society. On one side of this room was a canvas on which were displayed many interesting pictures illustrating the trip of the members of this society to Moisac and Saint Nicolas-de-la-Grave in 1904, to place a tablet at the birthplace of Cadillac. They had pictures of the home, the church, the chateau, and the street in the little village and several pictures of the society taken at the time of the celebration. There were also pictures of the journey to Castelsarrassin, where Cadillac spent the last years of his life. The evening was passed very pleasantly with a large company all intent on making our stay as interesting as possible, and when we parted, it was to make preparation for an early start for Moisac in the morning.

Moisac is a railroad station about seventeen miles from Montauban and we reached the place very early the next day, February 8. Here we took a carriage and rode six miles to Saint Nicolas de-la-Grave. The country through which we rode is very beautiful. The district of Tarn-et-Garonne derives its name from the two rivers Tarn and Garonne that serve as feeders to the great canals Midi and Lateral that connect the Atlantic Ocean with the Mediterranean Sea. Montauban is situated on the Tarn, while Moisac, a city of about 90,000 inhabitants, is located on the Garonne. Our road to Saint Nicolas de-la-Grave for a distance ran parallel to the river and high above its banks. Below us on the left we could see the winding stream, and beyond the river the great stretch of fertile farm lands in the distance, while behind us rose the hills that shut out our view from the north. Crossing the stream on a high bridge, a ride of little more than an hour brought us to the village of Saint Nicolas de-la-Grave, the birthplace of Cadillac, before nine o'clock in the morning. Our first call was at the home of the vil-

lage physician. This gentleman took the utmost interest in our visit. He devoted himself to us during the time spent in the village. We first visited the little house which was the birthplace of Cadillac. It is a one-story brick dwelling about five hundred years old, I was informed. In the front part of the building are two or three large living rooms. Behind these rooms is a small court and on one side of the court is a part of the building two stories in height, used now for sleeping apartments. The ceilings of the rooms are very high, and whatever heat is needed is derived from fireplaces in the living rooms. Although it was in the middle of the winter when we made our visit, and the weather was as cold as it is usually in that region, we found roses in bloom in the open air in the courtyard I have mentioned.

The street in front of the dwelling is about twenty-five feet in width, paved with cobble stones. In the neighborhood are many other dwellings of similar size and antiquity, while occasionally a newer and larger building has been erected. The Cadillac building now belongs to Louis Ayral, a lawyer in Paris, and is occupied by his mother who kindly led us through the various rooms and pointed out the portions of interest.

On the eighth day of November, 1904, the Archeological Society of Tarn and Garonne placed a tablet on this building in honor of the noted man whose birthplace it was. This tablet bears the following inscription:

A la memorie

Antoine Laumet de LaMothe Cadillac

Ne Dans Cette Maison Le 5 Mars 1658

Colonisateur Du Canada et De La Louisiane

Fondateur de Detroit,

Gouverneur De Castelsarrasin Ou Il Est Mort in 1730.

(To the memory of Antoine Laumet de LaMothe Cadillac, born in this house March 5, 1658, Colonizer of Canada and Louisiana, founder of Detroit, Governor of Castelsarrasin, where he died in 1730.)

St. Nicolas is a small village, containing two or three thousand people. It is as we reckon time, very old. The streets and houses have changed but little in the two hundred and fifty years since Cadillac's birth, and every street of the village has borne the impress of his childish feet. Here stands the little church where he was baptised, whose archives contain the record of his birth and that of his brothers and sisters. Here he attended church as a youth, and received his first communion and drank in such words of religious liberty as were current at that

time. Near by is the old chateau, now used, in part, for a school for boys. The children were at recess in the play yard when we called. They were all nicely and cleanly dressed in the peculiar garb of the children of this section, and all wore wooden shoes or sabots, while at play, over their slippers or low leather shoes. Within the school room they remove these heavy wooden shoes and wear slippers or low shoes that make less noise. The master of the school dismissed the pupils for a time and accompanied us in our wandering through the streets of the village.

After visiting every street and being entertained by the village physician at an early lunch, we left the place and rode back to Moisac where we took the train for Castelsarrasin. This is a town of about 8,000 people, twelve miles from Montauban. It formerly contained a castle, which was the home of Cadillac and the place of his death in 1730. Cadillac became the governor of this place in 1722, and lived here from that date. The old castle was destroyed many years ago and its site is now a public park.

Mr. Paul Fontaine and Dr. Boé, both members of the Archeological Society, interested themselves in our visit and escorted us around the town, pointing out the objects of interest as connected with the founder of Detroit. The churches of St. Jean and Saint Savuet are still standing though many centuries old, linking the past with the present. In these churches probably Cadillac and his family attended divine worship. Within the town, in times long past, there was a Carmelite Monastery, and within the enclosure of the Monastery was a cemetery. Here in October, 1730, Cadillac was buried. At a later date the monastery was taken by the government and converted into a prison or jail for minor criminals. The front part of the building is now used as a court room and the rear part has been rearranged and divided into cells. We were escorted through the various rooms and made a careful inspection of them. The remains of the few people of importance that were deposited in the cemetery, have been exhumed and carefully placed together beneath the stone flagging in the rear of the building. Here rest the bones of Cadillac who, in his time, was a native of St. Nicolas de-la-Grave, an inhabitant of Port Royal in Nova Scotia, the owner and seigneur of Mt. Desert Island and Bar Harbor in Maine, the Commandant of Mackinac, the founder and first commandant of Detroit, the Governor of Louisiana, a prisoner in the Bastile in Paris and the Governor of Castelsarrasin.

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF CADILLAC

1. Jean Laumet, lawyer, assistant to the justice, royal justice, counsellor of the king in the Parliament of Toulouse, living at St. Nicholas de-la-Grave, married March 16, 1646, Jeanne de Pecnagut. They had seven children.
2. I. Anne, born April 16, 1648, married Sept. 26, 1665 Pierre Lasserre.
3. II. Antoine Francois born Dec. 4, 1653, married Louyse d'Auriol de Peireus—died without children.
4. III. Jeanne, born Jan. 6, 1656, married May 22, 1670 Jean Laires, lawyer of Saint Sardos.
5. IV. Antoine, born March 5, 1658, married June 25, 1687, at Quebec, Marie Therese Guyon, daughter of Denis Guyon and his wife Elizabeth Boucher.

   In the church record Antoine is named Antoine de la Mothe, sieur de Cadillac of Port Royal in Acadia, aged about twenty-six years, son of Jean de la Mothe, sieur de Cadillac, de Launay et de Semontel, counsellor of the Parliament of Toulouse, and of Jeanne de Malenfant.

   Antoine died at Castelsarrasin, of which he was the governor, October 16, 1730, aged about 73 years.
6. V. Jean, born November 17, 1670, died October 13, 1674.
7. VI. Anne (Perrette) born April 27, 1673, married about 1695, Pierre Mauquie de Montgaillard. (She was a widow in 1718.)
8. VII. Paul, born June 24, 1674, married Martial de Faussat, lawyer in Parliament from Montauban.

5. Antoine LaMothe and his wife Marie Therese Guyon had children.

9. (1) Judith, born either in Port Royal or Mount Desert. She was provided with a home among the Ursuline Nuns in Quebec. The agreement for her support is printed in the *Michigan Historical Society Collection,* Vol. XXXIV, p. 250-4.
10. (2) Magdelene, born at Port Royal or Mount Desert.
11. (3) Antoine, born at Quebec, April 26, 1692, went to Detroit with his father, and subsequently entered the military department and was mentioned for appointment of Commandant of Detroit.
12. (4) Jacques, born at Quebec, March 16, 1695.
    First visited Detroit with his mother in 1702.

13. (5) Pierre Denis born at Quebec, June 13, 1699, and buried there July 4, 1700.
14. (6) Marie Anne, born at Quebec, June 7 and buried there June 9, 1701.
15. (7) A child was born and died at Detroit in the latter part of 1702, mentioned in one of Cadillac's letters. The church records were destroyed by fire, 1703.
16. (8) Joseph, date of birth not known, but probably born at Detroit in 1703. He married Marguerite de Gregoire at Castelsarrasin, June 5, 1732. She was the daughter of Claude de Gregoire (at one time governor of Castelsarrasin) and his wife Marguerite de Bouisson d'Aussoune.
17. (9) Marie Therese, born in Detroit, February 2, 1704, married February 16, 1729, Francois-Hercule de Pousargues, of an ancient and noble family of Castelsarrasin. He was the son of Claude de Pousargues and his wife Jeanne-Marie de Calvert. No children.
18. (10) Jean Antoine, born at Detroit, January 19, 1707, and buried there April 9, 1709.
19. (11) Marie Agatha, born at Detroit, December 28, 1707.
20. (12) Francois born at Detroit, March 27, 1709. Married September 10, 1744 to Angelique Furgole, widow of Pierre Salvignac and daughter of Jean Furgole. No children of this marriage.
21. (13) Rene Louis, born at Detroit, March 17, 1710. He was placed in charge of some of the members of his mother's family in Quebec, when Cadillac and his wife removed to Louisiana, for he died in that city, October 7, 1714.

16. Joseph Lamothe and Marguerite de Gregoire had at least two children: (1) Marie Therese LaMothe; (2) Marguerite Anne LaMothe. Marie Therese LaMothe married Bartholomy de Gregoire and by him had Pierre, Nicholas and Maria. They were naturalized by a special Act of the legislature of Massachusetts, Oct. 29, 1787, in order that they might hold the tract of land formerly owned by Cadillac in Maine. (*See Maine His. Soc. Colls.*, Vol. VI, p. 275.

PRESENTATION OF BURT'S PORTRAIT AND SOLAR COMPASS TO MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY[1]

BY JOHN E. DAY

It is with feelings of pleasure and pride that I am invited to say a few words about Judge William Austin Burt[2] in the way of presentation of his portrait and his compass[3] to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Pleasure, because I love to speak in favor of a useful man, and pride because be was the product of my native State and my native county. I am aware that the good work of a public servant is a greater tribute to his worth than any words of mine can be, so I shall be brief.

Judge Burt was born in Massachusetts during the closing years of the 18th century and seeking a home came to Michigan in 1823 with a strong constitution, a predisposition to work, six weeks of school education, and a capital yet to be acquired. His practical mind sought the calling that seemed to be most congenial to his taste and at the same time most promising of usefulness to the new territory of Michigan, so in company with a brother-in-law, John Allen, he gave his attention to engineering and mill building.

He built mills in many places in the State, at the same time using his evenings and such other leisure time as he could get in advancing himself along the lines of mechanics, engineering and surveying. He soon obtained a contract to do a brief job of township surveying in Sanilac county and performed this task so well that it opened the way for work of larger extent and greater responsibility. In 1835 he received the appointment of deputy-surveyor, and entered upon a contract in the Upper Peninsula, and here encountered the difficulties which led to the great invention of his life, that of the Solar Compass.

In 1839 or 1840, Judge Burt conceived the plan of an instrument by which his thoughts might be committed to paper in the form of printed characters and more speedily than by use of the pen, and caused to be made the first known typewriter. Letters printed upon this machine are still in existence as perfect in every particular as those printed upon the more modern ones.

But the country was not yet ready for such an invention. The volume

[1]Read at annual meeting, June, 1907.

[2]For portrait and Life of William A. Burt by George H. Cannon, see Vol. V, pp. 114-120, this series. This article is illustrated by a picture of the Solar Compass.

[3]See description of this compass in Vol. V, pp. 119-120, this series.

of clerical labor had not yet increased to such an extent as to demand it, and that more modern and more attractive attachment "the typewriter girl" had not yet been thought of. So in the crowd of other matters seemingly of more pressing importance the typewriter was neglected and in a fire which occurred in the Patent Office this model was destroyed.

On the death of Dr. Douglass Houghton in 1845, Mr. Burt was selected to complete his work as state geologist and make report of the same which labor he faithfully performed.[4] Returning to the surveys of the Upper Peninsula he found that his work was not perfect, his lines would not "close up," that is, the lines of one township would not exactly correspond with those of the township previously surveyed, and when he traced a line back for the purpose of verifying, the correction was often worse than the original. He was much perplexed and spent many a night of scanty sleep over it, for it was his pride and ambition that his work should be *absolutely perfect*. So he said to his men, "Boys there is some reason for this. Let us see if we cannot find it." Shortly the men began to bring in large samples of iron ore and the Judge said, "Now we have the solution of the whole difficult problem. The iron ore so affects the magnetic needle as to produce marked and serious aberations." Then there came to his mind the idea of an instrument in which he would discard the polar star as a medium of attraction to the needle and use the sun as a fixed point by which observations could be made; on the principal of the old sundial, which gave the time by the shadow cast by the sun across the figure set at a proper angle upon a dial. He so adjusted his instrument as to give latitude, direction and time at one observation, without being influenced by any metallic substance. Mr. Burt thought that if this succeeded it would be of use only in case of just such emergencies as were presented in this survey, and because of somewhat slower adjustment, and of days when the sun did not shine, it would not be of general service. But soon after, the old compass was so broken as to be useless and beyond repair and he was forced to use in its place his solar compass. He found it just as easy of adjustment and as little subject to loss of time as the old one.

The discovery of the iron ore by Judge Burt's party led to the opening of the iron interests, so to Judge Burt must be given the credit of not only inventing the Solar Compass but also uncovering to the public use the vast mineral wealth of our State.

In 1851 he visited Europe and exhibited the compass at the first World's Fair, in the Crystal Palace at London, where it was granted the highest degree of honor. At this time he took occasion to visit Scotland

[4]This report was made in connection with Bela Hubbard and was printed in Detroit, 1846.

and had an interview with Hugh Miller the geologist, of whom he was a great admirer.

On the way home he prolonged the ocean voyage in order to develop another invention, that of an Equatorial Sextant, which was patented in all civilized countries and became of immense value in the navigation of the seas. It has been wisely said that each person should leave the world at least a little better than he found it. Mr. Burt and other pioneers of Michigan more than met this requirement for they enriched the world in material wealth and beauty as well as by the example of great and noble characters. He died in the midst of his usefulness while teaching a class the use of his instruments and is buried together with his five sons in Elmwood Cemetery, Detroit. A bronze cast of the Solar Compass is placed upon his monument. To the inventor of the compass and to his pupils and successors in the work of the public surveys of the State we owe a debt of gratitude for the faithful execution of public trusts and it is but fit that this portrait of William A. Burt and his compass should adorn the walls of the rooms of the Michigan State Pioneer and Historical Society. In the name of his living relatives, who have contributed the portrait[5] and Mr. George H. Cannon, owner of the compass, I now present them to this Society. His life was given to the benefit of the State and his invention was used for the same purpose. Companions in life—in death they should not be divided.

BURT'S SOLAR COMPASS

BY AUSTIN BURT

This compass determines the true meridian, the variation of the magnetic needle and the apparent time at a single setting, which need not occupy five minutes of time. It is used in making the surveys of the public lands in the United States and Territories, and is indispensable in the mineral districts where constant changes in the variation of the needle are met with.

It was invented by my father William A. Burt, in the year 1835, while engaged as United States deputy surveyor in the surveying of the public lands in Wisconsin at and near Milwaukee, subsequently it was used under the instruction of the surveyor-general by himself and his sons, John, Alvin, Austin, Wells and William Burt in making surveys in Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan, who were associated with him for the

[5]A fine oil portrait, handsomely framed was the united gift of Mr. Burt's grandsons and his son W. A. Burt of Detroit.

most part, in those surveys, completing the exterior township, lines of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in 1847.

The writer who was with him in the capacity of chainman in the winter of 1835 while he was subdividing some twelve townships at and in the vicinity of Milwaukee in Wisconsin, well recollects the difficulty encountered in making accurate work in running the lines with the common or Sunflower compass, he then was using. With the utmost painstaking, both in running and measuring the lines in some parts of the district, the intersections were far away from post, altogether too wild and unsatisfactory, sometimes to the right and again to the left of post, varying in distance up to a hundred links or more. This erratic work was attributed to a change in the variation, a part of it diurnal, but mostly to local attraction. Upon entering upon this work the variation of the compass was ascertained by taking an observation of the North Star, and setting up range stakes in the true meridian, and sighting the compass with them, thus getting the variation by which the townships were to be surveyed. In practice it did not agree with itself. When parallel lines one mile apart were run, the variation thus obtained could not be relied upon, consequently random lines had to be run and corrected to measurement which was not altogether accurate, but the best that could be done to make the subdivision so that a section of land should contain the required 640 acres more or less. So the different section lines as established showed different variations and it was apparent that lines could not be run by one and the same variation and close at corners, as it should. This was a source of much perplexity and study, how to overcome these difficulties encountered by all surveyors, and it seriously engaged the attention of my father. He then and there applied himself to bring out some device that would afford the needed aid in getting the variation from time to time as the surveys progressed. The subject was talked over in camp at night and such astronomical knowledge and mechanical skill as was at hand, applied to the subject. The necessity for an instrument that would give the variations was almost imperative, for the accurate surveying of the public lands was involved.

On his arrival home at Mt. Vernon after he had made returns of the field notes of this survey to the surveyor-general at Cincinnati, Ohio, early in July he devised and made a model of an instrument by the use of which the variation could be obtained "When the sun shone" at intervals on the lines of a survey during its progress. He took this model to William J. Young of Philadelphia, who constructed an instrument, under his personal supervision, and named it Burt's Solar Compass, for which letters patent, were issued to him. This instrument as first made was a rather simple affair, it had an equatorial circle on

which a limb was affixed that would revolve somewhat over a half circle, on the end of this limb was affixed a small lens whose focus was that of the length of the limb, on the other end of this limb was affixed a small plate standing at right angles with it so that the sun's image would fall on this plate which had lines marked on it that would embrace the sun's image. This limb was made to revolve on a center that should correspond to the earth's axis. The equatorial circle was elevated to the compliment of the latitude of the place of observation, this was accomplished by attaching a latitude arc to the equatorial circle. The revolving limb had affixed to it a declination arc on which the declination of the sun would be set off for the hour of observation; these arcs and circles were attached to a T on which were placed two levels, the whole made so as to be attached to the open cover of the common compass. This was the instrument as first brought out and used in subdividing some twelve townships by my brother Alvin Burt in the winter 1835-6 just west of Milwaukee, the frequent variations obtained enabled him to do more correct work than any surveys previously done. The variation could be obtained by it, and the line run by the needle. I have one of the first made, and used it on the first surveys made on the northern Peninsula of Michigan in 1840.

The mechanical arrangement needed to be reconstructed, so lines could be run at any course by the sun. My father gave the necessary time and attention to this and brought out the instrument as the world now has it, complete in all its parts, and adapted perfectly to the uses in the Public Surveys; for the improvement of which he labored and devoted the best part of his life, not only that but he instructed in the use of it, those who were to engage in the public surveys, at his own expense. During the life of the patent my father gave every attention to the improvement of the Solar Compass and its introduction into the public surveys; he intended to get his patent renewed for a term of years but as the invention was clearly and solely a benefit to the Government in making its surveys he was advised by many eminent men among them was Gen. Lewis Cass, to rely on the Government for a just compensation for its use, so he waived the matter of renewal and a bill for compensation was introduced in Congress and passed by one branch of it. The bill did not reach the other branch for action before Congress adjourned. Bills have been introduced from time to time for compensation but have not reached final action. A bill has been introduced in the present Congress (1886) for relief and compensation to the heirs of the inventor. A more worthy and just measure could not well engage their attention and they will do themselves great credit by passing the bill presented by his heirs.

SUMMARY OF CONTROVERSY OVER INVENTION OF SOLAR COMPASS

BY HORACE E. BURT

In 1886, fifty years after the patent granted to W. A. Burt, February 25, 1836, a controversy occurred over the rightful inventor of the compass. The question was discussed at the meeting of the Michigan Surveyors' and Engineers' Association held at Ann Arbor in 1886. Mr. Burt's side was very ably defended by his grandson Horace E. Burt, of Waterloo, Iowa, in 1908, in a paper too long and exhaustive to be included in these records, but which has been filed in the archives of the Society. John Mullett of Michigan laid claim to part, if not all the credit of the invention, or at least, to perfecting the instrument. Mr. H. E. Burt calls attention to the fact that Mr. Mullett's son who gave important testimony, was only ten years old in 1835 and could not have been a very valuable witness. Mr. John H. Forster, a brother-in-law of Mullett, claims that Mullett suggested the solar compass by adopting the principle of the sundial. Mr. E. H. Martin's evidence was very strong and convincing in Burt's favor, from experimental knowledge of the compass and its practical use, as he served with him in making many surveys. John Burt, oldest son of the inventor, as well as another son, Austin, gave a history in 1878 of his father's invention.

Mr. Mullett, his contestant, in his letters always alluded to the instrument as Burt's Solar Compass and Mr. Burt's son Alvin first brought out the instrument in Milwaukee, in 1835 and 1836. On Mr. Burt's return from patenting the compass he displayed the instrument at Philadelphia, Pa., and the committee of the Franklin Institute awarded him the Scott Legacy Medal and $20.00.

Mr. John H. Forster in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections volume eight in his memoir of his brother-in-law, Mr. Mullett, lays no claim for the invention.

On the Mullett side of the controversy Mr. John J. Watkins, an old surveyor, in January 1886 made a public statement that John Mullett did as much to perfect the Solar Compass as Mr. Burt. Mr. H. E. Burt did not deny it at the time, though he was engaged in the attempt to secure an appropriation from Congress for the Burt heirs recompensing them for use of the invention. Mr. Hodgeman admits that no claim was made of Mullett having anything to do with the original conception of the Solar Compass but that he did aid in carrying out a few practical details.

In Mr. Burt's petition to Congress for an allowance to him for the use of the instrument made just before the expiration of his patent he sent a pamphlet and engraving made fourteen years previous and claimed he had been constantly improving it until it was practically perfect. This was signed and sworn to January 4, 1850. The allowance was asked to reward twenty years labor and thousands of dollars expenditure for an invention of immense benefit to the government and for which Burt had never received only eighty dollars renumeration. Congress reported his case favorably three times but after an unfavorable one in the 49th Congress of 1887, the Burt heirs have made no further claim.

Some imperfect surveys which resulted in loss to the government were blamed to Burt's assistants and considered offsets to his claims. There is no doubt that Mr. Burt never received proper compensation for the resurveys called for by defective work.

Mr. Burt's character made it possible for his friends to give him an able and convincing defense and his invention certainly is worthy of praise and public reward.

HISTORICAL LIGHTS FROM JUDICIAL DECISIONS[1]

BY EDWARD CAHILL

The history of a nation is to be looked for in a great variety of places. Its traditions, its public and private records, its religious and social orders, its literature and its laws, each yield copious results to the researches of the historian. The social, religious and economic conditions of a nation at any period of its history, the state of the domestic relations, the rights of property and of succession, the growth of personal liberty, all these and many more find their accurate expression sooner or later, in the written or unwritten laws of the land. And the movement of society, whether it be forward or backward, will there be indicated.

The savage needs few laws and such as he has are elementary and as unstable as the will of a tyrant ruler. The nomad must have laws to protect his flocks and herds, and his possessary rights of pasturage, and he needs little more. The argiculturist requires, for his protection, more complicated land laws, and the advent of trade, navigation and manufacturing have been marked by the appearance of laws for their protection. To speak inversely to the fact, when laws for the protection of these interests are found, the existence of such interests may be conclusively inferred.

[1]Read at midwinter meeting at Ann Arbor, Dec. 13, 1907.

It is equally true that the social status of a people may be read in its laws. The simple code of a primitive people may serve, but the complexities of civilization, the growth of refinement and luxury, the struggles of men for liberty, these can all be traced, and perhaps nowhere more accurately than in the codes of laws that accompany them as a sure index of the occupations, the habits, the learning and the aspirations of the times. The *Magna Charta* is not a long instrument, yet it bears with it evidence of the existence of social aspirations and growth which made possible the long and bloody struggle of the Anglo-Saxon race for personal liberty and individual rights.

In modern times the laws of a country are to be found, not only in constitutions, codes and compilations of statutes, but in the decisions of the courts. It is there that the principles of natural justice, upon which the laws of modern states are presumed to rest, are pointed out and elaborated. It is there that constitutions and codes are construed and the effect that is to be given them defined. It is there that the real and not merely the apparent state of the law is to be looked for.

Nothing connected with the history of the United States is of more interest or importance than that which centers about the adoption of the Constitution, which furnished the framework or body for a nation, and the subsequent decisions of the Supreme Court, which breathed life into its vital parts. If those decisions had been reversed, it is impossible to forecast with certainty all the results, but, it is safe to say, the United States, as we know it, would never have existed.

I cannot better illustrate the subject I have in mind to discuss than by reference to some of these early decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

It must be remembered that when the Constitution was framed, there was no precedent to which its framers could turn with certainty of enlightenment. The Articles of Confederation were valuable chiefly as showing what should be avoided. The new charter of government must appeal first to the sovereign states, but it must be something more than a league between them, there must be a compact between the people themselves to form an indissoluble Union. It followed the English system in providing for a division of the powers of government into executive, legislative and judicial departments, each of which was of equal honor and dignity and neither of which had the right to infringe upon the prerogatives of the other. The government, being one of limited and restricted power, each department must, of necessity, be called upon from time to time to construe those provisions of the Constitution which related specially to the duties devolved upon it, and there was no express power given in the instrument to any one department to interpret or to construe it for another.

Unlike the English Parliament, Congress had power to pass laws only within certain defined limits. Whenever, therefore, it exercised this power it necessarily determined for itself that it was keeping within the prescribed limits. Was this determination final and conclusive upon the other departments, or did there exist, of necessity, a revisory power that could speak with authority in the interpretation of he Constitution, in defining the limits to which the other departments might go and to which all others must give heed?

In the light of what has happened since, this seems a simple question. But it was not so simple in the early days of the Constitution. Whichever department assumed this power without being able to point to an express grant of it in the federal compact, ran the risk of being charged with usurpation by the other departments, unless such assumption was accompanied by such plain, reasonable and convincing arguments for its necessity as would satisfy the judgment and allay the jealousies of all.[2]

That task fell upon the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Marbury* v. *Madison*.[3] Madison was Secretary of State under President Jefferson. President Adams, near the end of his term had appointed Marbury as one of the justices of the peace for the District of Columbia under an act of Congress authorizing such appointment. The appointment had been confirmed by the Senate, the commission made out and signed, and delivered to the Secretary of State to have the great seal affixed and the commission recorded and delivered to the appointee. For some reason, not disclosed, the commission was not delivered to Mr. Marbury during Mr. Adams' term of office, and after the accession of President Jefferson, his Secretary of State, Mr. Madison, declined to deliver it.

An application was then made by Mr. Marbury to the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of mandamus to compel Mr. Madison, as Secretary of State, to deliver the commission. An order to show cause was granted, and upon the return of the writ and answer of the respondent, and after argument by counsel, the Chief Justice, John Jay, delivered the opinion of the court.

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[2]The first case in which a court assumed the right to declare a legislative enactment void as being in violation of the Constitution (Colonial Charter) was that of Trevett v. Wheeden, decided by the Supreme Court of Rhode Island in 1786. The action of the court was bitterly denounced by the public; the General Assembly was convened in special session and the Judges cited to appear and show the grounds of their assumed right to set aside laws passed by the legislature. The judges appeared and ably defended the opinion rendered, asserted the independence of the judiciary, and denied that the Court was accountable to the General Assembly or to any other power on earth for its judgments. The fearless attitude of the judges was far from satisfactory to the General Assembly or to the other authorities of the state, and at the close of the year four of the judges were retired from office and their places filled by more pliant men. 2. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, Ch. 24.

[3]1 Cranch 137.

It was held that Marbury had a legal right to his commission, and that mandamus was a proper remedy to pursue and could lawfully be maintained against the Secretary of State. The writ, however, was denied on the ground that the Supreme Court was without original jurisdiction to issue such writ. It was true, the learned Chief Justice said, that Congress, in the act to establish the courts of the United States, expressly authorized the Supreme Court to "issue writs of mandamus in cases warranted by the principles and usages of law, to any courts appointed, or persons holding office, under the authority of the United States."

"The Secretary of State, being a person holding an office under the authority of the United States, is precisely within the letter of the description, and if this court is not authorized to issue a writ of mandamus to such officer, it must be because the law is unconstitutional, and therefore absolutely incapable of conferring the authority. The Constitution vests the whole judicial power of the United States in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress shall, from time to time, ordain and establish. In the distribution of this power, it is declared that 'the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party. In all other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction.'

"The authority, therefore, given to the Supreme Court, by the act establishing the judicial courts of the United States, to issue writs of mandamus to public officers, appears not to be warranted by the Constitution; and it becomes necessary to inquire whether a jurisdiction so conferred can be exercised.

"The question whether an act, repugnant to the Constitution, can become the law of the land, is a question deeply interesting to the United States; but, happily, not of an intricacy proportioned to its interest. It seems only necessary to recognize certain principles, supposed to have been long and well established, to decide it."

After discussing at some length the origin of the Constitution and showing that the powers granted by it are defined and limited, and that unless such limitations are to be recognized the Constitution is without force or meaning, the learned Chief Justice concludes:

"If an act of the legislature, repugnant to the Constitution, is void, does it, notwithstanding its invalidity, bind the courts and oblige them to give it effect? Or, in other words, though it be not law, does it constitute a rule as operative as if it was a law? This would be to overthrow in fact what was established in theory; and would seem, at first view, an absurdity too gross to be insisted on. It shall, however, receive a more attentive consideration.

"It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each.

"So if a law be in opposition to the Constitution; if both the law and the Constitution apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case conformably to the law, disregarding the Constitution, or conformably to the Constitution, disregarding the law, the court must determine which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is of the very essence of judicial duty.

"If, then, the courts are to regard the Constitution, and the Constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature, the Constitution, and not such ordinary act, must govern the case to which they both apply."

It was fortunate that the case which first called for an adjudication of this important question was one which called upon the court to abridge its own powers and to acknowledge that the court itself, as well as Congress, must strictly regard the limits fixed by the Constitution in exercising its powers. There was no opportunity to say that the court was ambitious to assume power not granted, in view of the fact that it had just disclaimed a power which Congress had voluntarily assumed to vest in it.

The historic interest of this case lies in the fact that it established for the first time a right of interpreting the Constitution in the judicial department of the government,—the department most permanent in form and, therefore, most stable and conservative and least liable to the mutations of political fortunes, and, also, that the other departments cheerfully acquiesced in such right. So that it has come to be as well settled as any express provision of the Constitution that that instrument, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, is the Supreme Law of the land. Any other doctrine must have led to confusion and anarchy, involving the destruction of the Constitution and the government it established.

The case of *M'Culloch* v. *Maryland*[4] involved the power of Congress to establish a United States bank and the power of a state to tax such bank, but it led to the declaration of other principles of great importance which have been accepted as the law of the land.

Among the acts passed by the First Congress, after the adoption of the Constitution, was a law for the incorporation of a United States bank, under which a bank, with branches in various cities, was established. This act was not passed without great opposition, and it is doubtful if it could have passed the Congress and become a law but

[4] 4 Wheat. 316.

for the convincing argument made by Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to Congress.[5] The original act was permitted to expire; but a short experience of the embarrassments to which the refusal to renew it exposed the government, convinced those who were most prejudiced against the measure of its necessity, and induced the passage of another law in 1816. The opposition to the measure then manifested itself by hostile legislation in some of the states. The state of Maryland passed a law entitled, "An Act to Impose a Tax on all Banks or Branches thereof in the State of Maryland, not chartered by the Legislature," which act was aimed directly at the branch of the United States Bank which had been established at Baltimore. An action was brought in a Maryland court to recover certain penalties which it was claimed had acrued to the state of Maryland in consequence of the non-payment of this tax. A judgment was recovered and affirmed by the court of last resort of that State, from which an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States upon the ground that the Maryland law was in violation of the Constitution of the United States because,

First, Congress had power, under the Constitution, to establish the bank, and,

Second, that the state had no power by taxation or otherwise to impair a constitutional power of Congress.

When the case came on for argument in the Supreme Court, the attorney general of the United States appeared for the government, and there were associated, as counsel, Daniel Webster and William Pinkney. The state of Maryland was represented by three eminent counsel, the leader of whom was Luther Martin, then the attorney general of Maryland, one of the greatest, if not one of the most scrupulous, lawyers of his time. The arguments covered a broad field, and the opinion of the court, rendered by Chief Justice Marshall, did not fall short of the arguments of counsel in this respect. In the course of the opinion, the Chief Justice announced the following great principles, which have since been received as settled law in this country, although many of them can scarcely be considered to be involved in the decision of the question before the court:

"Congress has power to incorporate a bank.

"The government of the Union is a government of the people; it emanates from them; its powers are granted by them; and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit.

"The government of the Union, though limited in its powers, is supreme within its sphere of action; and its laws, when made in pursuance of the Constitution, form the supreme law of the land.

[5]Lodge's *Life of Hamilton*, 98-102.

"There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States, similar to the Articles of Confederation, *which exclude incidental or implied powers.*

"If the end be legitimate and within the scope of the Constitution, all the means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, and which are not prohibited, may constitutionally be employed to carry it into effect.

"The state governments have no right to tax any of the constitutional means employed by the government of the Union to execute its constitutional powers.

"The states have no power, by taxation or otherwise, to retard, impede, burden or in any manner control the operations of the constitutional laws enacted by Congress to carry into effect the powers vested in the National Government."

As indicating the latitude taken in the opinion, I quote a few paragraphs:

"In discussing this question, the counsel for the state of Maryland have deemed it of some importance, in the construction of the Constitution, to consider that instrument, not as emanating from the people, but as the act of sovereign and independent states. The powers of the general government, it has been said, are delegated by the states, who alone are truly sovereign; and must be exercised in subordination to the states, who alone possess supreme dominion.

"It would be difficult to sustain this proposition. The convention which framed the Constitution was indeed elected by the state legislatures. But the instrument, when it came from their hands, was a mere proposal, without obligation or pretensions to it. It was reported to the then existing Congress of the United States, with a request that it might 'be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification.' This mode of proceeding was adopted; and by the convention, by Congress, and by the state legislatures the instrument was submitted to the people. They acted upon it in the only manner in which they can act safely, effectively, and wisely, on such a subject, by assembling in convention. It is true they assembled in their several states—and where else should they have assembled? No political dreamer was ever wild enough to think of breaking down the lines which separate the states, and of compounding the American people into one common mass. Of consequence, when they act they act in their states. But the measures they adopt do not, on that account, cease to be the measures of the people themselves, or become the measures of the state governments.

"From these conventions the Constitution derives its whole authority.

The government proceeds directly from the people; is 'ordained and established' in the name of the people; and is declared to be ordained, 'in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and to their posterity.' * * *

"It has been said that the people had already surrendered all their powers to the state sovereignties, and had nothing more to give. But, surely, the question whether they may resume and modify the powers granted to government does not remain to be settled in this country. Much more might the legitimacy of the general government be doubted, had it been created by the states. * * *

"The government of the Union, then (whatever may be the influence of this fact on the case), is, emphatically, and truly, a government of the people. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefit."

This language, uttered nearly a century ago, by Chief Justice Marshall, has a recently familiar sound, although even at this time there are not lacking those who denounce such language as the utterances of demagogues, or as being at variance with the idea of "a republican form of government."

The historic interest of this case lies in the fact that it was the origin of the doctrine of *implied powers,* without which the sovereignity of the nation must have been greatly abridged. It has been appealed to on many occasions of stress, and is still the rallying cry of those who believe in a nation with a big N.

I crave your indulgence for referring to one more of the early federal cases which is of historic interest, as being the first case in which the power of Congress, under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, was discussed and defined. It is the case of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden,*[6] decided in 1824. Like the Maryland case, it was brought by appeal from the highest court of a state—New York—to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The legislature of New York had granted to Robert R. Livingstone and Robert Fulton the exclusive right for a term of years to navigate the waters of that state with boats moved by fire or steam. Ogden, as assignee of Livingstone and Fulton, had acquired the exclusive right to navigate such waters between Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and the city of New York. Gibbons was the owner of two steamers which he employed in running in competition to Ogden from Elizabethtown to New York, and a bill was filed by Ogden to restrain Gibbons from infringing upon his exclusive rights, based upon the New York statute and his

[6] 9 Wheat. 1.

assignment from Livingstone and Fulton. An injunction being awarded by the court of New York, Gibbons answered, setting up an act of Congress passed in 1793, entitled, "An act for Enrolling and Licensing Ships and Vessels to be Employed in the Coasting Trade and Fisheries and for Regulating the Same," and claimed rights in virtue of a license under that act. At the hearing in the state courts, the injunction was perpetuated and an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States on the ground that the New York statute infringed upon the power of Congress to regulate commerce between the states.

At the hearing in the United States Supreme Court, Daniel Webster was principal counsel for Gibbons. The state of New York was represented by Mr. Oakley, an eminent lawyer of his day.

Chief Justice Marshall, speaking for the court, delivered an exhaustive opinion, in which he discussed and defined the term "commerce" as used in the Constitution, rejecting the narrow meaning given to it by counsel who represented the state of New York. He said:

"Counsel for the appellee would limit commerce to traffic, to buying and selling, or to the interchange of commodities. Commerce undoubtedly is traffic, but it is more; it is intercourse. It describes the commercial intercourse between nations and parts of nations in all its branches, and is regulated by prescribed rules for carrying on that intercourse."

The learned Chief Justice showed by elaborate and unanswerable logic that the powers granted to Congress to regulate commerce between the states was essentially an exclusive power which could not be shared with the states. As a result of the decision, the monopoly attempted to be established by New York in the navigation of its rivers was overthrown, and they were opened to the commerce of the world. It is worthy of note in passing, that the lifting of the embargo was followed by a rapid increase of steamboats on the Hudson River and adjacent waters, which the monopoly had held in check. The doctrine of this case, now so familiar, because of the numberless cases since decided by the Supreme Court of the United States involving questions of interstate commerce, acquires its importance and interest from the fact that it was the pioneer case and laid down the principles upon which has been established the present broad doctrine of the power of Congress over the subject to which it related. If the decision had been the other way, and the narrow construction put upon the Constitution which was contended for by the State of New York, who can forecast the results?

An important part of the decision of every case are the briefs and arguments of counsel. In the early days, when there were fewer cases, the arguments were printed with the opinion, and we are indebted to that practice for the preservation of some of the greatest legal argu-

ments ever addressed to a court. We learn from them that many of the profound doctrines concerning the interpretation of the Constitution of of the United States, by which the early justices of that court won great and lasting distinction, and from which the nation has reaped incalculable benefits, were first propounded, elaborated and illuminated by the learning and eloquence of the great lawyers who argued the cases.

I will close what I have to say upon this subject by a brief reference to a few Michigan cases which have local historical interest.

It is doubtless known to most of you that slavery once existed in Michigan. Reference to that fact will be found in various histories. But it may not generally be known that we are indebted to the opinions of Judge Woodward, one of the early territorial judges of Michigan, for a history of the origin of slavery in this territory, and for the declaration of the law which resulted in its more speedy extinction. Judge Woodward's opinions in two cases will be found printed in Vol. XII of the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society's* publications.

At the time of the adoption of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery in the territory over which it established a government, slavery already existed. And the question soon arose as to whether the prohibition of the ordinance could be construed to apply to such slaves as were held as property before the ordinance took effect, or only to such slaves as were brought into the territory after that event. There were three classes of slaves involved in the controversy. First, those who had been held by French owners when Michigan was a part of the domain of France, the owners of whom claimed for their title the protection of the treaty of cession under which the territory passed from France to Great Britain. Second, those who were held by British owners at the time of Jay's treaty and were claimed as property under its provisions. So long a time had elapsed since those treaties were made—particularly the French treaty—that but few persons were living, whether as owners or slaves, who could be affected. Third, those who, since the territory had come under American control had been brought into it from states where slavery was lawful. In this class was included much the larger number.

The first case decided by Judge Woodward arose out of a *habeas corpus* proceeding brought on behalf of Elizabeth, James, Scipio and Peter Dennison, claimed as slaves by Catherine Tucker. In the return to the *habeas corpus,* Catherine Tucker asserted rights under both treaties. Judge Woodward, in his opinion, gave effect to the French treaty of cession and remanded the slaves to their mistress. The date of this opinion does not appear.

The second case, decided in 1808, arose upon the application of one Richard Pattinson, a British subject residing in Sandwich, Canada, for

a warrant for the apprehension of Joseph and Jane, his slaves, who had fled from their master and taken refuge in Detroit. In his opinion, Judge Woodward recognized the rights of the master to his slaves under the laws of Canada, but declined to recognize such rights as binding upon an American court, and refused to allow the warrant to issue. He fortified his position by citing the decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset case, and said that as the courts of England declined to deliver up slaves who had escaped from bondage and sought shelter on English soil, he would follow their example.

In his opinion in both of these cases he went somewhat outside of the record to give his opinion of slavery in general in emphatic language, and made it very evident that the greater number of slaves who had been brought into the territory since the ordinance of 1787 took effect were, in his opinion, unlawfully held as such. This volunteered opinion of the learned Chief Justice, although not having the force of a judgment upon the rights of such persons, was generally accepted and acted upon, and I find no record of any case affecting the liberties of such slaves.

It is a matter of common knowledge that it has been claimed that Michigan was, during the period between the adoption of its first constitution in 1835 and its admission into the Union in 1837, an independent and sovereign state owing no allegiance to the government of the United States, but I doubt if it is generally known that it has been judicially determined that this was a fact.

The case of *Scott* v. *Detroit Young Men's Society*,[7] lessees, was ejectment brought by the Detroit Young Men's Society to recover possession of real estate which it claimed under a deed executed to it in its corporate name. The corporation known as the Detroit Young Men's Society was incorporated under an act of the state legislature passed at its first session after the adoption of the constitution, and approved March 26, 1836, by Stevens T. Mason, as governor of the state. It was claimed by Scott, the defendant, that there was no such corporation, because the government of the state of Michigan was not established, and neither the legislature nor the executive department of that government had any legal existence on the 26th day of March, 1836, and prior to the admission of the state into the Union by Congress, January 26, 1837.

After elaborate arguments by counsel on each side, Ransom, Judge, delivered the opinion of the court and said: "This case presents two very important questions for our determination; the first, involving the validity of the acts of our state government, and in fact the very existence of such government, prior to the admission of the state into the

[7] 1 Doug. 119.

Union by Congress, January 26, 1837. * * * We shall first inquire whether Michigan was a *state,* with a constitution, and a government organized under it, possessing the sovereign power of state legislation over the people within her limits on the 26th day of March, 1836. If not, then the 'act to incorporate the Detroit Young Men's Society' passed by the body claiming to be the legislature of such state, and approved by Stevens T. Mason as governor of such state on the day last mentioned, was a nullity. It gave no vitality or powers to the plaintiff, as a corporation. They had no power to take and hold the real estate in question, or to sue for its recovery."

I shall not take your time, although I am not sure but that you would find it interesting, to quote further from the exhaustive and learned opinion of Judge Ransom, by which he fortified the conclusion which the court had reached, that Art. 5 of the Ordinance of 1787, for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, secured absolutely and inviolably to the people of the territory of Michigan, as established by the act of Congress of January 11, 1805, the right to have a permanent constitution and government whenever the territory should contain 60,000 free inhabitants, a right which could in no way be modified or abridged or its exercise controlled or restrained by the general government. That the assent of Congress to the admisison of Michigan into the Union was only necessary because the older states represented in Congress possessed the physical power to refuse a compliance with the terms of the compact contained in the ordinance of 1787, and there was no third party to whom the state could resort to enforce such compliance. But the right to admission became absolute and unqualified on the adoption of the constitution and the organization of the state government. And that the act passed in March, 1836, to incorporate the Young Men's Society of Detroit was legal and valid, as the act of an independent and sovereign state.[8]

It is generally supposed, I presume, that the cultivation of sugar beets in Michigan is a very recent affair. In fact, the Encyclopedia Americana, under the topic of sugar beets, says that the first experiments with sugar beets in the United States were made by two Philadelphians in 1830. About ten years later David Child, of Northampton, Massachussets, attempted beet cultivation and the making of sugar. He produced 1,300 pounds at a cost of eleven cents per pound. These efforts failed and seemed to have discouraged further effort until the Genert brothers, natives of Brunswick, Germany, inaugurated a plant at Chatsworth, Illinois, in 1863, which failed seven years later.

[8]Judge James V. Campbell in his *Constitutional History of Michigan*, referring to this case, lays little stress upon that part of the opinion which declares that Michigan was a state before it was admitted to the Union,—the only point which gives the case historical significance.

In the case of *Hasey* v. *The White Pigeon Beet Sugar Company,*[9] however, a suit was brought upon the following instrument:

"WHITE PIGEON, June 10, 1840.

"By order of the Board of Trustees, the treasurer of the White Pigeon Beet Sugar Company will pay to Henry A. Knapp, or bearer, Seven and Thirteen One-Hundredths (7.13) Dollars.

"Signed, SAMUEL A. CHAPIN, Pres.

"C. YATES, Sec."

This would seem to bear conclusive evidence of the fact that prior to 1840 the raising of beets for sugar had been carried on at White Pigeon, Michigan, to an extent sufficient to warrant the organization of the White Pigeon Beet Sugar Company for the manufacture of sugar.

In *Rossiter* v. *Chester*[10] it was decided that the maritime laws of the United States did not apply to the Great Lakes and that, consequently, the doctrine of general average did not apply to them. If this doctrine had remained settled law, it would have had a serious effect upon the navigation of the Great Lakes, which have since become the greatest avenues of internal commerce in the country. But, fortunately, this doctrine was overruled by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *The Eagle,*[11] and later in *Backus* v. *Coyne.*[12]

These are only a few of the many cases to be found in the thousands of volumes of judicial decisions in this country containing material indispensable to the student of history, who, in addition to dry facts, desires to know the motives and influences that have given direction to events.

THE BOUNDARY LINES OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE TREATY OF 1782[1]

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

I think it is not necessary to tell you that the foundation for the history of the Northwest Territory lies largely in the unpublished documents in the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London. The American papers on the subject of the Treaty of 1782 at the close of the Revolutionary War, have been collected and printed by Mr. Sparks

[9] 1 Doug. 193.
[10] 1 Doug. 154.
[11] 8 Wall. 15.
[12] 35 Mich. 5.
[1] Read at midwinter meeting, Ann Arbor, Dec., 1907.

in twelve volumes of the diplomatic correspondence of the Revolution. They have recently, within the last few years, been re-printed and added to, in the Wharton collection. But the papers on the British side, with few exceptions, are still unpublished, and it is among those papers that I spent a good portion of my vacation while in the city of London. A few of them are in the British Museum, but nearly all are in the Public Record Office. I had some trouble in getting in there, but succeeded through the kindness of Mr. Carter, who represents our Government in London, and made as many extracts as I could pertaining exclusively to Detroit and the Northwest. While the collection there extends to every part of the United States, I was particularly interested in our own State, in our own part of the country. The time permitted me this afternoon is so short that I can only refer to a few of these papers, and I refer to them for the purpose of showing how it came about that Michigan became a part of the United States. That at first sight might seem very simple to be determined, and yet I find it very difficult. I do not know now that I have found much that would lead to a complete determination of the reason for this form of our Treaty.

The first papers that attracted my attention I found in the British Museum. They consisted of some correspondence in French between the British Government and the French Government relating to the troubles that had arisen along the Ohio River, and in that matter Detroit took a very active interest about the year 1754. These papers finally ended in a proposition on the part of Great Britain to accept as the north boundary line the river that we call the Maumee, on which Toledo is situated. The country immediately south of this to be neutral ground. This was in 1754. If that boundary line had been established, if that agreement had been accepted by the two countries, Michigan would have remained French Territory, and perhaps the war which immediately succeeded would not have taken place, and in all probability Canada would still have been a French possession. In the midst of these negotiations, they were terminated. I did not know at the time why, but I found in my searches a little book which I have now, evidently written by some member of the Privy Council, telling of the reasons for breaking off the negotiations, and for causing the war which terminated in 1763.[2] At the end of the war, the treaty of Paris gave to Great Britain all of Canada, and Canada at that time was supposed to include all of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, all of the land north and west of the Ohio River. The same year that this treaty was entered into, Great Britain established the Province of Quebec. One of the peculiar matters connected with this establishment of the Province of Quebec

[2]This book is entitled, "The Conduct of the Ministry Impartially Examined," and was published in London in 1756.

I shall refer to hereafter. Quebec, as established in 1763, was nearly a triangle. The south boundary line of the Province extended from Lake Nipissing to the St. Lawrence River near Lake St. Francis. Michigan, all of the lower part of Canada, and all of the Ohio district, were entirely omitted; so that by the Proclamation of 1763, no portion of that country was under any form of government whatever. This was likely to lead to trouble with Great Britain and with the people in Detroit, for Detroit was the most prominent and important place in the whole of that district. Within a few years after the establishment of the Province of Quebec, a man by the name of Isenhart was murdered in Detroit by Michael Dué, a Frenchman. Dué was arrested, testimony was taken here before Philip Dejean, our justice, and after his guilt was established, Dué was sent to Quebec for trial and execution. After he was convicted they sent him back to Montreal, so that he could be executed among his friends. The matter was brought before the Privy Council to determine under what law and by what right Dué was tried at all. They executed the poor fellow, and then made the inquiry afterwards. It was finally decided that they could try him under a special provision in the Mutiny Act, but they had to acknowledge that at that time they absolutely had no control, by law, over our portion of the Northwest Territory, and that the land where we are was subject to the king exclusively, and was not under any military authority except as he directed it. In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed, and by that act the boundary lines of the Province of Quebec were so enlarged as to include all of the Ohio country and all the land north of the Ohio River; so that from 1774 until the close of the Revolutionary war, Canada and the Province of Quebec included all of the land on which we are situated as well as the present Canada, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Now, when we come to the treaty of peace, or the preliminary treaty of peace in 1782, the first thing that I found of interest was the fact that Franklin, who was then in Paris, was quite anxious that some effort should be made to close up the war. There never has been a moment from the time the war first started that efforts were not being made along some line to bring it to a conclusion, but it was the efforts of Mr. Franklin in the spring of 1782 that finally brought the parties together. The man who acted at that time for the British Government was Richard Oswald. He was sent from London to Paris to represent his Government, and to see if something could not be done with Mr. Franklin to negotiate a treaty. Those of you who have been in Paris will recollect that the house in which Mr. Franklin lived while there was not then within the city limits. It was in Passy, a little village some three or four miles distant, but now within the city limits. The place is now

marked by a tablet a little above the heads of the passersby, on Singer street, indicating that Franklin lived there during the time of which I am speaking, 1782, and some time later. He was sick. He was unable at various times to leave his apartments at all, and much of the negotiations took place in his private rooms on Singer street in Passy.

As I said before, the proceedings on the part of the American Commissioners have all been published, but Mr. Oswald kept minutes of his own, and these, with few exceptions, have been printed. These and the papers that are connected with them, I had the pleasure of examining and abstracting, if I may use that term, during the past winter. I find that in April, 1782, Mr. Richard Oswald[3] returned to Paris, and that place was named as the city for settling up the affairs of the Revolutionary war, if it was possible, with Dr. Franklin.[4] The principal point was the allowance of the independence of the United States, upon the restoration of Great Britain to the situation in which she was placed before the Treaty of 1763. Of course you will see that the question that came before the commissioners at once was as to what constituted Canada, or what constituted the Province of Quebec. I think that Great Britain made a blunder, and a serious blunder for herself, in establishing the Province of Quebec within the restricted lines of Lake Nipissing, and the reason for making this line I believe was this. She had once before taken Canada from the French, and then restored it. She did not know but what she might again be called upon to restore Canada to France. But if she had to restore it, she proposed to restore only that portion of it that she considered to be Canada, that is the land lying north and east of the line from Lake Nipissing to the St. Lawrence River. She would maintain, if the time again came to surrender Canada to France, that all the land lying below that line was her possession, and not a part of the land that she had taken from France. Now she found that in order to be restored to the situation she occupied before 1763, she must abandon the land lying below that line, and thereafter it would become part of the United States. So that one of the principal features of this new treaty was to be the restoration of Great

[3]Mr. Oswald was a Scotchman of some property both in Scotland and America, and on account of his possessions in the latter country, had been consulted by the government during the war. Franklin liked him very much and spoke of him as being an old man who had "nothing at heart but the good of mankind, and putting a stop to mischief." *Franklin in France*, by E. E. Hale and E. E. Hale, Jr., Vol. II, pp. 77-8.

[4]At a Cabinet Council, held April 27, 1782, "it was proposed to represent to his majesty that it would be well for Mr. Oswald to return to Dr. Franklin and acquaint him that it is agreed to treat for a general peace and at Paris, and that the principal points in contemplation are, the allowing of American independence, on condition that England be put into the same situation that she was left in by the peace of 1763." Franklin wrote Adams that he supposed this meant "being put again in possession of the islands France has taken from her. This seems to me a proposition of selling to us a thing that is already our own and making France pay the price they are pleased to ask for it."

Britain to the situation that was occupied by her before the Treaty of 1763.

The peculiar formation of the lines that marked the province of Quebec in the proclamation of 1763 attracted my attention, and I undertook to study out the reason for so shaping the province, and some years ago wrote out the reason that I have outlined. I did not know then that there were documents in existence to prove the truth of my theory.

In July, 1763, Lord Egremont, Secretary of State, reported to the Lords of Trade that the King approved of the formation of the new government of Canada, but that the limits had not been defined. The King thought that great inconvenience might arise if a large tract of land was left without being subject to the jurisdiction of some governor and that it would be difficult to bring criminals and fugitives, who might take refuge in this country, to justice. He therefore thought it best to include in the commission for the Governor of Canada, jurisdiction of all the Great Lakes, Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior, with all of the country as far north and west as the limits of the Hudson Bay Company and the Mississippi, and all lands ceded by the late treaty, unless the Lords of Trade should suggest a better distribution.

On the 5th of August the Lords of Trade submitted their plan for the Government of Quebec, a portion of which I will read, as follows:

"We are apprehensive that, should this country be annexed to the Government of Canada, a colour might be taken on some future occasion, for supposing that your Majesty's title to it had been taken its rise singly from the cessions made by France in the late treaty, whereas your Majesty's titles to the lakes and circumjacent territory, as well as sovereignty over the Indian tribes, particularly of the Six Nations, rests on a more solid and even a more equitable foundation; and perhaps nothing is more necessary than that just impressions on this subject should be carefully preserved in the minds of the savages, whose ideas might be blended and confounded if they should be brought to consider themselves under the government of Canada."

Conformable to the report of the Lords of Trade, the King, on September 19th, said that he was pleased to lay aside the idea of including within the Government of Canada, or any established colony, the lands that were reserved for the use of the Indians. He directed that the commission to be issued to James Murray comprehend that part of Canada lying on the north side of the St. Lawrence River which was included within the Province of Quebec. The commission to James Murray as Captain-General and Governor of the Province of Quebec, which was issued November 14, 1763, bounded the province on the south by a line drawn from the south end of Lake Nipissing to a point where

the forty-fifth degree of north latitude crosses the St. Lawrence River—the westerly end of Lake St. Francis.

In settling the line of the United States in 1782, it was very convenient for our commissioners to claim that the Lake Nipissing line was the northern boundary of the new government, for it gave to England all the lands she claimed to have won by the contest with France, and this line Great Britain could not well dispute.

I found here a letter from Governor Haldimand, and it is interesting just at this point, because it gives his idea of the American Army.

"It is not the number of troops that Mr. Washington can spare from his army that is to be apprehended; it is their multitude of militia and men in arms ready to turn out at an hour's notice upon the show of a single regiment of Continental troops that will oppose the attempt, the facility of which has been fatally experienced." So Haldimand was writing to the home office that they must have peace because they could not contend against the militia of the United States.

In the various interviews that Mr. Oswald reports, he says that Franklin and Laurens maintained that Canada, Nova Scotia, East Florida, Newfoundland and the West India Islands should still remain British colonies in the event of peace. Mr. Oswald reported that in all the conversations on this subject, no inclination was ever shown by the Americans to dispute the right of Great Britain to these colonies, and he adds, "Which, I own, I was very much surprised at, and had I been an American, acting in the same character as those commissioners, I should have held a different language to those of Great Britain, and would have plainly told them that for the sake of future peace of America, they must entirely quit possession of every part of that continent, so as the whole might be brought under the cover of one and the same political constitution, and so must include under the head of independence, to make it real and complete, all Nova Scotia, Canada, Newfoundland and East Florida. That this must have been granted if insisted upon, I think is past all doubt, considering the present unhappy situation of things."

Well, he did not understand Mr. Franklin, because Franklin was sitting there day after day, doing a great deal of thinking and letting Mr. Oswald do the talking, and when it came to the time for Mr. Franklin to give forth his own ideas, they were very different from what Mr. Oswald thought they were. Franklin told Oswald on July 8th that there could be no solid peace while Canada remained an English possession. That was the first statement that Franklin made regarding his ideas of where the boundary line ought to be. A few days after this, the first draft of the treaty was made, and it was sent to London on July 10th, 1782. The third article requires that the boundaries of Canada be con-

fined to the lines given before the Quebec Act of 1774,[5] "or even to a more contracted state." An additional number of articles were to be considered as advisable, the fourth one being the giving up by Great Britain of every part of Canada. Oswald had formerly suggested that the back lands of Canada—that is the Ohio lands—be set apart and sold for the benefit of the loyal sufferers; but now Franklin insisted that these back lands be ceded to the United States without any stipulation whatever as to their disposal. Many of the states had confiscated the lands and property of the loyalists, and there was an effort on the part of Oswald to get our new government to recognize these confiscations and repay them, or to sell the lands in the Ohio country and pay the loyalists from the sale of those lands. A set of instructions to Oswald was made on July 31st and sent over, but the article referring to this matter was afterwards stricken out, so that it does not appear in any of the printed proceedings. The portion that was stricken out reads as follows: "You will endeavor to make use of our reserve title to those ungranted lands which lie to the westward of the boundaries of the provinces as defined in the proclamations before mentioned in 1763, and to stipulate for the annexation of a portion of them to each province in lieu of what they shall restore to the refugee and loyalists, whose estates they have seized or confiscated."

But Franklin refused to acknowledge any of those debts. He said that if any loyalists had suffered, they had suffered because they had been the ones who had instigated the war, and they must not be repaid, and he would not permit them to be repaid out of any lands that belonged to the United States; that if Great Britain herself wanted to repay them, he had no objection. In a conversation John Jay, who came from Spain and took part in these negotiations, told the British Commissioner that England had taken great advantage of France in 1763 in taking Canada from her and he did not propose that England should serve the United States in the same manner, and he, Jay, was not as favorable to peace as was Franklin.

On the 18th of August, a few days later, Oswald wrote: "The Commissioners here insist on their independence, and consequently on a cession of the whole territory, and the misfortune is that their demand must be complied with in order to avoid the worst consequences, either

[5]From 1763 to the passing of the Quebec Act, 1774, Canada occupied only a small part of the present Canada (1911) and was included within the bounds of the St. John river on the east and a line drawn from the head of the St. John river through Lake St. John to the south end of Lake Nipissing, from this point, crossing the St. Lawrence river and Lake Champlain, in 45 degrees north latitude, passing along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty into the said River St. Lawrence from those which flow south and southeast, and along the north coast of the Bay des Chaleurs and the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the River St. Lawrence at the west end of the Island of Anticosti, terminating at the St. John river. See *Canadian Archives*, 1906, p. 120.

respecting them in particular, or the object of general pacification with the foreign states, as to which nothing can be done until the American independence is effected." He recites the situation in America; the garrisons of British troops at the mercy of the Americans, the situation of the loyalists, and the evacuations then taking place. In all these negotiations, there was a constant determination taken by Franklin to hold the territory in the west and on the north.

Late in August, 1782, the commissioners set about determining the boundary lines for the new government, which they fixed in the draft of the treaty so as to include in the United States that part of Canada which was added to it by act of parliament of 1774.[6] "If this is not granted there will be a good deal of difficulty in settling these boundaries between Canada and several of the states, especially on the western frontier, as the addition sweeps around behind them, and I make no doubt that a refusal would occasion a particular grudge, as a deprivation of an extent of valuable territory, the several provinces have always counted upon as their own, and only waiting to be settled and taken into their respective governments, according as their population increased and encouraged a further extension westward. I therefore suppose this demand will be granted, upon certain conditions." It seems that in the preceding April, Franklin had proposed that the back lands of Canada should be entirely given up to the United States, and that Great Britain should grant a sum of money to repay the losses of the sufferers in the war. He had also proposed that certain unsold lands in America should be disposed of for the benefit of the sufferers on both sides.[7] Franklin had withdrawn this proposal and now refused to consent to it, although strongly urged by Oswald, who wrote, "I am afraid it will not be possible to bring him (Franklin) back to the proposition made in April last, though I shall try,"[8]

The preliminary articles of peace were agreed upon by Oswald and Franklin and Jay, October 7, 1782, and the northern boundary line of the United States extended from the east, westerly on the 45th degree of north latitude until the St. Lawrence River was reached, then to the easterly end of Lake Nipissing, and then straight to the source of the Mississippi. If you will remember that Lake Nipissing is opposite the northern end of Georgian Bay, you will see that the line as laid down in

[6]By the Quebec act the province was greatly added to its limits reaching from the Ohio on the south, the Mississippi on the west and the Hudson Bay on the north, including all the Northwest Territory and the Hudson Bay district as well as the present eastern Canada. See *Quebec Act, 1774, Canadian Archives, 1906.*

[7]These unsold lands were those claimed as Crown lands in New York and elsewhere, considered as the private property of the Crown.

[8]This was a point upon which the American commissioners finally, Nov. 28, 1782, compromised by agreeing "that Congress should recommend to the legislatures of the several states an amnesty and the restitution of all confiscated property." These articles were signed on the 30th of November.

this draft of the treaty would include within the United States all of the territory that is across the river from Detroit, all of the southerly portion of what formerly constituted Upper Canada. Mr. Franklin at this time wrote: "They want to bring their boundaries down to the Ohio, and to settle their loyalists in the Illinois country. We did not choose such neighbors."

Mr. Franklin at this time was seventy-eight years of age, a very old man to put in such a responsible place. In October, Henry Strachey was sent over to assist Mr. Oswald, and in some ways I think Mr. Strachey was a sharper, brighter man than Mr. Oswald was, although Mr. Oswald was probably a very good man for the position. I think however, that diplomatically, the representatives of the United States were the greater men. Henry Strachey was sent over to assist Oswald and particularly to aid him in fixing the boundary lines. The matter was thought to be of too great importance for one man and Lord Townshend, in introducing Strachey to Oswald, told him that Strachey would share the responsibility of fixing the boundaries with him.

If any of you have ever had occasion to read the treaties of 1782 and 1783 carefully, you will find that in outlining the boundary line, one line was omitted. The draft that I found of this treaty I think is in the handwriting of John Jay, and certainly Mr. Jay as a lawyer ought to have been sufficiently conversant with real estate transfers to have drawn a proper deed; but one line is omitted, and that is the line extending from the south end of the St. Mary's River to Lake Superior, and that omission has been copied in every copy of the treaty that has since been made, so far as I have been able to ascertain. The map that was used on the occasion was a large wall map of Mitchell,[9] printed some years previous to 1783. I got the original map that was used on that occasion, and on that I found a large, heavy red line drawn straight across the country from Lake Nipissing to near Lake St. Francis, and then along the St. Lawrence River, and westward from Lake Nipissing to the Mississippi. That was one line. The other line running as we now know the boundary, through the center of the lakes. I hunted for this map for several days, and finally found it in the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane.

On November 5th, 1782, the commissioners nearly broke off all negotiations from quarreling about the boundary lines, and were about to quit when they concluded to try it once more, and went at it. A new draft of the treaty was made November 8th, on which the north boundary line was fixed at the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. That would run straight across the country through Alpena. If that line had been accepted, and it came very near being accepted at one time,

[9]Mitchell's map. See Vol. XXXVI, facing p. 52, this series.

the entire northern peninsula of Michigan, and all the land in the southern peninsula north of Alpena would have been British possessions, while the land across the river from us here at Detroit would have been part of the United States. When this draft was sent over to England, an alternative line was sent over with it, and the alternative line was the line that we know as the boundary line, along the lakes. In sending over this proposition, Strachey said that the draft of the treaty must be prepared in London, and the expressions contained in the treaty made as tight as possible, "for these Americans are the greatest quibblers I ever knew." The above draft of the treaty was handed to Richard Jackson, and he remarked on its margin, that it looked more like an ultimatum than a treaty, and in a letter of November 12th, 1782, he wrote, "I am, however, free to say that so far as my judgment goes and ought to weigh, I am of the opinion in the cruel, almost hopeless, situation of this country, a treaty of peace ought to be made on the terms offered."

On November 29th, 1782, at eleven o'clock at night, Strachey writes that the terms of the treaty of peace have finally been agreed upon. "Now we are to be hanged or applauded for thus rescuing you from the American war. I am half dead with perpetual anxiety, and shall not be at ease till I see how the Great Men receive me. If this is not as good a Peace as was expected, I am confident that it is the best that could have been made." A few days later he writes, "The treaty is signed and sealed, and is now sent. God forbid that I should ever have a hand in another treaty." The final treaty of peace was signed at that time, and a few days later, on the 30th of January, 1783, the treaty of peace on which it depended, that is the treaty between the other governments of Europe and England, was signed and the war was at an end.

THE GATEWAYS OF THE OLD NORTHWEST

BY FREDERICK L. PAXSON[1]

When the first flatboats of the Ohio Company, the "Mayflower"[2] and the "Adventure Galley" floated down the river to Marietta in the spring of 1788, they began a new period in the history of the Old Northwest. Until their day the Indian shore had been closed to emigration from the East. But henceforth population was to flow along the highways from the Atlantic in increasing volume, until the history of the

[1]Paper read at the third midwinter meeting, Ann Arbor, Dec, 1907.

[2]The "Mayflower" which was first called the "Union Galley" was built at Simrall's Ferry and was launched April 2, 1787. With Capt. Jonathan Devol it began the journey which ended on April 7th, at the mouth of the Muskingum river where Marietta was founded.

wilderness in the Old Northwest should become the history of a bygone era.

The emigrants whom these boats carried came, in large measure, from New England. The company[3] which sent them was the creation of New England enterprise. Yet with no hesitation they followed the old roads across Pennsylvania and its mountains to the waters of the Youghiogheny, whence flatboats could convey them by a devious course to their destination. This was the gateway of the Old Northwest, as it existed in the beginning of the period of American colonization, and it was one of the two gateways that controlled the course of development of this region so long as any gateway could exert an influence.

The hand of nature had outlined the career of the lands embraced by the Ohio River, the Mississippi, and the Lakes long before the advent of man in America. Between the East and West, river valleys indicated two easy routes and determined that these two routes should control the traveler. By the valley of the Mohawk gentle grades connected the Hudson River and the Lakes, and afforded the easiest of all routes for overland connection. Farther south a second route invited the colonial emigrant to climb the courses of the Susquehanna and Juniata, or else the Potomac, and from one headwaters or another to cross the short portage to the Conemaugh and Allegheny, or the Monongahela, or the Youghiogheny, the tributaries of the Ohio. As the Mohawk Valley controlled the entry in the north, so the Forks of the Ohio, reached by these tributaries, controlled the southern approach to the Old Northwest, and between them they constitute the two gateways whose influence did much to determine the course of American history.

The hand of nature had indeed constructed these two routes, but the influence of men had given them different values in the eighteenth century. The northern route, easier in its geographic conditions, was of little significance until after the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1788 it invited no traveler, for its easy course led through an Indian country still dangerous for white travel, and to a frontier country which the bad faith of England still allowed to be covered by a long series of her hostile forts. It had no attraction for the Ohio Company, and played second part as yet to the more southern route across Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

The Ohio Gateway, thus used in the earlier period of Northwest settlement, opened upon the Ohio River along its course from Pittsburg, by

[3]The "Ohio Company of Associates" was organized at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern, Boston, on March 1, 1786, and was composed of some of the best known men of the nation. Its prime mover was Gen. Rufus Putnam, who had charge of the first band of emigrants (forty-eight people) which made its way down the Ohio in the spring of 1788. During the first year 132 men came to the settlement. *History of Ohio by Ryan*, pp. 34-5; *Washington County and Early Settlements of Ohio by L. W. Andrews*, p. 18, Vol. XXXVII, note on page 437, this series.

Steubenville and Wheeling, to Marietta. At various points along this stretch pioneers reached its course, and gave their fortunes to the bosom of the stream. They approached it from the East by roads which had come into existence in the last phase of the colonial wars, and which had been followed even before the war of Independence had been begun. To one of the best known approaches, General Braddock had given his name in his disastrous campaign at Fort Duquesne. In 1755 he had mobilized his regulars and colonial levies at Fort Cumberland on the Potomac, and had slowly introduced European warfare into the wilderness as he cut his way through the forest, across the mountains, to the Forks of the Ohio. He had failed to possess himself of the objective of his campaign, but he had cleared a new highway to the West. Three years later another general repeated with greater success the attempt upon the French. The campaign of Forbes followed a different line from that of Braddock. Instead of the valley of the Potomac, it advanced along the line of provincial roads which Pennsylvania had already marked through Lancaster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Bedford. At Bedford the beaten road ended, but here began a new military road which Forbes cut in his advance as he approached the French at their Ohio forts.

With the end of the Indian wars, Great Britain did her best to confine her colonial people to the region east of the Alleghenies, but the call of the West was too loud to be resisted, and along these paths that armies had blazed before them there began to move an emigration that was to carry the life of the seaboard into the Ohio Valley. The Indian tribes north of the Ohio, with their backing at the British frontier forts, managed to keep the Indian shore their own; but Kentucky developed, on the left bank of the river, a population that looked eagerly across to the north, and waited only for safety before it should invade the Northwest. Before the days of the memorable ordinance of 1787, and the Ohio Land Company, the roads across the mountains had been well worn. The narrow Indian trail had widened to admit the pack train; the pack mule had yielded to the Conestoga wagon as a vehicle of emigration; and the huge wheels of the wagons of the emigrants had beaten a wide and deep path which would lead as well to the Northwest as to the Kentucky whenever the Northwest should become habitable. The gateway had been wide open for a decade before Marietta was born as the first settlement of the new era on the northern shore.

The gateway was open before the Indians allowed safe entry into the Old Northwest. For several years the settlements along the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Miami lived in daily fear of the tribes never far away in the forests. A new government in the East was framed and inaugurated. And in time a hero of the revolution came to

drive away the dangers that beset the population of the Ohio Valley. "Mad Anthony" Wayne was smiled at when Washington gave into his hands the task of erecting a line of forts from Cincinnati to Toledo, or more accurately, from the Miami to the mouth of the Maumee. The task had failed under able predecessors, but now at Fallen Timbers the question was put and answered once for all, and in 1795 the treaty of Greenville[4] marked the withdrawal of the dangerous Indians from the present state of Ohio. In England, in the same years, John Jay secured the surrender of the British forts from which aid and comfort, to say nothing of shirts and ammunition, had been constantly extended to the Indians of the Old Northwest. Peace in the Northwest meant a renewal of emigration on a scale never before seen. Ohio became a territory in 1800, and a state in 1803; while in its enabling act the gateway upon which so much depended was not forgotten. The Cumberland road, agitated after 1800, and constructed between 1811 and 1818, is concrete evidence of the impression made upon the emigrants by the gateway through which they had to pass. The conditions of pioneer life were harsh enough in their best form, but bad roads were almost unendurable. It was not by chance that many of the new westerners believed that their future lay with New Orleans and the Mississippi rather than with the tottering confederacy several weeks away across almost impassable hills. From their needs came the overwhelming demand for the purchase of Louisiana, and for an easy turnpike to the East.

The Cumberland road is at once the demand of the West and the response of the East. It was built after the English war, being done in time to carry a large part of that wave of population that passed across the mountains at the close of the war, and broke along the Lakes and the shores of the Mississippi. As years went by, the road increased in capacity and traffic. Its course was lined with villages and inns. And in the valley of the Ohio were the states of Ohio, and Indiana, and Illinois, whose life had been poured into them through this single gateway of the Old Northwest. The measure of the influence of this gateway upon the life that passed through it is to be found in the democratic society that sprang into existence in the northwest. The social equality and essential uniformity of condition here revealed point to a common origin and a common route. In its constitutional and economic demands the tributary area was a unit with a national spirit that was soon to make its impression upon the conduct of national affairs in the great struggle over internal improvements. An indirect influence of the gateway exists in the stimulus of this road to the construction of a rival thoroughfare along the route leading to the other gateway in the Mohawk Valley.

[4]Grenville (Greenville.) See Vol. XX, pp. 410-419, this series.

In the beginning, the Mohawk Valley had no invitation for the western emigrant. It possessed the easiest of all grades, but it lay through hostile Indians to the British forts. Its day was of the future, and it lay waiting. Gouverneur Morris[5] had dreamed of the Mohawk route even in the revolution. He had imagined a waterway that should connect the Lakes and the Hudson. In later years he had seen great canals in Europe, and had come to believe that his dream was capable of accomplishment. In the beginning of the century he had fallen in with a movement looking to its realization; and before the war with England came, the demand for an Erie canal was under way. In the beginning Morris, in the end De Witt Clinton stood for the canal. New York was agitated and Congress was approached. Just as the great emigration started west after the war, work was begun on this canal and by the middle of the twenties the work was done. The Cumberland road had been pouring its thousands into the Old Northwest for nearly a decade before the water was turned into the Erie canal at Buffalo and Albany. The very scheme of the canal had been stimulated by an emigration that might be detached from the Cumberland road for the benefit of New York. So at last, in 1825, the second gateway was opened.[6] It was at the end of the season that the "Seneca Chief," with its gay decorations and its attendant honors, left Buffalo on its triumphal voyage from the waters of the Lakes to the Atlantic. The work was chiefly the labor of Clinton, and as governor of the state of New York he fittingly celebrated the completion of his task.

A half of the Old Northwest lay dependent upon this second gateway and awaiting its opening. From the Cumberland road emigration poured into the Ohio side, but it had been easier to advance toward the Mississippi, and beyond, than to push inland, away from the river and toward the Lakes. The southern area was well settled and prosperous while the northern was still a wilderness. At the beginning of the English war, when Stephenson[7] was working on his traveling engine

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[5]Morris—Sparks in his *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I, pp. 497-498, gives Morris the credit of having conceived the idea of Erie canal as early as 1777. In 1795 he made quite a study of the Caledonian canal while traveling in Scotland. In a letter written in January, 1801, he speaks of the cost of carrying vessels from London through Hudson River into Lake Erie and up to 1804 spoke of tapping Lake Erie. Stephen VanRensselaer gave Morris credit of being father of the canal. Morris was chairman of the canal commissioners from March 1810 until his death, Nov. 6, 1816.

[6]Erie canal was first opened on Oct. 26, 1825. See Vol. XVII, p. 198, revised edition, this series.

[7]George Stephenson, 1781-1848, perfected the engine until on Sept. 27, 1825, the first railway train carried by a locomotive traveled with passengers and goods over the Stockton and Darlington Railway. *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

in England, and Roosevelt[8] was carrying his first steamboat down the Ohio from Pittsburg; when the old Indian shore had been turned into an active agricultural frontier; the shore of Erie and Michigan was little known, and its maps were nearly as crude as those of inner Africa. Northern Ohio and Indiana were unchartered wilderness when compared with the active farm lands of the Ohio shore. Even western New York, through which the Mohawk gateway was to be approached, was still a waste, and at Genesee Falls, where Rochester now stands, it is recorded that there was in 1811 but a single house. It was this unused half of the Old Northwest that was waiting for its gate to open. Buffalo, Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Detroit, Milwaukee and Chicago were at the opening of the Erie Canal either not in existence at all, or were little straggling villages where wild game ran at will and the Indians loitered about the streets.

A new world came into existence with the opening of the Erie Canal. The Cumberland road had carried the old East into the Northwest, but its capacity had been limited by the capacity of the vehicle that went along it. The conditions of emigration established by the pack-train, or even the Conestoga wagon, impressed a uniformity in simplicity upon all travel by this road. Its volume had been limited by the very width of the road itself. But the Erie Canal was more safe and less primitive than its competing route. The canal boat moved through the waters of the canal with deliberation, indeed, but with security, and the sloop or steamboat carried the traveler over the waters of the lakes. There was no limit either in size or cost to the freight that could be shipped. There was no approachable limit to the volume of migration that might pass to the northern side. With easier communication came quicker development in population and wealth, so that the lake side of the Old Northwest soon caught up to the river side which had had a generation's start. In spite of the years between the two migrations and the difference in means, the two sections easily blended into one. The earlier side had been filled with a people driven west by the hard times following the war with England. New hard times in the thirties prepared the thousands who were to pass the northern gateway in the later time. And Michigan and Chicago are concrete evidence of the emigration now as southern Indiana and Illinois were of the emigration then. Significant changes in public attitude towards the gateways appeared in the later day. In 1788 the Ohio Company expedition had

[8]Nicholas J. Roosevelt made this trip on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in 1811 with his wife. This first steamboat was built at Pittsburg in 1810 under the supervision of Mr. Roosevelt who was instructed as to its building by Robert Fulton. It was 116 feet long, 20 feet beam engine, 36 inch cylinder and was called the "New Orleans." In Sept., 1811, they commenced the journey, reaching New Orleans without serious accident. *The Steamboat Voyage on the Western Waters*, by J. H. B. Latrobe, *Maryland Hist. Soc. Fund Publication No. 6.*

gone west by way of a southern and indirect route, taking it as the natural road. But when troops had to be sent from the Chesapeake to Chicago for the Black Hawk War in 1832, they were sent by a northern and indirect route, through the canal to Buffalo and by steamer to the head of Lake Michigan. The Erie gateway had by 1830 succeeded to the prominent place held in 1818 by the Cumberland road.

Through these two gateways the Old Northwest was peopled until it ceased to be the Old Northwest and became the Middle West. Upon the East they continued to exert their influence for several decades. The Cumberland road had encouraged New York to persevere with the Erie Canal. The Erie Canal impressed upon Pennsylvania the necessity to continue her competition by constructing her canal and portage railway system. The activity of Pennsylvania stirred Virginia and Maryland to renewed exertions, the former starting a Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to increase the competition for the control of the gateways. While Maryland was late enough in entering the struggle to come armed with a new vehicle of transportation, and to begin work upon her Baltimore and Ohio Railroad by 1828. It is to be learned from the history of transportation in America that it was a desire for western business that started the great canals and roads and railroads which were to make union and nationality in America possible.

The gateways inspired the East, but they created the West, and their dominant influence is seen in the whole ante bellum history of the Middle West. They gave rise to a Northwest of two sections, one depending upon Lake Erie and looking to the New York route, the other reaching out from the terminus of the Cumberland road. For some little time the two sections stood apart, but the logic of geography and experience prepared the way for the blending of the whole population. The influence of the gateways upon the Old Northwest comes to an end when there is to be found throughout the five states substantial economic and social uniformity.

Intercourse between the Lakes and the Ohio had been difficult always, yet the necessity for such intercourse had given the occasion for the first discovery of the country long before this present era begins. How old is the Indian knowledge of the portage paths, no one can say. The earliest of the French explorers found them known and used them constantly. The river system dependent upon the Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi interlock over the area of the Northwest, so that there are numerous places where the light canoe can be transferred from one system to the other with but a short carry. On the northern side the Cuyahoga, the Sandusky, the Maumee, and farther west, the St. Joseph, the Chicago and the Fox, extend far to the south with their branches. From the south the rivers rise to meet them, the Muskingum, the

Scioto, the Miami, and the Wabash, and the Illinois and Wisconsin. Between these rivers, pair for pair, portage paths were followed from time to time as hunting and trapping need suggested. But the routes were navigable only for the canoe. The Indian or the explorer, with his portable commissariat, could move freely over them, but they gave little comfort to the emigrant with family, stock, and even the most primitive of furniture. Yet the routes were valleys, and carried waterways, and no pioneer who had come into the Northwest through either of the gateways was at loss what to do. The southern gateway revealed federal activity in a great engineering work; the northern pointed to a still greater work carried to triumphant completion by a single state. The turnpike and canal were familiar to the population of the West, and were by them undertaken confidently and on a large scale at a time when Eastern communities were reluctant and timid in their own improvement. So it was that a population was no sooner in the river side of the Northwest than it demanded a road to the East, and it was no sooner in both sides than it determined to provide for itself easy intercommunication along the portage paths, or from east to west, as might be wise or possible.

The year 1825 is as significant as any in marking the growth of local internal improvement in the Old Northwest. In this year the opening of the Erie canal gave permanent accommodation to the demands for Eastern communication and left the activities of the West available for domestic exploitation. The father of the Erie canal was himself called into the service of the Northwest, and his advice, eagerly asked, was as readily given. The Fourth of July previous to the opening of his own canal came in a period of great activity for him in the Ohio country. On that day he formally began the excavation at Licking Summit[10] that was to join the Lake and the River by a canal along the valleys of the Cuyahoga and Scioto, connecting the villages of Cleveland and Portsmouth. A few days later he similarly celebrated the beginning of a second great system that was one day to turn the old Miami and Maumee portage into a through route between Toledo and Cincinnati. With the commencement of the Ohio and Miami canals, as these enterprises were designated, Ohio entered upon a vast career of domestic improvement. Not all of her schemes were ever remunerative or practical as commercial enterprises, but the state had responded fully to that overwhelming demand for transportation which was characteristic of the whole Northwest, and to which the tedious experiences of original entry through the old and narrow gateways had given volume and insistence. On the very day that Governor Clinton was commencing the Ohio canal, another ceremony was taking place within the

[10]On July 4, 1825, work was begun at Licking Summit on the great Ohio canal.

same state at St. Clairsville. Here, across the river and not far from Wheeling, where the Cumberland road had stopped in 1818, the President and Vice-President of the United States were giving formal recognition to the fact of resumption of construction. The Cumberland road was now to be continued, and to be extended under the name of the National road, across Ohio, through Columbus, across Indiana to Indianapolis, and was even to point the way through Vandalia to St. Louis before the railroad should overtake it, and bring its further building to an end.

The whole Northwest was preparing to bind itself together by roads and canals in 1825. Every one of the old portage paths was to receive some recognition. The canals already begun were to satisfy the greatest needs of Ohio. The two rival portages by the Cuyahoga-Muskingum or the Sandusky-Scioto were blended in a compromise route that joined the Cuyahoga and Scioto and was eminently satisfactory to Cleveland. The Miami Canal covered another much used route. In later years Sandusky, on a good harbor but left out of prosperity by the scheme of state canals, was to build the Mad River and Lake Erie Railroad on her own account, and so enter the field of internal trade. Farther on, the federal government stepped in to aid Indiana in joining the Wabash and Maumee. Illinois turned her portage path into another canal. Wisconsin later joined the Fox and Wisconsin rivers in the same way. While Michigan, alone among the Northwest states in having no good portage within her borders, consoled herself in the first flush of her new dignity as a state, in 1837,[11] by ordering the construction of three parallel railroads across the lower peninsula, bringing herself nearly to ruin and bankruptcy thereby, but throwing light upon the enthusiasm for improvement which the Northwest had.

With the completion of these routes of internal communication through the Old Northwest the direct influence of the gateways came to an end. They dominated in its history so long as travel was difficult and as the route by its nature determined in any wise the life that passed along it. But so soon as adequate means of transportation within the country, or between it and the East were ready for any passenger and any freight, so soon as population and wealth could flow through it freely and unrestrained, in any direction, the period closes. In point of time, the gateways of the Old Northwest are dominant in 1788 and have not ceased to be important in 1850.

The significance of these gateways in the history of the Old Northwest is more than that of two routes of travel. A road may well do more then carry the passer-by. It may by its difficulty imprint upon him and his character marks that will be long in passing. Whenever the capac-

[11] In 1837 Michigan started the Southern and Havre Branch Railroad, the Central or Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad, the Northern Railroad.

ity of the road is beneath the demand upon it, its imprint must become deeper and more permanent. Through the gateways at the Forks of the Ohio and the valley of the Mohawk, the Old Northwest came into existence. For two generations they continued to direct its increase. Among the elements of life in the resulting community may be found many concrete memorials of their period of control. Social democracy points not only to similar economic conditions, but to similar origin and experience; zeal in transportation is the direct result of distance and dificulty; liberal constitutional interpretation at once results from and is necessary to continued development. For an understanding of the uniformity which is the distinguishing feature of the Old Northwest these gateways and their history provide the key.

UNEXPLORED FIELDS IN AMERICAN HISTORY[1]

BY CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE

The task which I have set myself today has troubled me much in execution because of the fear that I might be misunderstood. This society has too large a body of excellent work to its credit, and it has rendered too great services to the cause of Michigan history to endure patiently any criticism of its aims and accomplishments—especially from the lips of one of its youngest members. I hope, therefore, that what I have to say will be viewed as suggestion, not criticism, as a hope for our future accomplishment, and not fault-finding with past results.

It is a commonplace among historical scholars that the only good excuse for the rewriting of history by new generations of historians is that each succeeding generation of readers of history has new interests in the past which the older historians, however excellent their work, neglected. Monumental and immortal as was the work of Gibbon, there have been great and valuable studies made by later investigators in the same field, and many contributions of the greatest interest made to the history of the "Decline and Fall." New ways of looking upon life create new interests in the life of past generations, and the past must be searched again for the light it may shed upon present problems or for explanations of the growth of institutions, now for the first time prominent enough to attract our attention.

And there is yet another reason for rewriting history. The study of history itself has had its evolution from the time when the historian

[1]Read at the midwinter meeting, December, 1907.

was a mere annalist to the best of modern historians who try to arrange the facts of history so that they reveal the growth or decay of institutions. The methods of research have suffered immense changes, from the day of the credulous student who accepted as true all that was printed in a book or handed down by oral tradition, to the scientific historian of today who accepts nothing as true which will not stand all the tests of the most rigid criticism.

Within the last twenty years there has grown up a school of historical investigators who demand a degree of integrity and care in research which makes necessary a special training never before conceived of. A statement of a few of these demands will best reveal the merits of the school and its resulting attainments. When a scholar gives attention to an historical monument, or document, be it inscription, letter, diary, public paper, or any kind of "tradition" or "remains" he proceeds to ask a great many questions for the purpose of learning first of all whether his source is what it purports to be or what he thinks it is. Of a printed source he first asks whether it is an exact copy of the original. Of the original he asks when was the account written? Where? By whom? Do the contents agree with what is learned from other sources of the same time and place? Is the writer ignorant of things a man of that age should have known? Has he knowledge of events he could not have known at the time of writing? Was the witness leagued with others to leave behind him certain impressions—lies which historians might agree upon? Did he observe directly or only in a secondary way what he relates? Did this author copy from another? When the investigator has asked all these questions, he merely makes up his mind whether he can safely use the tradition or remains before him for the purposes of research. When he has assembled his well authenticated sources, he begins what is called internal criticism—trying to see in the document what may be accepted as true. First he determines the value of the source, which depends upon its character, the individuality of the writer, the influence of time and place. He weighs any reasons for doubting the good faith of an author, or reasons for questioning his accuracy. He takes great care in the interpretation of words which may mean one thing in one age or place, and another at a different time or elsewhere, and finally he applies one great critical rule to all the seeming facts before him—"The affirmation of a single source concerning an external fact is never sufficient to establish that fact." This may be called the golden rule of historical criticism. Affirmations found in different sources upon the same point are then compared, and the final rule for accepting a fact as true applied. "When two or more contemporary witnesses report, *independently* of one another, the same fact, with many like details, that do not have a necessary or usual, but

rather a casual connection with the facts, then the accounts so far as they agree must be true, if the fact and its details were so clearly perceptible that no self-deception could have been possible." The truth is recognized that a cloud of witnesses is of no value, if all but one are repeaters. It may seem that if all these precautions are to be observed by every writer of history that little progress would be made in writing the history of long periods, but if all the privates in the great army of history writers will obey these rules in working out their little monographic tasks, the generals or—dropping the figure,—the historians of the larger themes, have only to be sure that the monographs have been done by this scientific method, and accepting them as final, they may proceed to the larger tasks of the philosophic historian.

Now I hardly need to point out, that, able and devoted as some of our historians of Michigan have been, no investigation of our state's history has even been conducted with anything like the scholarly care which I have described. We have few monographs of the excellence of Miss Soule's, *Boundaries of Michigan,* and yet we must have many hundreds of such pieces of research done, before the great historian of Michigan, the Gibbon who will dedicate his work to the "Goddess of the Inland Seas," can write his monumental work. All attempts hitherto have been handicapped by the paucity of monographic work, which made it absolutely necessary that many of the most important topics should be merely touched upon or not touched at all.

I have recently searched with some care the best of our state histories looking for the subjects which have either been ignored altogether or have been inadequately treated because both the monographic material and the accessible sources were lacking. Many similar subjects have received careful monographic treatment in other states, as one may see by an examination of the *Iowa Journal,* the *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings,* the *Johns Hopkins University Studies,* and any good collection of pamphlet monographs on local history. The subject which have been neglected are in every field, but more especially the economic and social, which only within recent years, and with the growth of the importance of such subjects in our national life have seized the attention of historians. The fact that readers of this age do want to know how some of our industrial and social institutions originated and evolved, constitutes, as I have previously shown, another reason for rewriting our history, though it has been already so well and faithfully done according to the scholarly standards of the times in which the historians wrote.

First, I shall suggest some of the political subjects which need careful monographic treatment. A study is needed of Michigan's Indian policy, and the gradual extinction of Indian titles within its boundaries.

Michigan's interest in the tariff and how her state politcs have been influenced thereby has never been scientifically treated. There is no study of the struggle of sectional interests in our legislature, the conflicting legislative wishes of the mining interests of northern Michigan with the agricultural interests or the lumber interests in the southern peninsula. A chart, or a county map, of the votes on certain measures would reveal some fierce struggles between the several groups. Then the party machines have a history, and much of the local government organizations deserves study, the origin and changes in township and county government. The source and the historical development of the county boards, their officers and powers, deserves attention, as does also the struggle for elective as against appointive judiciary, and the history of the decay of the grand jury system and the substitution of the prosecuting attorney. Michigan's contact with national politics will reward a number of investigators, her attitude towards the Mexican War, the Compromise of 1850, and the doctrine of popular sovereignity, so ably championed by her great statesman Cass. The reaction of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill upon local politics, Michigan's part in the Kansas Crusade, and the career of the Know-Nothing Party in Michigan are good themes.

Next, perhaps, in importance are the unworked social fields, such as the development of a city laboring class as distinct from the farmer class, and the effect of this development upon politics. The Underground Railroad in Michigan and the resulting negro population with the social problems outgrowing is not an unworthy theme. The amelioration of the criminal code, the passing of capital punishment, and the softening of other penalties, and also the state charity institutions will amply pay the thesis seeker. The source and evolution of Michigan's advanced views on these subjects, the story of the leaders of reform, and the development of the local system of caring for the poor can be profitably studied. There should be a careful historical investigation of the Dutch in western Michigan, their industrial and social habits, their attitude toward political controversies, and their general influence upon their section. The other race elements too should be investigated, their relative proportions and social influence. Finally an interesting study could be made of sectarian influences in the State, and of conflicts in relation to school and university matters.

The greatest amount of work is yet to be done in the economic field. The evolution of the lumber, iron, coal, salt and woolen industries has never been carefully traced. Some of our histories barely mention that we had a veritable "Klondike" in Michigan, the "Copper Fever" in 1845 which became an epidemic over the whole country,—an event only second in its picturesque history to the 49*ers' story in California*—but the

evolution and romantic story of the copper mining thereafter has never been told. Then there is Michigan's agricultural history, the early rude methods, and as a result of inventions and better knowledge their gradual modification and change so told as to show the evolution of our present system. The rise and development of manufactures in Michigan, the inducements to establish, the failures and successes resulting from inexorable natural laws, all these themes offer temptation to the patient student.

Michigan's commerce, too, both inland and on the Great Lakes is worthy of full exposition. The development and decay of the Michigan fur-trade, with its influence upon those who followed it, is a subject of romantic interest. Michigan's share in the trade with the Southwest before the war will help explain the attitude of her citizens on the slavery issues. We want more about the development of our railroads, their influence on politics, and Michigan's early experience in the State ownership of railroads, so studied as to show how far early social conditions were responsible for failure. There is too the study of the evolution of Michigan's banking system, ably treated by Judge Cooley in the period of the thirties, but not later. The panics of 1857 and 1873 deserve the same treatment accorded that of 1837.

All of the subjects which I have so tediously catalogued, and many more, need careful monographic treatment. A mere analystic presentation of them will not do, but there should be a scientific arrangement of the facts as to institutions, political, economic, or social, which will reveal their growth and show their influence upon the other institutions which enter into the social whole. This cannot be done, of course, until we have gathered a vast amount of material, pamphlets, newspapers, letters and diaries of prominent statesmen and politicians, local records of every sort, in some accessible place or places, and this latter work cannot be done by the devotion and zeal of a single individual, even though, like our honored President, he is willing to give his time and fortune unremittingly to the gigantic task. Is it not the function of this society—every member of it—to devote some energy to the assembling of material of this kind at some convenient point, at Lansing, Detroit, or at the University, and to use every legitimate influence to get the legislature of this State to grant money for this purpose as liberally as the legislatures of our sister State, Wisconsin, which does not hesitate to grant ————[2] each year to that end. There should be no delay, for so rapidly does historical material disappear, if not conserved in some public archives under scientific care, that every day of procrastination menaces the integrity of any future history of our State. All available source material should be, as soon as possible,

[2]This sum has increased from $20,000 in 1907 to $31,000 in 1910, and an endowment to carry on the work swells the sum to more than double.

placed where it will be preserved and catalogued for use. When that is accomplished we may hope that students, either with the scholarship ripe for the purpose and knowledge of the methods of research which I have sketched above, or under the guidance of a trained investigator, may repair to these repositories and work out these preliminary studies which will make possible a scientific history worthy of Michigan's position among the states of our Union.

THE LOST FINCH BOY

BY JOHN E. DAY[1]

Albert Finch, senior member of the Finch family, of New York state, was born in Dutchess County, New York, in the year 1775. The family were old residents of New England and had drifted westward with the tide of emigration in hopes of finding an Eldorado or, at least, something better than the East had to offer. In the year 1800 he moved to Ontario County, in the same state, which move was then called "going West." He purchased land and made a home and was neighbor to the Baileys and the Gateses, earliest settlers in what is now the village of Romeo, having reached that spot in 1822. They had sent home such flattering reports of the location and of their surroundings that in 1823 Mr. Finch was induced to again move farther west, so selling his partly improved farm, where his children had been born and most of them grown to maturity, he started for Michigan in general and Asahel Bailey's in particular. He set out in the month of March with a yoke of oxen and sled, together with a son and daughter and some provisions and blankets, across Canada for Detroit and the territory of Michigan. Fifteen days were occupied in reaching Detroit, following the nearest route then opened to the River Thames. On reaching this river they traveled part of the way on the ice toward Lake St. Clair, then took the ice to Detroit. After starting the weather warmed up and the ice softened so as to be dangerous and the traveling tedious and uncomfortable. The ice was covered with water and the road very muddy, so they plodded along in a slow and dreary way. An open sled, uncertain roads, a slow team, through a thinly settled country, out early and up late, riding when too tired to walk and walking when too cold to ride, it was in no sense a pleasure trip. They reached Detroit at last, only to find that the snow was all melted and that going farther in that way was out of the question. So the oxen and the daughter were left and Mr. Finch and Sylvester started for the Hoxie Settlement (now

[1]Paper read at annual meeting, 1908.

Romeo) on foot by the blazed trail. Then went by way of Royal Oak and Utica, crossing streams on logs when bridges were missing and wading when there were no logs, and reached the Baileys on a Saturday night wet, weary and welcome.

Arrangements for the location of suitable land for a home had already been made by the Baileys. The next Monday was spent in looking for a wagon with which to make the trip to Detroit to fetch the girl and the equipments left behind. The wagon they hired of Mr. Lazarus Green, six miles south of Romeo, for one dollar. He asserted that for any purpose than that of moving in a settler they could not have it at any price.

Tuesday morning Mr. Finch and the two Baileys started for Detroit, which place they reached some time next day. In the meantime it had rained and turned colder, and on their return, as they reached the flats south of Utica, they found them completely submerged and frozen over to the thickness of one inch. The horses refused to break their way against such an obstacle, and so one man went ahead of the team and broke the ice with a club, while the others managed the team. Night came on and they lost the trail, so they were forced to abandon the wagon, get out the teams and seek for shelter. They found the hut of a man who had just settled there and who was alone and had little to eat, but was willing to do for them what he could. He gave the team some marsh hay, but the people went to bed hungry and with wet clothes laid down on the floor, with scanty covering, and passed a dismal night. As soon as it was light they returned to the wagon, recovered the trail and on crossing the flats found a backwoods tavern of logs and bark, where they dried their clothes and got some breakfast. They reached Bailey's on Friday night and on Saturday returned the wagon, thus spending just a week in making the trip of thirty-five miles and getting and returning the wagon. A log house was soon erected, corn and potatoes were planted, and in June Mr. Finch went back to the old home in Ontario County to move the remainder of his family and his goods. The journey was made with horses and wagon over nearly the same route, but in much less time and with much greater comfort. Mr. Finch had told Sylvester, when he left, to be sure and have some venison killed by the time they got back; "for," said he, "your mother will be tired and homesick and will need something to chirk her up."

On the morning of the day they were expected Sylvester went about a mile from the house and shot a large buck, and some of the choicest portions were put in the long handled pan by the fire ready to cook at an instant's notice. Then as evening came on they listened for the sound of the wheels which should herald the approach of the company. The waiting and listening lasted until nearly morning, when both

brother and sister fell fast asleep, and so the family found them. The horses, jaded by the hard and long drive, had completely failed and all the company had been forced to make the latter part of the journey on foot, Mrs. Finch carrying in her arms the little boy Alanson—who was lost—then something less than a year old. Their clothes were wet and they were tired, faint and half starved, and Mrs. Finch was too exhausted to eat the venison prepared for her. The family thus united in their new home were happy, prosperous and useful. Mr. Finch's barn was the first in the settlement, and was used for a meeting-house for the Methodist Episcopal people whenever they could get a minister to serve them. It was in his house that the first Methodist Episcopal class was formed.

In the early spring of 1829, the roads became so intolerably muddy that it was thought best to dismiss the school for two weeks. Mr. Finch was boiling sap about one-half mile from the house and the little boy, Alanson, about five years old, and a brother, a year or two older, went one afternoon to the sugar bush. As night came on their father started them for home. As they proceeded Alanson said he wanted to go by the schoolhouse and see a well that he and some playmates had dug the day before. The brother objected to this and so they separated, Alanson going to the schoolhouse and the brother went straight home and told his mother that Alanson had gone by the way of the schoolhouse and would be along in a few minutes. But the few minutes did not bring him and as it became dark the mother went in search of him, but without success. Then an alarm was raised and neighbors called in to aid in the search. All night, next day and every day for two weeks parties tramped back and forth through the woods, each day hoping and expecting to find at least some trace of him, or evidence of where he had been. My father spent several days in the search, and I have heard him say that not even a rabbit nor a squirrel could have been in those woods and not have been noticed by the party of hunters.

Then a company of Indians were hired to continue the search some days longer; but no trace of him was even discovered and the conviction settled upon the community that he had been stolen by the Indians. This conviction was strengthened by the fact that a chief of the Chippewas, Kanobe, had taken a great fancy to the boy, and being a frequent and familiar visitor at the Finch home would carry Alanson about in his arms and ask him to go to his wigwam and be his papoose. This chief disappeared from the settlement about this time, but afterwards came back and disclaimed all knowledge of the matter. Another theory was that the boy had been taken through revenge. The elder of the Finch boys had had some trouble with the Indians about some ponies that the Finches had found in the woods, claiming them

to be wild ponies; but the Indians said they were their property. Complaint was made by the chief to Governor Cass, who sent a commission consisting of Colonel Stockton and R. P. Eldridge, of Mt. Clemens, and Bela Hubbard, of Detroit, to adjust the affair and pacify the Indians. The result of the matter was the ponies were given up to the Indians, but a bad feeling remained, resulting in the abduction, as some thought, of the little boy. The calamity was keenly felt by the entire community, but fell with fatal effect upon Mr. and Mrs. Finch, for within a few months they both passed away, within a few days of each other, borne down with sorrow to an untimely grave. Some years after the event a young man came to the settlement from the West—then not far away—and claimed that he was the lost Finch boy. He was evidently of white parentage but showed the effects of the life in the open, with the smoke and tan of the Indian life. He told how he had from earliest remembrance been among the Indians, and they had told him that he had been stolen from Indian Village when a small child and adopted by the tribe and removed with them to the West. Many of the old neighbors of the Finches came to see and talk with the young man, for he could talk a little English, and found some things about him to confirm the belief that he was the boy who had been lost. But his stories did not connect and his habits were such as to make him an undesirable companion, so he returned to the Indian life, and the fate of the Finch boy remained shrouded in mystery that can only be dissolved in that day when all secrets shall be revealed.

INCIDENTS OF EARLY DAYS IN ALLEGAN COUNTY[1]

BY MRS. NINA DAUGHERTY

The settling of western Michigan was progressing rapidly in the thirties, one county after another being organized until by the time she became a State the counties from Detroit clear to the lake were well organized. March 29, 1833, a law was passed that changed the county of Allegan to the township of Allegan and made it a part of Kalamazoo County, and on April 6, 1833, the first township meeting was held in the house of Samuel Foster in Otsego. In 1835 they petitioned the legislative council for a separate county organization, which was granted and became effective September 1, 1835. The following year an act was approved which divided the county into four townships, viz., Plainfield, Otsego, Newark and Allegan. Plainfield embraced what is now Gun

[1]Paper read at annual meeting, 1908.

Plain, Martin, Wayland and Leighton. Otsego embraced the present Otsego, Watson, Hopkins and Dorr. Newark embraced the present townships of Lee, Clyde, Manlius, Fillmore, Casco, Ganges, Saugatuck and Laketown, while Allegan covered Trowbridge, Allegan, Monterey, Salem, Cheshire, Pine Plains, Heath and Overisel. These townships elected supervisors in April, 1836, and the board of supervisors met October 4 of the same year. By 1861 the boundaries and names of the present twenty-four townships had been settled and were as they are now. In the spring of 1830 William G. Butler, of Rochester, N. Y., located at what is now Saugatuck, his being the first house in that village, and for three years his family were the only white residents of the western half of the county. In the fall of the same year Giles Scott, of Rochester, N. Y., with his family settled at the mouth of Pine Creek in what is now Otsego Township. Dr. Samuel Foster came a little later in the same year and was the first resident in the corporate limits of Otsego. The first postoffice in the county was at Otsego and Dr. Foster was postmaster. This was in 1832.

The first sawmill in the county was built by Turner Aldrich, Jr., of Lodi, N. Y., on Pine Creek, about a mile from its mouth, in 1831. It was the old-fashioned perpendicular saw.

The first frame house in the county was built in Gun Plain Township by Dr. Cyrenus Thompson in the summer of 1832, and the first church in the county was built in the same township by the Baptist society.

Hon. H. E. Blackman, of Allegan, says that Alexander Ely (1834) had secured some land on the Kalamazoo River and hired Leander Prouty to work for him a year at twelve dollars a month. The Indian trail being the only road and the only transportation by way of the river, no boat being at hand, a raft was in order, so Mr. Prouty bought some lumber at Pine Creek, built a raft and loaded his scanty supplies of household goods, tools and provisions. Among other things he had with him a barrel of pork and a plow. On June 6, 1834, he started on his voyage, accompanied by his wife and Eber Sherwood, also Mr. Crittenden. They had floated twelve or fifteen miles from Pine Creek and were yet about eight miles from their destination when their conveyance snagged and was wrecked to some extent. They lost their plow in the river but secured it afterward. Late in the evening they landed for the night and Mrs. Prouty was very much frightened by the howling of the wolves near the camp. The next day they built a cabin, where they lived the following year. This was the first white man's dwelling on the present site of Allegan, as well as the first between Pine Creek and the mouth of the Kalamazoo River.

Mr. Blackman tells the following relative to Alexander Ely: In November or December, 1834, Mr. Ely, accompanied by another man,

came to Pine Creek and found the inhabitants raising a barn and, as whisky was furnished at the raising, some were considerably under its influence, so they deemed it unsafe to remain for the night, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon they started by boat for his place, twenty miles below. When they were just above the site of the present dam above Allegan they struck some flood wood, their boat was capsized and both were thrown into the river. The other man was drowned, but Mr. Ely swam to the north shore and made for his destination as best he could. There was no road, it was dark and his clothes were frozen. He was in a bad way when he heard a dog bark. He went toward the dog and finally saw a light. He then halloed and an Indian came across the river to his aid and took him in for the night. The Indian was going north to Mackinaw the following fall and Mr. Ely fitted him out for his trip and again in the spring when he returned Mr. Ely aided him and was always kind to him and finally, when he died, Mr. Ely buried him.

Mr. A. Stillson, of Saugatuck, says the Indian's name was doubtless Macsaubee, and that Mr. Ely gave the two Macsaubee boys a good education, common schools being the best then, and named them Joe and Louie. Mr. Stillson says he knew them well. They were traders with the Indians later and considered themselves far superior to the common Indians. Mr. Blackman tells of a circumstance where an Indian befriended a white man and later the white man would betray him. He knew the parties, but withholds their names, as the white man's descendants are good people and giving the name might reflect upon them. The white man was sick and in need and the Indian brought him food—venison and such other eatables as an Indian can provide. When the whites were transporting the Indians West to Indian Territory the man was hired to help hunt them. This Indian did not want to go because the Indians West were his enemies and would kill him, but the white man persisted in hunting him, so one morning he went to the home of the white man and said, "Two mornings I have seen you in the woods looking for me; if I see you again I will shoot you." But he never had occasion to shoot.

Mr. E. B. Born, of Allegan, says that Jannette E. Prouty, eldest daughter of Leander S. Prouty, was the first white child born in Allegan. She married William A. Gibbs, of Portage Township, Kalamazoo County, on May 10, 1854, and Mr. Born attended the wedding.

Speaking of Portage Township, Kalamazoo County calls to mind, that it was in those particular "Oak Openings" that Cooper found material for some of his characters in his delightful novel of that name, and how passing on down the river to its mouth, he laid the plot, weaving into the story so much of the romance of which that historical territory abounds. Many residents of Saugatuck can point you to the exact spot

where the Bee Hunter concealed his boat and its precious cargo from the Redskins, and where the cask of liquor was spilled among the rocks and deluded the Indians with the idea of a whisky spring.

Many years have passed since the swift Indian runners carried to Ft. Dearborn information of the fall of Michilimackinac, and yet the Indian trail is plainly marked in this locality. As you are floating down the Kalamazoo River you are going nearly straight west for some time before you reach Kalamazoo Lake (an expansion of the river between Douglas and Saugatuck). At Saugatuck it turns nearly north, keeping on north by west about a mile, then it turns to the west, and making a grand curve sweeps on to the south and continues to a point nearly due west of Saugatuck, when it suddenly bends to the west and empties into grand old Lake Michigan. In the early days of which I am writing, at the bend in the river known as the "oxbow," midway between Saugatuck and the mouth, is located the site of the entirely deserted village of Singapore. It was once the most flourishing lumber manufacturing town in the State. Think of the now entirely submerged town, once boasting of three large lumber mills, several general stores, two hotels and a bank issuing its own currency! Over seventy years ago Mr. O. Wilder made an elaborate map of the town. It had broad and regularly laid out streets bearing such names as "Broad," "Detroit," "Oak," "Cherry," "Cedar," "River," etc. Its corner lots were at a premium.

Judge Cooley, in his history of Michigan, quotes as follows from the Bank Commissioner's reports of the year 1838: "The singular spectacle was presented of the officers of the State seeking for banks in situations the most inaccessible and remote from trade, and finding at every slip an increase of labor by the discovery of new and unknown organizations. * * * * * One bank was found in a sawmill and it was said with pardonable exaggeration in one of the public papers, 'Every village plat with a house, or even without a house, if it had a hollow stump to serve as a vault, was the site of a bank.'"

H. M. Utley, in Michigan Pioneer Collections, says: "No school boy ever saw the name of Singapore on his map of Michigan. That was a happy thought in christening this particular wild cat bank to give it a name with an East India flavor. It inspired respect. A gentleman who took the bills because of the mellifluous title of the bank relates a mournful story of how the aforesaid bank failed while he was traveling about in the western part of the State looking for Singapore."

John P. Wade, of Ganges, now nearly eighty-five years old, recently gave the following relative to the Singapore bank:

"Oshea Wilder & Co., came to Singapore about 1836 and built the Singapore Bank. The money was furnished by the Lancaster Bank, of

Lancaster, Mass. The law at this time required that each bank have on hand a certain amount of specie as a reserve fund at all times, so it was arranged between the bankers that the right amount be held at some point 'up country' when the Examiner called first on his round of inspection. When the specie had been counted at Kalamazoo a special messenger was hurried ahead of him to Allegan with the bag. After he had counted it at Allegan another messenger was hurried on to Singapore with the small sack of reserve fund. On one occasion an Indian was taking the sack from Allegan to Singapore in a canoe and when between the present site of New Richmond and Saugatuck by an accident the canoe was capsized and said specie reserve rested in the bottom of the Kalamazoo. The Examiner was detained at New Richmond and feasted and treated until men could go with the Indian and fish out the bag and get him started on to Singapore so when the Examiner came the required amount would be there. So much for the bank in its flourishing days."

The late Levi Loomis, one of Ganges' first settlers, told the following:

"Mr. Loomis was engaged in the boot and shoe business at Singapore. His customers offered him pretty pictures of the Singapore Bank in exchange for his goods and he refused to sell them for anything but good money. There were about two hundred men in the town and no other place within miles where boots could be bought. This state of affairs did not suit the officers of the bank and they went to Mr. Loomis and told him that if he would sell his goods for their money they would give him bills on Eastern banks in exchange when his bills became due in Utica, N. Y., where he purchased his stock. He finally agreed to this and the whole stock was sold, amounting to about $600. The day was fixed on which the bank was to redeem the money. Mr. Loomis wisely made the date a month ahead of the time to pay the Utica dealers, for, as might be expected, the bank was unprepared when the day arrived and they put him off with a promise of payment in four days. Then a draft was made on an Eastern bank and after a short time it was returned as worthless. Things went on until more than another month had passed and Mr. Loomis became desperate. His credit and honor depended on the payment of his debt and he resolved to have good money at any cost. Hill, the cashier of the bank, slept in a chamber in Loomis' house, with other boarders, but in a separate bed, and did not rise as early as the others. Mr. Loomis suspected that Hill carried with him the good money of the bank and slept with it under his pillow. He formed a plan and one morning after the others had gone down Mr. Loomis went to his room, entered and locked the door and wakened Hill, laid the wild cat bills on the bed, drew a pistol and told him that the exchange must be made then and there. Hill was surprised and indignant and began to

protest, saying he could do nothing until he went over to 'the office.' 'I know better,' said Mr. Loomis, 'and you will not go down these stairs until you are carried down unless you fulfill your promise and make the exchange.' These words, with the look of determination and the pistol, were sufficient and without more ado Hill raised his pillow and took from a roll, containing about one thousand dollars, the total genuine capital of the bank, the six hundred dollars, and took the bills in exchange. Mr. Loomis was not a man given to extreme measures, but one of whom it was said in the pioneer days, 'He was always kind, being a natural nurse and doctor both in sickness, and by reason of his being handy with carpenter tools, many a loved one was laid away in the "casket" made by his hands and never was anything done for money.' His son Marion, who lives opposite the old homestead at present, was the first white child born in the township of Ganges. Mr. Loomis said one evening in the winter of 1838, he and a man by the name of Moulton were invited to the house of one of the officers of the Singapore Bank to witness the destruction of the bills on hand at the time the bank was suspended. When they arrived they found a table three and one-half by four feet in size covered with bills in packages, lying in piles from three to six inches deep. These they were requested to burn in a stove. This was the closing chapter of the famous Singapore Bank. Then later the mills closed, and being the industry of the place all other business places were forced to give way and to-day the sands are drifting over all, burying the last vestige of the place and the waves breaking upon the beach seem to chant its requiem. Even one who is familiar with the facts can scarcely realize, when walking over these barren, dreary and wind-swept hills that beneath his very feet are the streets and dwellings of a village that was once a flourishing town."

Late in the fall of 1842 the schooner Milwaukee lay anchored off the mouth of the Kalamazoo River, taking in flour, which had been floated down from Kalamazoo. A terrible storm came on from the northwest. She was driven on shore and wrecked. The whites and Indians hearing of this took advantage of the situation and secured an ample supply of this staple for their present use. The flour being in barrels it was not damaged by the water. That flour was the means of saving much distress and possibly lives during the following season, as it was the one remembered and referred to as "that hard winter."

Captain Charles M. Link, of Ganges, says: "The Captain of the Milwaukee wanted to make sail and get out to sea that night when the storm came on, but the crew were timid and would not move the ship. No doubt the Captain was killed by a man named Williams, one of the crew, for he was never seen again." Mr. Link built the schooner Trio at Pier Cove in 1864. He can tell many interesting things relative to

the early happenings of the lake shore. Pier Cove is not a buried city, but it surely is the "Deserted Village," where once stood four stores, postoffice, one saloon, hotel, sawmill and gristmill. Not one business place stands.

> "But now the signs of population fail,
> No cheerful murmurs fluctuate the gale,
> No busy step the grass grown foot may tread,
> And all the blooming flush of life is fled."

In the early days the question of mail was a difficult one, only receiving it about once in two weeks. Sometimes it was taken down the river from Allegan by Indians in canoes and at other times on a lumber raft. The postage was twenty-five cents a letter, paid by the receiver, each extra sheet in a letter being subject to extra postage. To avoid this excess a sheet of foolscap paper was used as a wrapper, there being no envelopes then, and the extra was written on this in skim milk. This could not be seen until heated, when it would come out and be readable.

Are the women of to-day as brave as those women of the pioneer days of Allegan County? In 1832 Mrs. John P. Wade drove all alone through the woods from Singapore to Kalamazoo with a six-months-old babe in her arms. The only house on the road between Singapore and Allegan was the famous old "Pine Plains Tavern," located about five miles east of Fennville. She saw many wild animals on her way, but reached her destination without mishap and is living to-day, enjoying the best of health in her Ganges home.

The Rossiter was the first steamer to enter the Kalamazoo River. It was owned and sailed by Captain Robinson, a one-armed man. The first line steamer to sail between Saugatuck and Chicago was the Ira C. Chaffee, Captain Costam and Engineer George Dutcher.

Elisha Weed, who died about five years ago in Casco township, claimed to have been the second white man to settle in Southwestern Michigan and to have built the first sawmill operated in Saugatuck. In those days of the unbroken forest, who could prophesy of the enterprising villages that now dot the county, and that the lake shore would sometime become the center of an immense fruit industry? The swamps seemed then such a waste and to contain germs for so much malaria, but now they are covered with fragrant fields of peppermint and yield a good profit. Where the village of Fennville now stands was once only a swamp.

The late Mrs. Laura C. Hutchins, from whose prolific pen has come some of our most authentic pioneer history of the western part of the county, tells of the first Fourth of July celebration in "The Woods" in 1849:

"At the time all the dwellings between the old Bailey mill (four miles southeast of Fennville) and what we know as Peachbelt (three miles west of Fennville) were those of George Veeder, John Billings, Walter Billings, James Wadsworth and Harrison Hutchins. Charles Billings, Levi Loomis and Nathan Slayton were neighbors off from the road. Beyond Peachbelt lived James Wadsworth, Cyrus Cowles and Henry Barrager. Still farther on lived John Goodeve, and on the lake shore road James Haile and Banner Seymour. These were all, or until you reached Saugatuck or 'The Flats,' as it was usually called. Mrs. Hutchins and her family were invited to attend the picnic near the Veeder house on this Fourth of July and to furnish bread for the occasion. She accordingly made a loaf in a milk pan of the delicious old 'salt rising,' baking it in the great brick oven. 'Elder Grant,' the Methodist Episcopal presiding elder, was present and read the Declaration of Independence. Songs were sung and when dinner was announced John Billings, for drollery and to please the small boys, led the procession as they marched to the table, facetiously tooting upon an old fife, without time or tune."

Mrs. Hutchins wrote many poems relative to pioneer life, weaving in the names of those early settlers and their families, and we think as we read them, with their touches of humor, she must have thought like Kipling:

I have written the tale of our life
For a sheltered people's mirth,
In jesting guise—but ye are wise,
And ye know what the jest is worth.

MICHIGAN'S LAND BOUNDARY[1]

BY GEORGE H. CANNON[2]

The State of Michigan comprises two peninsulas. The lower, or that portion south of the Straits, [of Mackinaw] has a natural boundary on all sides excepting on the south, which has an extent of land 222 miles long. An authority states that politically it has 708.5 miles coterminous with Canada, 55.5 miles coterminous with Minnesota, 574 miles coterminous with Wisconsin, 58 miles bordering on Illinois, 129.2

[1]Anna May Soule wrote a paper on Michigan's boundaries, see Vol. XXVII, p. 378, this series. Mr. Cannon wrote a paper on *"Our Western Boundary,"* see Vol. XXX, p. 244, this series. Prof. Larzelere has the same subject, Vol. XXX, p. 1.

[2]Read at the annual meeting, June 4, 1908.

miles bordering on Indiana and 92.8 miles on Ohio. The waterline consists of Lakes Michigan, Huron, Erie, St. Clair and the St. Clair and Detroit rivers.

Turning now to the Upper Peninsula and beginning at Island Lake, the headwaters of the Montreal River as well as the extreme southwestern limit of the State in that quarter, we follow that river as the boundary line to Lake Superior, and in that lake to the St. Mary's River at the Soo, thence with that river to the upper portion of Lake Huron, the Straits of Mackinac, the upper portion of Lake Michigan, to the mouth of the Menominee River and with that river to its branch, the Brule, to the lake of the same name, which is the terminus of the natural water portion of the boundary line. From Lake Brule we may pass overland some fourteen miles to Lake Vieux Desert, thence a distance of some sixty miles by land to Island Lake, our place of beginning. This gives us less than eighty miles of land boundary in the northern peninsula, but it is however some ten miles greater than the present line terminating on the east branch of the Montreal River. It will thus be seen that the entire length of the land boundary for the state is somewhat less than 300 miles, while its waterline is said to measure 1,620 miles of lake and river.

It is the line that lies between Lake Vieux Desert and Island Lake that we are mainly considering in this paper.

In the summer of 1885 the writer with a party of men was occupied in an exploration for mineral and timber in the vicinity of and along the Montreal River. During the season the whole length of that river was traversed from its source in Island Lake to its discharge in Lake Superior, as well as to its largest affluent, or East Branch, which issues from a lake some two miles long by half a mile wide, called Pine Lake. Knowing full well that the boundary of our state was the Montreal River, he was surprised to find that the line as marked did not reach that river at all but terminated on the East Branch at a point on that stream about midway of its length. Becoming interested in the work of the State Pioneer and Historical Society, it was deemed advisable to make a study of the subject in order to learn, if he could, why the line of boundary had not been run to the main river as it should have been and as the law required.

With this object in view copies of all papers bearing upon the subject wherever available were procured. These were largely obtained through the courtesy of the late Senator Alger and comprise the following Letters of Instructions from Colonel Abert,[3] Chief of the Topographical

[3]Col. John James Abert was born Sept. 17, 1788, and graduated from West Point, 1811. He served in the war of 1812 and in 1814 was appointed topographical engineer with rank of major. In 1838 he became colonel in command of that branch of the engineers. In 1861 he returned and died on Sept. 27, 1863. His son, James William, was also a topographical engineer and was engaged on the survey of the northern lakes in 1843-4.

Engineers, July 30th, 1840 and March 31st, 1841; the several acts of Congress making appropriations for the survey as follows, that of June 12, 1838, authorizing $3,000, March 3, 1841, $6,000, May 18, 1842, $7,000 and of August 10, 1848, $1,000, of this sum of $17,000 some less than one-half was expended by Captain Cram[4] on the actual survey, while the last appropriation was paid to William A. Burt[5] who finally established the line as marked out by Captain Cram;[6] also the Act of Congress of June 15, 1836; the Act of July 20, 1840 authorized the Secretary of War to "ascertain and designate the boundary" (which duty under the Act of July 12, 1838, had been assigned to the surveyor-general of the district by whom no surveys were begun). See Captain Cram's reports *Senate Documents*[7] No. 151, *26 Congress* 2nd session and *Senate Document* No. 170, *27 Congress* 2nd session, the Act of Congress August 6, 1846, for the admission of the State of Wisconsin into the Union and *Senate Document* No. 2, 30 Congress 1st session. Aside from these the archives at Lansing were freely drawn upon, giving all needed information in regard to the establishment of the line as we now have it.

An examination of these papers appear to show that Congress designed the survey to be made by the surveyor-general northwest of the Ohio, and the President issued an order to that effect January 27, 1841. Nevertheless the order was suspended for the time being at least and the work turned over to the War Department. Subsequent events show that this change was most unfortunate for the State, because had the survey been done under the direction of the surveyor-general the boundary line would have been made in the exact terms of the enabling act admitting the State into the Union and would have extended from Island Lake, the headwaters of the Montreal River, to Lake Vieux Desert. Lucius Lyon was at the time surveyor-general of the district. He had had much to do with the discussion of the boundary question in all its phases and no one can entertain a doubt but that in his hands the letter of the law would have been fully complied with. Captain Cram, of the Topographical Engineers, was detailed to do the work. The act pertaining to that portion is as follows: "To the mouth of the Montreal river thence through middle of the main channel of the said Montreal river to the head waters thereof."

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[4]Thomas Jefferson Cram was born about 1807 and died Dec. 20, 1883. He graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1826. In 1836 he accepted a position as assistant engineer on railroads in Maryland and Pennsylvania, which he held two years. In 1838 he was appointed with rank of captain and served as topographical engineer on several surveys. He steadily rose in rank, served in the Civil War and was breveted brigadier-general and major-general for his services.

[5]See Vol. V, pp. 115-123, this series.

[6]Peter White became so much interested in this question that he had the boundary resurveyed at his own expense and the Constitutional Convention of Michigan for 1907 adopted his views upon the ownership of that tract of land. See *Sketch of Peter White*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 635, this series.

[7]See map attached to this survey, Vol. XXVII, facing p. 387, this series.

This language would indicate the course that the surveyor should pursue in tracing out the boundary line and one which, if followed, could admit of no error, as he would simply follow the river to its source. As yet this has not been done and until it is we may fail to claim a legal boundary. On this work Captain Cram spent two seasons in that region in an attempt to rightly locate the line but made no effort to establish or mark it. He, however, did determine a point for the extreme southwestern corner of the State in the Upper Peninsula. He no doubt was familiar in making the survey of rivers, lakes, bays and harbors, taking soundings and tracing channels in navigable streams, an altogether different matter from making surveys in a densely wooded country where there were often many difficulties to be met with and overcome. At times swamps would have to be traversed as well as almost impenetrable windfalls and thickets; lakes, rivers and marshes often to be crossed; and if in mid-summer, clouds of mosquitoes, black flies and gnats (the Indians' "no-seeums") were ever present day and night to make one's existence almost intolerable. These were no inducement to prolong one's stay in the wilderness and did not invite to a thorough exploration of the region and may have aided, in a limited sense at least, in an apparent neglect of that important portion of the fieldwork doubly necessary in this case. However this may be, the appropriation for the work had become exhausted and no doubt he disliked to go before Congress and ask for more money and another season's work in that hardly accessible and wilderness region, a country without inhabitants and without prospect of any.

In justice to Captain Cram it is well to remember that in his explorations then he had given to the public much valuable information, well worth all that it had cost, had determined the fact that there was no naturally defined boundary between the Lake Vieux Desert and the Montreal River, that that river did not issue from that lake as had been supposed, and in consequence a water boundary encircling the Peninsula did not exist.

Captain Cram was an officer of great merit, and it seems strange to us that he should have left the field with his work unfinished. However his report was accepted by the authorities at Washington and so remains. Until the United States surveys were extended over that region it was not known that the Montreal River had not been followed up as the boundary line or that the headwaters of the river was a lake of large extent with an area of some two thousand acres, a well defined and admirable locality for the boundary terminal of which there could be no mistake. This being so obvious, the error so clear, and the claim of the State to extend its jurisdiction over the territory so just, that the legislature passed a joint resolution February 28th, 1907, looking to an investigation of the subject. The resolution is as follows:

"Resolved, by the house, the senate concurring, That the governor be authorized and empowered to appoint and designate a resident of this state to represent the state of Michigan in presenting the matter to the legislature of the state of Wisconsin to the end and for the purpose of securing the co-operation of said state and the appointment or designation of a commission from the state of Wisconsin to act jointly with a similar commission, to be appointed to represent the state of Michigan, in determining the actual boundary existing between the two states, in accordance with the act of congress, admitting the state of Michigan into the union, approved June 15th, 1836."

Many prominent men of affairs and influence in the state had become interested in the subject. Among them Hon. Peter White, of the Upper Peninsula,[8] had thoroughly investigated the situation. He was appointed by the governor and his acceptance of the trust gave universal satisfaction. He was received by Governor Davison with courtesy and given a hearing before the authorities there, and leaving some circulars with the committee on boundaries for inspection, he departed, agreeing however, to return within a month to learn of the result of his effort on the part of the State. Making a second visit to the capitol, it was known that no action would be taken looking even to an investigation of the question, based mainly on the length of time that had elapsed since the line had been established.

Notwithstanding the failure to acquiesce in an investigation, the legislature passed a concurrent resolution May 29th, 1907, house resolution No. 71, "Resolved, by the house, the senate concurring, That the attorney-general of the state be and he hereby is authorized and directed to cause a survey to be made of so much of the boundary line between said states as is claimed to be incorrect, and to institute the necessary proceedings in a court of competent jurisdiction or otherwise to secure a determination of the correct boundary line between the state of Michigan and the state of Wisconsin."

Such is the situation in 1908, and in view of the political excitement of the presidential year, no active measures are likely to be taken this season. However this may be, or whether the state of Michigan can even occupy the territory so justly hers, the fact must remain as an

[8]On June 15, 1836, the bill was passed admitting Michigan to the United States as a state on equal footing with others. On the same day the bill deciding the boundary between Ohio and Michigan was passed and the limits of the state were described. In *Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 10, 49, the boundary between Michigan and Wisconsin is given for the first time. At that time it was supposed to be a waterway. Capt. Cram discovered the mistake and that it was impossible to carry out. William A. Burt marked out the boundary that Cram had designated, establishing the line. This called forth a lamentation from Wisconsin in the form of a "*Report of a Select Committee on the Infringement of Boundaries, made in Council of Wisconsin Territory, Dec. 18, 1843*," on page 16. Wisconsin claimed all the lands lying west of a line passing through the Straits of Michilimackinac north to Lake Superior.

historical truth, that the government agent erroneously located the line and that the United States Government has failed as yet to correct the error.

The territory claimed is approximately close to three hundred and sixty square miles, and is believed to be the only instance in this nation where two sovereign states are occupying a dividing line of doubtful legality, merely by common consent.

It is not however so much the value of the territory involved in this controversy, although very large, as is the question of right which ought alone to govern in its settlement.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MRS. NANCY CAREY

Mrs. Nancy Carey died at her home in Charlotte, Michigan, August 17, 1909, aged ninety-seven years. The story of her interesting life is best told by herself in a letter[1] which she left to her children, and reads as follows:

"Charlotte, Eaton County.

Dear Children:

I thought I would write my life history, so you can see the trials and privations I have had to go through with. I was born August 13, 1812, in Lewiston, Niagara County, New York. I was born on the line between Canada and New York, my father being there to guard the fort. I lived there until July 17th, 1832. Then I was married to C. L. Carey, missionary among the Indians. As soon as we were married, we went to Porter, N. Y. We remained there three years. While there, John F. Carey was born, April 4th, 1833. George W. Carey was born March 5th, 1835.

When George was ten weeks old, we went to Tuscarora village with the Indians. One week later my father sent for me to come to the bedside of my mother, who was very sick. My mother lived just two weeks, holding my babe in her arms. I remained with my father until September, then my husband came and we crossed the line into Canada, my brother accompanying me to St. Catherine, Canada. We met the Indians at Grand River. We traveled with my own team to Moravian Town. There my husband sold my team and earthly possessions. He promised to take me to my sister in Cooperstown,[2] Kalamazoo County, but we did not get there. He and the Indians took a different route. On foot,

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1908.

[2]There is a Cooper township, postoffice and station in Kalamazoo county and undoubtedly one of these is meant.

one child on my back, the other in my arms. We traveled this way two or three weeks until we reached Alton, Ill. We camped there two weeks. We crossed the Mississippi river and came to a place called Blacksnake. We were traveling with Indians called Tuscaroras. At Blacksnake I and the children were taken sick. The water was poor. The Chief, William Chuic, said that I and four squaws should go home. He sent for Mr. Carey and ten Indians to take us home. We traveled to Detroit, from Detroit to Windsor, from Windsor to Chatham, from Chatham to Moravian Town. I was there three weeks. We were sent to Dover on the Thames River, while there, my daughter, Etta Maria was born, April 13th, 1837. Soon after she was born, the rebellion of Canada broke out. Mr. Carey and his partner took a canoe and went down the river to Detroit. They remained there until the war was over. They left me with the French and Indians. When able to work, I went to spinning for two families. The squaws were good to me. I remained in Canada nine years. Rachel Jane was born September 26th, 1838. Joseph Thomas was born February 24th, 1839. Calvin was born June 10th, 1842.

While in Canada I got a team of French horses. In 1844 Mr. Carey was taken sick. I sold all my possessions but my team and got a wagon and harness. I wished to go to my old home in New York, so I put Mr. Carry on a bed in the wagon, and with my six small children, drove through myself. I remained there one year. While there, Mr. Carey sold all I possessed, consisting of my team and wagon. My cousin hearing of my misfortune sent me means to come to St. Catherine, Canada, where he lived, so he could help me. I remained there one year. David L. was born May 11th, 1846. Mr. Carey was taken sick and again wished to go to the old home in New York. He was helpless most of the time. My cousin gave me means to take him home. June 8th, 1850 David L. died. Mr. Carey died November 10th, 1854. I remained there two years after he died. Then I went to Tuscarora village. I remained there six years. There my boys went to school. Then the war of the Rebellion broke out. There were eighteen enlisted out of the school, two of whom were my sons. I volunteered as nurse for the field. I went to Washington, where Abe Lincoln promoted me. He gave me a pass to go east or west, north or south, as far as I could go. I joined my regiment at Alexandria, Va., 105th New York, Second Irish Brigade, Eighth Corps. I went with them to Warrenton. I remained there three weeks, caring for the sick and wounded. While there I became sunstruck. They took me to a farm house, Henry Lampton's. I was cared for there three weeks. Then I joined my regiment at Culpepper. They gave me a horse from the corral and I started for Culpepper. Instead of taking the right hand

road, I took the left and rode into Lee's Guerillas. They said I was a northern woman and I said "Yes, and you are a southern man." One man reached for my bridle and I wheeled my horse and when I turned and rode away, they shot my horse in the flank near Waterloo Bridge. I jumped from my horse and was captured. They took me to Lee and Longstreet at Waterloo Bridge. When they got me there, they bound my hands behind my back. I remained with my hands bound four days and I was fed by a colored lady, Jenny Mack. Then I sent for Stonewall Jackson, whom I had known at my old home. He came and soon as he came he knew me. He asked where my boys were. They were at Culpepper. He ordered my hands untied. When untied, my shoulders and arms were very lame, so he ordered Jenny to bathe me with brandy, while they were getting dinner. He wrote a letter to Abe Lincoln and I carried it to him. After dinner we started on horseback, he holding me on my horse, to Strausburg station, there I was to take the cars for Washington. I got to Washington and stopped at the Auralla Hotel. I sent for Abe Lincoln and he came. I gave him the letter Jackson wrote. He treated me very kindly, and while there, he paid my expenses at the hotel. While there Mr. Lincoln gave me an umbrella, with a compass in the handle, which I prize very highly. From there I joined my regiment at Culpepper. I remained with them until after the battle of Antietam. There is where I met William McKinley. Colonel Carl was wounded at the battle of Antietam. He was in the hospital at Washington. I nursed him and soon after he died. He gave me papers to allow me so much pension a month. I was honorably discharged as a nurse by my Captain Bradley. The flag was shot out of my boy's hands. He was wounded. Also Captain Bradley, Lieut. Smith and Col. Shadd were wounded. Dr. Manasee and I carried the wounded into a barn and cared for them until I was sent to Washington. Then I was sent there with five hundred sick and wounded. I was also at the second battle of Bull Run. I remained there a few weeks, then I went to Gettysburg, where my youngest boy was wounded. We were sent from there to Washington and again from there we were sent to West Philadelphia Hospital in charge of Dr. Hayes, March 20th, 1865. Me and my two boys got our honorable discharges, then we came home to Niagara County, New York. In 1865 me and my youngest boy bought thirty acres of land then we set out to build a log house. We each bought an axe. My son would cut down the largest trees and I would trim and underbrush. I hired two men to help put the house up."

At the annual June meeting, 1908, Mrs. E. E. Spitzer, granddaughter of Mrs. Carey, displayed the umbrella and the lamp she used while nurse in the Civil War. Mrs. Carey died in the spring of 1910, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Maria Miles of Charlotte, Mich. Mrs. Miles wish-

ing to have the umbrella safely cared for and displayed in some public place gave it to the Museum of this Society asking to have attached to it a type-written placard containing its history.

Mrs. Carey's father was a Knight Templar, her husband a Mason and she belonged to the order of the Eastern Star. She knew both Gens. Lee and Longstreet were Masons and was sure they would protect her. On making her sign to them they both responded and came to her relief, and assuring her captors that she was no spy but a nurse doing work ordered her release. She served three years as a nurse.

MRS. LUCINDA HINSDALE STONE

BY MRS. MARY M. HOYT[1]

We all cling to the past. It is a part of that craving for immortality that lies in the heart of all humanity, and wishes not to have the past forgotten, and so we blow upon their smouldering ashes and revive past memories. It seems fitting that the memory of this noble woman be presented before you to-day, but no portrait however well executed could do her justice, neither can any pen portray the nobility of her nature. She was one who seemed never to grow old for she possessed that youthfulness of heart that in itself is immortality, and when at last the garment of flesh became threadbare and dropped off, she put on the invisible garment of the spirit and she, that had "watched to ease the burden of the world," passed on "to join the choir invisible."

Lucinda Hinsdale Stone was born at Hinesburg among the Granite Hills of Vermont, Sept. 30, 1814, and was the youngest of a family of twelve children which were born to Lucinda Mitchell and Aaron Hinsdale. The Hinsdale family is undoubtedly from the house de Hinnsdale of France whose records go back to 1170. Their Coat-of-Arms is described in the French records of nobility and can be seen in the Astor Library. She claimed relationship with Elihu Burritt "the learned blacksmith" and with Emma Hart Willard of the noted Troy Seminary of Troy N. Y. She was also related, through her mother, to Maria Mitchell the astronomer.

The high and steadfast purpose that gives character to a life was hers even in her young womanhood. Her thirst for knowledge led her to use all means to secure a good education and through the medium of continued study her mind became a storehouse of knowledge which served to develop a prodigious memory. She possessed intuitive knowledge to

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June 4, 1908.

a great degree, and saw and recognized the little spark of genius in one and another, thereby kindling into life many a flame that would otherwise have been undiscovered. She kept pace with all the various movements of her time, but was always a step in advance. It is rare to find a woman of advanced years taking as profound an interest in all the great questions of the day as did she, but to the last she kept her sympathy for the varied interests of men and women and to all the practical affairs of life, she brought her good judgment of their relative values. She was a born leader. She met and mingled with many great personages, and reverence and respect were always given her. Her friends were not limited to the great and noted. Many whom she loved and who loved her were very humble folk. "I count nothing human foreign to me" seemed to be her motto. Her great physical vigor, mental equipment and moral fibre enabled her almost to the last of her long life to set an example of untiring energy and activity. She radiated a spirit of vitality and sincerity, of courage and graciousness, such as is given to few. She possessed a deeply religious nature. She felt that life was the finest of fine arts, full of days and duties which it was in our power to make sacred and joyous.

At the age of thirteen she entered Hinesburg Academy and at fifteen taught a summer country school, returning to the Academy in the fall and teaching again the next summer. The trustees of the Academy recognizing her thirst for knowledge gave her the then unheard of privilege of entering the classes with the young men who were being fitted for college. She pursued the studies of Greek and Latin with them. She not only kept up with them but studied music and French besides. She did not, however, enter Vermont University with them, but lived to see all restrictions removed from co-education and to see not only the Vermont University, but a much larger one, i. e. the University of Michigan open to women and opened by her efforts. The first woman to enter the university was Madelon Stockwell Turner of Kalamazoo. Mrs. Stone could not have so earnestly worked for this event but for the experience gained in early days when such privileges were denied to her and to all women.[2]

She came west to Grand Rapids to visit her sister Mrs. Mary Hinsdale Walker, and there she met again Mr. James A. B. Stone, whose acquaintance she had made while in Hinesburg, Vt. They were married June 10, 1840, by the Rev. James Ballard of Grand Rapids. Mrs. Stone was then twenty-six years old. Three years later in 1843 Dr. Stone was asked to take charge of a branch of the University of Michigan just located in Kalamazoo. He accepted and both were soon actively en-

[2]See Mrs. Stone's History of Co-education in the University of Michigan, *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 411.

gaged in teaching. They were eminently successful in their calling and during the next quarter of a century did a work for the cause of education in Kalamazoo, that has never been paralleled.

After many years spent in teaching, they traveled abroad. Mrs. Stone was quick to see the advantages to be gained from studying history and art from their very origin. Like an inspiration there came to her the idea of "traveling schools" or classes. This she put into execution in 1867. Her long experience as a teacher of art, literature and the languages enabled her to carry out a most valuable itinerary. Eight times she conducted classes abroad spending from one year to eighteen months each time. On one occasion the tour included Egypt, Palestine and Syria.

No sketch of Mrs. Stone's life[3] would be complete without giving her ideas upon slavery and woman's suffrage. The latter she ardently desired and did all in her power to advance. She died without seeing the enfranchisement of women, but she had faith to believe her earnest prayers would be answered. Mrs. Stone had to go south to learn fully the meaning of the word "Abolishionist." While teaching in Burlington Seminary she received an invitation to go south to Mississippi to teach in the family of a wealthy planter. She had heard of slavery but had no real idea of its meaning and her first introduction came as she was passing through Natchez to her new place of residence. A girl stood upon a block and her good points were being shown off by making her open her mouth and show her teeth and use her limbs in various antics to test her agility. The slaves on the plantation where she taught were uncommonly well treated, but Ed, the bright, handsome mulatto boy fell into disgrace one day by sipping some wine that was left in glasses after a large dinner party given by his master. He was "strung up" and the plantation slave driver called in to whip him. From her room Mrs. Stone saw the place and heard the screams of distress, first distinctly and then dying down as he became insensible. Her little pupils gathered in her room pale and trembling and through their efforts the poor boy was let off. Some of the accounts given by Mrs. Stone were equal to any of Harriet Beecher Stowe's and she gloried in being called an Abolitionist in any sense of the word.

After the allotted threescore years and ten at a time when, according to the traditions of man, women are or were relegated to the chimney-corner, Mrs. Stone did much of the best work of her life. Returning from her last journey of foreign travel, made memorable by her travels in Egypt, and at the age of seventy-six viewing the valley of the Nile from the top of the Great Pyramid, standing beside Dom Pedro at the time, she was appointed to organize Isabella Clubs in the Fourth Con-

[3]See sketch *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXX, p. 289.

gressional District, so that features of interest in the forthcoming World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 might be better appreciated by its members. She took an unbounded interest in this work, giving regular and personal attention to it. To accomplish this she traveled several days in each week, which seemed not to weary her greatly. Each Thursday found her in her own library in Kalamazoo with the earnest women composing the Isabella Club of that place gathered about her and it was here that the true nobility of her nature shone most clearly. Perhaps none of us have even known or ever may know one who so constantly and unremittingly gave herself to the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge as did she. This merit was recognized by the University of Michigan when they conferred upon her the degree of Ph. D. in 1891.

The Isabella Clubs throughout the state expired by limitation in the spring of 1893. A large number of them organized anew, retaining their membership and taking other names. It was at this juncture that the Twentieth Century Club of Kalamazoo came into existence, with a large charter membership and Mrs. Stone was chosen as perpetual president, which place she filled until her death seven years later, March 14, 1900, at the age of eighty-six.

Kalamazoo, the former home of Mrs. Stone is noted for its two large clubs, namely the Ladies' Library Association and the Twentieth Century Club, and these have the honor of being the first and the last of the numerous clubs founded by Mrs. Stone during her life. The first named, the Ladies' Library Association was founded in 1852 and had its origin in a history class founded by her which after a few years of successful study was merged into a literary club with Mrs. Stone as its president. This association has built for itself a fine building on Park street in which are gathered choice paintings, statuary and a valuable library. It is now in the fifty-seventh year of its existence with its prosperity fully established. The influence of this club in improving the culture of the women of Kalamazoo cannot be estimated by this generation, but will stand as a monument for good in the ages to come.

As has been said the Twentieth Century Club was the last one organized by Mrs. Stone. Under her fostering care it grew until the library parlors and hall of her house overflowed, so that new quarters were sought. These proving unsatisfactory caused the more earnest members to say "let us arise and build; let us erect a structure of solid stone corresponding in a degree to the name and character of our beloved leader, and we will call it 'The Stone Memorial Building.'" Committees were appointed, locations were viewed, a circular letter was prepared and sent to leading clubs in the State asking contributions. Personal contributions were also solicited, the oldest living pupil of Mrs. Stone's old branch scholars heading the list, Mrs. Phebe Lewis Campau of Kent

County. Not receiving the help they desired the members began to display considerable energy in "earning a dollar" and excursions were planned, one to South Haven which netted a deficit of $3.33. But nothing daunted, a trolley ride to Wood's Lake was undertaken with about the same result. The deficiencies were bravely met by the few most interested. After all indebtedness was paid the astonishing sum of $66.10 remained in the hands of the special treasurer, Mrs. Mary M. Hoyt, for safe keeping, and this sum representing hard work, some failures and a great many amusing incidents, remained for some time undisturbed. These women had indeed builded better than they knew and when the proper moment for action came that little sum of $66.10, seemingly so insignificant, leaped from its hiding place, a very giant in power. In March, 1892, the attention of Mrs. Juliet Goodenow, then President of the Twentieth Century Club, was directed to this sum by its treasurer. She quickly saw that here lay an opportunity for great future good and that by enlisting the co-operation of the State Federation a grand tribute could be paid to the memory of a noble woman, that would be more enduring then marble—less perishable than gold. At the next regular meeting of the Twentieth Century Club the matter was taken up with great enthusiasm. It was agreed that further contributions be solicited and the same be used as a nucleus fund for the purpose of securing a fitting memorial to the memory of Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Michigan's Mother of Clubs."

The following October the State Federation of Clubs then meeting in Muskegon, was addressed by Mrs. Goodenow and the sum of $200 raised by the Twentieth Century Club was offered as a nucleus fund to be added to by the federated clubs throughout the state, for the purpose as heretofore stated. Hearty co-operation was accorded by the Federation and the sum of 5,000 dollars was pledged by them, the same to be raised by the various clubs throughout the State for the purpose of endowing a perpetual scholarship in the University of Michigan for young women desiring an education.

The $5,000 was raised and three years later was given to the University in the fall of 1905. In the year 1906, sums were loaned, without interest, to three young women, to be repaid by them within three or four years. The names of the first to be assisted are Miss Hooper, Miss Iveson and Miss Harper, the last a colored girl who has begun paying back her loan. In March, 1907, four more were assisted, $250 being divided between them. March, 1908, four more applied and $500 was divided among them. And so the "enduring monument" is raised for our beloved leader and will stand for all time as the grandest memorial it was possible to raise to the memory of a noble and gifted woman, and the little sum sown in weakness by a few earnest women is raised in power to

do good to many. Mrs. Stone, as a type of the new womanhood was in her life as well as in her death honored and loved by the many who have and will continue for generations, to "rise up and call her blessed."

(Presentation Speech.)

I have the honor of presenting to you this portrait of Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, commonly known as "Michigan's Mother of Clubs." It is the joint gift of two literary societies founded by her in Kalamazoo, i. e. The Ladies' Library Association and The Twentieth Century Club.

The portrait represents the work of an artist of note and ability, Mrs. Clement Stone of Ann Arbor, a daughter-in-law of the late Mrs. Stone, who traveled abroad with her and studied under the best masters in Europe. It was given by the artist to the Twentieth Century Club some years ago and recently the Ladies Library Association framed it, and both clubs unite in presenting it to the State Pioneer and Historical Society for safe-keeping and to more fully establish the fact that Mrs. Stone has doubtless done more for the cause of education in the State of Michigan than any other woman.

SETTLEMENT OF HOWELL

BY MRS. B. F. BATCHELER[1]

While Michigan was yet a territory, Governor Porter approved an act March 21, 1833, providing for the laying out of Livingston County, which was effected three years later. In 1833 John D. Pinckney of Dutchess County, New York and George T. Sage of Salem, Washtenaw County, purchased land, and went back to make preparations for their return with their families the following year, to sections 35 and 36 in that portion of the prospective county which later became known as Livingston Center. They were soon joined by David Austin from Salem; settling about him were his four children, Jonathan, Mrs. George Servell, Mrs. Merritt S. Havens and Mrs. George T. Sage. Some years after Mr. Sage's death she married Rev. George Jenks of Brighton. After his demise she returned to her old home in Howell, where she met the sunset of life but a few years since. Her son George L. was the first white child born in Howell, and was at one time part owner and editor of the Livingston Republican. Mr. Pinckney bought in Detroit four yoke of oxen and a team of horses with harness and wagon. These horses

[1]Read before the Howell Woman's Club, Oct. 11, 1907, and the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, June, 1908.

were the first brought into the township. His home, situated in the eastern part of the present village, was similar to those of the pioneers of that time. It was a log house with a single room and without floor, door or window. When they first took possession, blankets hung over the openings and a fire was built before the cabin, at night to keep away the wolves. Boxes in which their goods were brought served as tables, cupboards and wardrobes, while bedsteads were made from tamarack poles. Mr. Pinckney died in 1861 and Mrs. Pinckney was for many years the earliest settler in the place. James Sage built his house where that of Mr. William McPherson Jr. now stands, while his son George T. built his across the way. These two families were the pioneer settlers in what became the village of Howell.

In 1835 the population on the two sections and two one-half sections was fully trebled, including those who were prepared to conduct necessary enterprises and took first steps toward founding what was to become the county seat.

Mr. and Mrs. Moses Thompson with their eight children reared their home at the outlet of the lake which bears their name; he was an honorable, energetic man who built the first mill in the town, his son Morris and others building a flouring mill where Hutchins' mill stands. One of the daughters married Alvin L. Crittenden and another Ezra Frisbee. Mr. and Mrs. Frisbee passed away but a few years since. In 1836 certain land, entered by Mr. Pinckney for his father-in-law, Alexander Frazer, was transferred, one-third interest to Flavius J. B. Crane and a two-thirds interest to Edward Brooks, upon which they proceeded to survey and lay out a village plat and to file the same with the register of Oakland county, of which this was as yet a part. They laid off a public square bounded by Grand River, Walnut, Sibley and Center streets, expecting the county buildings would be located there. As this was not the case and the public failed to legally accept the gift, it finally reverted to the original owners, though for years it retained that distinction and was the scene of festive occasions. Here were the grounds of the Livingston County Agricultural Fair, when it was first held in this place in 1854, and the old Presbyterian church served as Floral Hall. Well do I remember the wonderful doll house in the southeast corner.

The new village was named by its founders for their friend Thomas Howell of Canandaigua, N. Y., though that of Livingston Center adhered to it for some time. Crane and Brooks erected their first building the next fall, a two story structure where the Opera House now stands. The lumber was hauled from Woodruff's mills in Green Oak. This was built to fulfill a promise made at the time of purchase, to relieve the pressure made by the increasing throng of land seekers upon Mr. Pinck-

ney's family for food and lodging, to which they had been obliged largely to respond. This gave the place a boom, as Amos Adams of Genesee, N. Y., was installed as landlord of the new Eagle Hotel. Mr. Adams held several county offices and was repeatedly elected surveyor. He sold the Eagle to Joseph Steel.

The postoffice was established in 1836 with F. J. B. Crane postmaster, with the office in the hotel; while the mail route to Kensington and on to Detroit came the following spring with Lewis Thompson as mail messenger. Soon the route was extended to Grand Rapids, over which James R. Sage, aged seventeen made two trips per week. This was a great improvement over former methods. Postage on a letter, till 1845 was six cents for a distance of thirty miles and twenty-five cents for over four hundred miles.

The county being organized, the election of officers was held May, 1836, resulting in Justus J. Bennett, sheriff; F. J. B. Crane, county clerk; Ely Barnard, register of deeds; Amos Adams, treasurer and surveyor.

In September arrived the pioneer blacksmith, William McPherson, from Scotland with his wife and three children, building a log house in the west part of the village, buying for the floor the first boards sawed by Mr. Thompson in his new mill. He worked in his blacksmith shop, which was on the same lot, for a time with his father-in-law, Andrew Riddle, and later for six years alone. Mr. Crane bought a small lot of goods and opened them for sale in the tavern, but the business being so small they were stored in the attic. In 1837 E. F. Gay, a merchant from Ann Arbor bought Mr. Crane's remnant of goods and adding to this making a $2,000 stock, built a store on south side of Sibley street, Howell's second frame building, which structure served a very general purpose. Richard Fishbeck was the pioneer shoemaker followed by J. B. Skilbeck. James White the cabinet maker, and Andrew Hill, who also made wagons, then W. R. Melvin, James Lawther, Benjamin Scofield and William Soule. John R. Neely, a mason was the first of his trade. Joseph Rowe the first tailor, then Malloy and Herrington. Eli Carpenter dealt in harnesses and leather goods, Hickey and Galloway were in foundry business.

The arrival of Dr. Gardner Wheeler the first resident physician, marked a new era, he remaining till his death. Dr. Curtiss of Kensington said that he had been physician to nearly every family in Livingston County when, in 1835 there were not well persons enough to take care of the sick. Later Dr. Cyrus Wells was often called from Oakland County to attend Mr. Samuel Waddell, father of A. D. Waddell in 1837, which was the first death in the town. Dr. Jeffries came in 1839 remaining till '43, when Dr. William Huntington took his office and

practice, he was a successful physician and an honor to the community he served so many years. His son William C. is his successor and is Howell's pioneer physician. Dr. F. H. Marsh came in 1847. Drs. Spence and Blank in '48; Dr. William L. Wells, son of Dr. Cyrus Wells, came in '49, and was considered very skillful in his profession. Dr. Henry J. Rumsey came in '53, and he was a universal favorite, dying here five years later.

In 1839, Almon Whipple and Mr. Curtis bought the mercantile business of Mr. Gay, which Mr. Whipple continued till 1860. The store of Riddle and Hinman was in the old fort, later Hinman and Bush. The store of Taylor and McPherson was on the north side of Grand River street or Main as it was then called, and corner of Walnut; later Mr. Taylor retired and the firm was afterward known as McPherson and Riddle. The portion of the building running north and fronting Walnut was the house of the proprietor until the erection of his brick residence in the then extreme north part of town. Mr. McPherson was a man of whom Howell was justly proud, both as a business man and a citizen. He died March 16, 1891, aged 87.

The mercantile firm of Lee and brother, (George W.[2] and Frederick J.[3]) was established in 1845, Leander C. Smith being their clerk. It has been said of Col. George W. Lee, among the residents of the village since 1835, few did more in his day toward its prosperity and the advancement of its material interests.

The Eagle Hotel built by Mr. Crane was originally 20 x 40 feet in size but was added to until it was the largest hotel of the place. Steel sold to Curtis and Gates. Gates soon retired and at Mr. Curtis' death, Mrs. Curtis and her brother Marvin Gaston continued the business. They sold to Huntley and son. The building was burned in the big fire of 1857. The hotel known as the Old Stage House was on south side Grand River street midway between East and Walnut. Allen C. Weston established a stage route in 1838 between Howell and Detroit and in 1840 he commenced this hotel. After his death it was completed by Benjamin J. Spring the next year, who put on the line the "Red Bird" a clumsy, open stage wagon, which became somewhat famous. 'Tis said of Mr. Spring, there never lived a man gifted with keener wit or more mirth-provoking qualities.

In 1838, Shubal B. Sliter built a pioneer tavern east on what was afterward known as the Charles Wilber farm. Gates built the "Union Hall" in 1845 on the present site of the Jewett block, which after passing through several hands was burned. The same year E. F. Gay put up "The Temperance Hotel," the first of its kind in the county, just west

[2]George W. Lee died in 1882. See sketch, Vol. VI, p. 458, this series.
[3]Frederick J. Lee died Feb. 24, 1908, aged eighty-six years and eight months.

of the site of the Livingston Hotel, the first brick building in the town. The bricks were burned on his farm south from here. It is recorded that the hotels of the place had gained the reputation of being noisy, boisterous houses and this led Mr. Gay to decide to open a temperance house where the public could find restful quiet. "Liberty and Temperance," was his motto. It was, with many, an unpopular sentiment, but it told for good. After eight years this hotel went into the hands of Nathaniel Smith, then J. H. Peebles, Charles Barber and Elbert Bush, when it gave place to the Weimaster block.

The terms of court were held regularly in the new schoolhouse, the first session opened Nov. 8, 1837. This fact was considered of importance, as it would help to establish Howell as the county seat, for Brighton strongly contested the honor. Wellington Glover the first attorney, opened his office the following year. Josiah Turner, a young lawyer, came here to establish himself in his profession in 1840; later he built a residence, also an office near by which he occupied many years, which is now the office of Dr. Browne. After 1857 he became well and favorably known as Judge of the seventh judicial circuit, a very popular man and at his passing from earth April 7, 1907, at the age of ninety-five years, it seemed that one of the last links which bound Howell's past and present history was severed. Frederic C. Whipple came to Howell in 1846 where he spent the remainder of his brilliant professional career standing at the head of the bar in Livingston county and counted one of the best jury lawyers in the state, but his star set behind a cloud of inebriety in 1872. The bar consisted of the Hewitt brothers, Hill, Ackerson, Dillingham, Lawyer, Ellsworth, Harman, Wilcox, Hubbell, Clark, Shields and Waddell.

The Livingston Courier, a five-column folio, was published by Nicolas Sullivan in Brighton, who after nine months came to Howell with the paper, the first issue here being Oct. 11, 1843. Three years later it was sold to E. R. Powell then to William B. Smith who conducted the paper eight years. George P. Root ran it one year, when it ceased to exist. Harmon and Lewis Smith issued the first number of the *Livingston Republican* April 27, 1855, selling four years later to Lee and Sage. The *Livingston Democrat* was established by Joseph Titus and son in in the 1857 on the ruins of the *Courier*.

Howell's first schoolhouse was built in the spring, 1837, at a cost of $350.00 by Sardis Davis on a lot presented by Mr. Crane some distance west from the M. E. Church. It was made of lumber sawed by Mr. Thompson and the inside wood finish was drawn from Salem or Plymouth. That summer Miss Abigail, daughter of Amos Adams was installed as first teacher. Next winter Justin Durfee taught, then E. F.

Burt for four years. William Pitt Glover[4] followed who had the reputation of using severe methods of punishment; then came W. O. Archer, H. H. Harmon and John Dixon, besides Miss Farnsworth, Miss Waterman and Miss Maryette Rumsey, now Mrs. L. C. Crittenden of Osceola, who can relate many an interesting incident of those days, and Mrs. J. B. Skilbeck all of whom taught here or in rented rooms. The schoolhouse, though an important factor, soon proved insufficient. In 1845 it was decided they must have more room but it was not till the fall of '49, after repeated attempts, that the two-story brick 26 x 36 was completed. The site after a long and hard fought battle was secured away out in the woods where the Central now stands and cost $1,000. Before a year passed this was found to be inadequate and other rooms were hired to accommodate the pupils. As the aim was a union school, a vote was carried to add to the south end of the school building, making it twice the former size. This was completed October 1, 1856 at a cost of $750.00. For a time there was room enough but in less than ten years, it became evident that a large and commodius structure could not be much longer delayed. In 1869, this Union schoolhouse[5] was replaced by the present beautiful central school building at a cost of over $31,000. The first brick building was in use nineteen years, and the following teachers were employed there: W. Wills, John S. Dixon, Seth Beden, J. E. Brown, J. S. Huston. After the building was enlarged, the school was graded with grammer, intermediate and primary departments with F. W. Munson teacher then D. Cramer and Charles W. Bowen, under him. Later the schools were regraded. The first course of study for the High School was arranged by Rufus T. Bush and adopted by the board in 1862. The instructors were Michael McKernan, S. S. Babcock, Joshua S. Lane and L. S. Montague after the old building gave place to the new one. In 1850, Mary, daughter of Caleb Curtis and later Mrs. J. G. Mason, was a teacher, and with us until recent years. Miss Laurilla Lee was a trusted teacher of the juveniles, and Emma Sickles for many years, a satisfactory teacher of a select school. About 1857 she associated with herself Mrs. Rosina L. Dayfoot, a graduate of Mount Holyoke Seminary, Mass., and niece of Mary Lyon the founder of that notable institution. After one term Mrs. Dayfoot opened a school of her own, employing a corps of teachers as the needs demanded, remaining in Howell eight or nine years. She was a teacher of rare ability, and her work here probably did much toward arousing the officials of the public schools to the necessity of adopting a course of

[4]William Pitt Glover. In 1846 Mr. Glover opened a private school, "The Howell Academy." It never became very prosperous and after a short time ceased to exist.

[5]Mr. VanBuren describes the aims and methods of Union schools in an article in Vol. XVIII, pp. 561-570, this series.

study. She was ever careful for the moral and spiritual uplift of those under her care and her influence for good was helpful to a large number of the young people of Livingston county as well as adjoining counties.

Our authority concerning the earliest religious services held at Livingston Center, or Howell is Rev. Alvin L. Crittenden, from whose report I gather the following. "Deacon Israel Branch went to Amos Adams and asked permission to hold meetings in the sitting room of the new hotel, which was granted. The announcement was made and on Sabbath morning late in 1835, a goodly number assembled. The deacon conducted the meeting, reading one of Dr. Payson's sermons." These services were continued with the assistance of Mr. Crittenden. The following April Mr. Crittenden learned there was to be Methodist preaching at Ore Creek, now Brighton. He went there and listened to Elder Bibbins and four weeks later went again to a two days meeting, making both trips on foot. At this time plans were laid for Mr. Cosart to come to Howell and preach, and form, which he did, a Methodist class, consisting of Alvin L. Crittenden, Pardon Barnard, Eliza Ann Barnard, Peter Brewer, Dorcas Brewer, Sylvester Rounds, Polly Rounds, Asahel Rounds, Mary Sage, Nathaniel Johnson, Clarissa Johnson, Asahel Dibble, Abigail Dibble and Abigail Smith. The following fall 1836, Washington Jackson was sent to Livingston county as a missionary from the Ohio conference which at that time included all Eastern Michigan. That year Messrs. Crittenden and Pardon Barnard were licensed as exhorters. A circuit of eleven appointments was laid out under the care of Rev. F. Britten, a circuit rider, and following him in order were the Revs. O. N. Goodale, G. W. Brower, Steven C. Woodard, John Scottford, J. Casart, R. Pengelly, F. Bessey, R. C. Crawford,[6] B. A. Curtiss, Thomas Wakeland, Revs. Strambaugh and R. W. Donalson. My earliest ministerial recollections are of him because he took me to ride in his new jumper[7] sixty years ago. F. W. Warren[8] for whom we all have kindly remembrances was one of the earliest resident pastors. Following him were E. W. Borden, O. D. White, Sylvester Calkins, and Eli Westlake. Their house of worship was finished in 1855.

The Baptist Church[9] completed its organization June 21, 1838 and twelve persons presented letters from churches in Eastern States, viz.: Silas Dibble, Aaron Sickles, Fanny Dibble, Hannah Austin, Joseph A.

[6]Riley C. Crawford died Nov. 18, 1910, see memoir, this volume.

[7]A jumper is a rude form of sled in which the shafts and runners are one continuous piece.

[8]F. W. Warren had charge of the church in 1849 and again in 1870-72. He became an itinerant preacher in Michigan in 1844.

[9]The Baptist church was the second church in Howell. The first Baptist minister to preach in Howell was the Rev. Mr. Post of Allegheny county, N. Y. This was in February, 1836, during a visit over Sunday. *History of Livingston Co., 1880,* p. 164.

Dibble, Justin Durfee, Rachael Dibble, Lydia Austin, Daniel Case, Anna Dibble, Sarah Durfee and Luana Monroe.[10] Their first pastor was Rev. Errick Mosher, salary $100 per year and residence, and under him the church prospered. The first persons received into the church by baptism were Hannah M. Sickles and Samuel Lyon. At the close of the next year there were thirty-two members and one year later fifty-one. In 1842, Rev. N. G. Chase was called to the pastorate followed by Revs. J. H. Rosco, A. P. Howell, G. Bridge and P. C. Dayfoot. They held their services in the schoolhouse, then the court-house. In 1846 they decided to build a house of worship 32 x 44 feet, north of the court-house square. This was completed in 1852. Their first deacon was Townsend Drew, followed by George T. Sage, Justin Durfee, Ephraim Fowler, William C. Rumsey, William L. Knapp and Cyrus Holt.

The Howell Presbyterian church was organized by Rev. Henry Root at a meeting held June 16 and 17, 1838, and was legalized the following July 7th. The original members were David H. Austin, Josiah P. Jewett, Horace Griffith, Artemas Mahan, John T. Watson, George W. Jewett, Edward F. Gay, Price Morse, Andrew Riddle, William McPherson, Charles Clark, Lucretia Jewell, Catherine Griffith, Polly Ann Mahan, Sarah Mahan, Harriet L. Watson, Anise P. Jewett, Clarissa L. Gay, Elvira Morse, Elizabeth McPherson, Mrs. Moses Thompson, Matilda Clark and Mary Clark. Three deacons were elected who were also ruling elders. They were George W. Jewett, John T. Watson and Edward Gay. The next year as the church was stronger a small church building was commenced and finished in 1840. The late Hon. Milo L. Gay read a paper on the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the church, in which he says he remembers going in the spring of 1837 with his father from their home, later the Isbel farm, down to the Center, then winding northward through the woods to the Thompson log house on the bank of the pond, where meetings were held once in four weeks. Later they followed another trail to the small house of James Sage. This custom of opening the homes for services was continued fifteen months. This church was organized in the loft of a one and one-half story store built by his father. Meetings were held in the schoolhouse until their church building was completed, which Mr. Gay says stood opposite the north side of the present Central school square. This site not being satisfactory it was removed to the southeastern corner of the public square, and he further speaks of the arrangement of seats. There was the small high pulpit at the west end, with three long slips on each side, elevated each one step above another. These were at right

[10]Prior to this in April there had been a meeting for the purpose of organizing a Baptist church. Those present were the Rev. Thomas Baker, who was residing in Highland; Silas Dibbble; Gardner Mason; Justin Durfee; Joseph A. Dibble; Sardis Davis; Sarah Field; Sarah Durfee; Lydia and Hannah Austin.

angles with the body slips, those on the south side being considered a favorable outlook for the young men, who well improved this advantage. The north side was occupied by the choir. Though I was but a child, when this house was in use, this description brings it all back so vividly. George W. Jewett's family was a musical one and he was the chorister. Benjamin Curtis manipulated the big bass viol, and I thought the music was wonderful; probably the fact that my father was one of the number helped me form this opinion. My father, Salmon Adams, was buried from this church, September, 1850, and Mr. Jewett, who stood at his bedside when he died, was called the following February. This building was also used for school purposes, court sessions and various public meetings. It was after a time removed and is still standing, on the west side of East street next north of the brick blacksmith shop, shattered and partly dismantled, suggesting by its appearance, that none dare raise the vandal's hand to lay low this venerable landmark. Their present church was erected in 1855. Following Mr. Root in the pastorate were the Revs. Sylvester Cochran, Edward E. Gregory, Henry Root a second term, H. H. Grannis, L. Mills and Robert McBride, who after a pastorate of seven years, died deeply lamented by the entire community. Mr. McBride was the only pastor who had served this church or, I think any other church in the place, who died during his pastorate. Mr. Gregory spent many of his later years in Howell where he was a favorite, being very repeatedly called to solemnize the marriage ceremony for many of his friends. He died June 5, 1884, aged 84 years.

Howell's Congregational Church was organized 1849 and a brick church built on the corner of Main and North streets. After a lapse of sixteen years this church ceased to exist.

The Protestant Episcopal denomination organized December, 1857, under the name of All Saints Church of Howell. This was superseded in the spring of 1868 by that of St. John's Church. Their services were held more or less regularly until their church was built on Walnut street, a short distance north from the former site of Howell's first house of worship, the old Presbyterian Church.

The Roman Catholics first held services in 1836 or 7. Each denomination had its Sunday School. About 1852 J. R. Axtel who was a Sunday School specialist arrived from Detroit. He organized a Union school here to which Mr. and Mrs. George W. Lee and Benjamin W. Cardell gave their hearty cooperation. The scholars were encouraged by the offer of giving of prizes to commit the scriptures to memory, many here learned to repeat the four gospels and The Acts. At this time no Sunday School concert or celebration was considered complete without an address from Mr. E. F. Burt.

One Saturday morning in spring of 1852 there was quite an unusual

occurrence on the main street of Howell. Joseph Steel who was an excellent accountant when sober, procured his supply of intoxicants of Sam Balcom. Mrs. Steel, an estimable woman asked and repeatedly besought Mr. Balcom to let her husband have no more liquor. All her entreaties were of no avail.

Mr. Steel again lost his manhood. His heartbroken wife counseled with her friends and their decision resulted in this demonstration: These ladies marched as quietly as did the "Indians" in the Boston Tea Party and as persistently plied the hatchet, till the supply of liquid fire ran out into the street. It was easy to see their hearts were right, if their zeal was *not* wholly according to knowledge. The cloud that was no larger than a man's hand again became visible at Zanesville, Ohio, 1873, when Mother Stewart and Mother Thompson heading a band went into the saloons of that town with prayer and gospel song. A wave of consecrated purpose and endeavor was set in motion, which swept on and on like wild fire, and reached Howell in the early fall of '74. A meeting was called to be held in the Presbyterian Church to devise ways and means to meet the emergency, and many willing hearts and hands were ready. Such "mothers in Israel" as Mrs. William Huntington, Mrs. H. C. Briggs, Mrs. J. B. Skilbeck and Mrs. A. G. Blood were there. But few of the old crusaders now remain. This, and the meeting which followed were the nucleus of the Howell Women's Christian Temperance Union.

MILITARY MATTERS.[11]

A rifle company was organized in the township of Howell in 1844. The commissioned officers of the company were: William Lewis, captain; Ira Brayton, first lieutenant, and Emmet Smith, second lieutenant. The first military parade of this company was at the residence of John W. Smith, on section 28. A few years after the company was organized, military duty was not required by the State Government, consequently the company disbanded. In the year 1861, men of the township and village enlisted and mustered into the United States service in the War of the Rebellion to the number of 152. There were among them, three captains, two first lieutenants, an adjutant, three second lieutenants, eleven sergeants and five corporals. Bernard B. Smith, a resident of the village, and a printer by trade, was engaged in sixty-two battles during the war.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

Villeroy E. Smith settled in the township in May, 1835. He was interested in literature, and was a school teacher by profession. He died

[11]From a pamphlet on the History of Howell by Elisha H. Smith, published in 1868.

in the town of Marion, December 30, 1851, while engaged in this business.

Moses Thompson, a farmer, settled in the township in June, 1835. He was a man who was generous and humane. He died December 2, 1841.

Edward Thompson, a farmer, settled there in 1835 and died April 16, 1842.

Nathaniel Johnson, a farmer, settled in the township in the autumn of 1835. He died January 25, 1852.

Amos Adams settled in the village in November, 1835. He was a man who was industrious and enterprising. He died the 14th of May, 1855.

Joseph Tucker settled in the village in 1836. He was a farmer and a person of integrity. Died August 13, 1848. George and John Curtis, sons of Victory, came with their father to the township, subsequently moving to the village. George Curtis kept a hotel and his brother John embarked in the mercantile business. The former died October 4, 1848, and the latter December 7, 1841.

Benjamin J. Spring settled in the township in 1836. Later he moved to the village and was proprietor of a hotel. He was also a mail contractor and the first person who established a line of commodious stages on the Detroit and Howell road. He was very humorous and witty. He died December 25, 1853.

Hiram Bennett settled in the township in 1836. He was accidentally killed by the falling of a tub while engaged in digging a well. He died June 9, 1855.

Clement Stebbins settled in the township in 1836. Died November 11, 1861.

Job Case came to township in 1837. Died October 9, 1854.

Odell J. Smith came to the township in 1837. He was an enterprising farmer and held several local offices. Died January 23, 1861.

John, James and Aaron Lagrange settled in the township in 1837. James died May 9, 1857, and Aaron, December 9, 1853.

George W. Jewett settled in the village in 1837. In 1840 he was elected register of deeds for Livingston county. He was also county treasurer one term. In 1845 he was appointed clerk of the House of Representatives of Michigan. Died February 12, 1851.

Ebenezer West, a farmer, came to the town in 1837. Died about the year 1849.

Mathew West, also a farmer, came the same year and died about the same year.

Rial Lake, a farmer, settled in the township in 1837. He had a collegiate education and was industrious and enterprising. Died December 29, 1851.

John Marr settled on section 8 in 1839. He died February 6, 1860.

Lemuel Monroe came into the township in May, 1849, and lived with

his son Francis Monroe. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and died April 29, 1854, at the age of ninety-five years.

Edward P. Bush settled in the township of Handy in 1837. He removed to the village of Howell in 1844. He was twice elected sheriff of Livingston county. He died August 28, 1853.

Daniel Case settled in the township in 1836. He has been honored with several local offices and still lives (1868).

In the month of June, 1836, Henry Lake settled in the township. He owned a large farm in the western part of same.

George W. Kneeland settled in the township in November, 1836. In 1840 he was elected judge of probate—re-elected in 1844. In 1849 he was elected a member of the House of Representatives. In 1851 he removed to the village of Howell.

Giles Tucker settled in the village in 1836. He was a carpenter by trade. He was sheriff of Livingston county two years and in the grocery business.

William McPherson migrated from Scotland, July 23, 1836, and came into Howell village September 17th the same year. He at first followed the business of blacksmithing, and afterwards entered into mercantile pursuits.

Joseph H. Steel settled in the village in 1836. He bought Crane & Brooks' hotel in 1837. He moved to Osceola in 1840 and returned to the village in 1843. Afterwards, he again removed to Osceola and stayed there till 1848, when he again returned.

E. F. Gay settled in the village on the first day of April, 1837.

Almon Whipple settled in the township of Handy, Livingston county, in 1836. He removed to Howell in 1837, and went into the mercantile business which he followed until 1859. He was elected county clerk in 1837 and county treasurer in 1839. He was also postmaster six years. He became wealthy.

Francis Monroe settled in the township June 1, 1837.

Abraham A. Van Nest, a farmer, settled in the township in 1837.

Joseph Turner, an attorney and counselor at law, emigrated from Vermont and settled in the village in April, 1840. He was appointed county clerk, to fill a vacancy in 1842, and was elected to the same office the same year. He was re-elected in 1844. Was elected and re-elected to county judge for the seventh judicial district of the State of Michigan in April, 1857, for a term of six years. By virtue of this office he became one of the justices of the supreme court of the State. He was re-elected in 1863. He removed to the city of Owosso July 9, 1860.

Sardis F. Hubbell came to reside in Howell in the year 1854. In the same year he was elected Circuit Court Commissioner for the county, and was elected and re-elected Prosecuting Attorney in the years 1862 and 1864.

John H. Galloway settled in the village in 1844. He was a prominent Republican and was elected to the Senate in 1860.

George and Frederick J. Lee settled in the village in 1845. Both became wealthy.

Frederick C. Whipple, an attorney, settled in the village in 1846. He was elected Judge of Probate in 1848 and was re-elected in 1852. He was a lawyer of acknowledged learning and ability.

Henry H. Harmon, attorney, settled in the village in 1847. He studied law in the office of Lewis H. Hewitt and in the month of May, 1848, was admitted to the bar. He was appointed Circuit Court Commissioner by John S. Barry in 1851. In 1852 he was elected to the same office. In 1854 he was elected Prosecuting Attorney. In 1862 he was elected a member of the House of Representatives, and in 1864 was elected Judge of Probate.

The nearest inhabitants from the center of the township, at the settlement of the place, were eighteen miles away. In a westerly direction, it was about forty miles to the nearest settlement. The nearest mills were eighteen miles distant. Following is a statement of the geography of the first settlement (1835):

	Sec.		Sec.
Joseph Porter	7	Francis Field	23
Samuel Waddell	17	Moses Thompson	25
Whitely Woodruff	17	Lewis Thompson	25
David H. Austin	20	Morris Thompson	25
Villeroy E. Smith	21	Edward Thompson	25
Elisha H. Smith	21	Ezra I. Munday	25
Nathaniel Johnson	23	Amos Adams	36
Alvin Crittenden	23	F. J. B. Crane	36
Merrit S. Havens	23	Alexander Fraser	36

IMMIGRATION OF 1836 TO TOWNSHIP

	Sec.		Sec.
John B. Larowe	36	Clement Stebbins	19
Hiram Bennett	36	Job Case	22
Henry Lake	8	Daniel Case	22
Garrett S. Lake	9	Justin Durfee	23
Victory Curtis	9	Peter Brewer	23
George Curtis	10	Solomon Pettingill	27
John Curtis	10	Henry Pettingill	28
Ichabod Kneeland	13	James E. Head	28
George W. Kneeland	13	Oliver Reed	35
John B. Kneeland	18	Simon P. Shope	36
Nathan T. Kneeland	13	Gottlieb Schraft	36
Benjamin G. Spring	15	Jacob Schraft	36
Morgan Lyon	18	Watson G. Thomas	36

IMMIGRANTS THAT SETTLED IN THE VILLAGE, 1836

William McPherson.	John Russell.
Joseph H. Steel.	Peter Johnson.
Giles Tucker.	Sherburn Crane.
Enos B. Taylor.	Joseph Tucker.

IMMIGRATION TO TOWNSHIP, 1837

	Sec.		Sec.
Odel J. Smith	10	Ebenezer West	26
Hezekiah Gates	15	Matthew West	26
Abraham A. VanNest	17	Francis Monroe	28
Henry Tobias	17	Rial Lake	32
John Lagrange	21	William Hudson	32
Aaron Lagrange	21	Huram Bristol	34
James Lagrange	21		

IMMIGRATION TO VILLAGE, 1837

Edward F. Gay.
Richard Fishbeck.
John T. Watson.
James White.
George W. Jewett.
Almon Whipple.
O. J. Field.
Josiah P. Jewett.

IMMIGRATION TO VILLAGE BEFORE 1838 BUT HAVE SINCE REMOVED

Joseph Porter.
Whitely Woodruff.
David H. Austin.
Leny Lyon.
Daniel Hotchkiss.
Len Hotchkiss.
Jonathan Austin.
Alvin Crittenden.
Merritt S. Havens.
Francis Field.
Alexander Fraser.
F. J. B. Crane.
John B. Kneeland.
Nathan T. Kneeland.
Morgan Lyon.
Justin Durfee.
John Russell.
Peter Brewer.
Solomon Pettingill.
Henry Pettingill.
James E. Head.
Oliver Reed.
Gottlieb Schraft.
Jacob Schraft.
Watson G. Thomas.
Peter Johnson.
William Hudson.
Sherburne Crane.
John F. Watson.
O. J. Field.
Henry Tobias.
Josiah P. Jewitt.
Hezekiah Gates.
Huram Bristol.

RESIDENTS OF SECTIONS AND WHEN SETTLED.

Name.	Section.	Year settled.
John B. Larowe	5	1836
Ichabod Kneeland	11	1836
Henry Lake	17	1836
Daniel Case	22	1836
Orlando Brewer	22	1836
Almon Brewer	22	1836
Samuel Stebbins	31	1836
John W. Smith	20	1835
Elisha H. Smith	21	1835
George Austin	31	1835
Francis Monroe	28	1837
Henry O. Monroe	22	1837
Abraham A. Van Nest	17	1837
Charles Lake	9	1838
William Lake	8	1838
Vernon C. Smith	20	1838
Burt Brayton	21	1838
Ira Brayton	22	1838
Nathaniel Brayton	21	1839
William Earl	11	1839
Oliver Earl	14	1839
Harlem Marr	8	1839
Jesse Marr	8	1839
Cyrus Marr	8	1839
DeWitt C. Kneeland	13	1840
A. Dana Kneeland	13	1840
Henry Larowe	16	(born) 1840
Walter V. Smith	21	(born) 1841
Nicholas N. Lake	17	(born) 1841
Joseph Hogle	18	1841
William A. Dorrance	9	1842
Aaron Dorrance	9	1842
Solomon Hilderbrant	10	1842
Henry Smith	11	1842
John Carl	16	1842
Chas. Hilderbrant	19	1842
Andrew J. Allen	10	1843
Alvah Allen	10	1843
Alvah Tomlinson	7	1843
Harvey Durfee	12	1843

RESIDENTS OF SECTIONS AND WHEN SETTLED.—*Continued.*

Name.	Section.	Year settled.
Alonzo Fowler	17	1843
Ephraim Fowler	20	1843
Martial Fowler	20	1843
Wm. E. Bennett	20	(born) 1843
Rosco Fowler	20	1843
Horace L. Lake	17	(born) 1843
Wm. Smith	23	1843
Christopher Van Nest	18	1844
Samuel M. Yerkes	28	1845
Harris Henry	21	1845
Galen O. Phillips	21	1845
Philander Bennett	19	(born) 1845
Roger F. Archer	14	1845
Francis Henry	9	1845
Abraham Switz	13	1846
Ralph Bunn	19	1846
John Bunn	19	1846
Perry Brundage	20	1846
Joseph Preston	27	1846
Ransom Barrett	27	1846
George Louck	28	1846
Wm. Y. Hyde	3	1847
Wm. More	16	1847
Stephen S. More	16	1847
Sanford S. Moore	17	1847
Robert McLean	16	1848
Joseph Stafford	5	1848
George Stafford	5	1848
Henry Chittenden	2	1849
Henry Herrington	23	1849
Nicholas Lake	21	1849
Nicholas Lake, Jr	21	1849
Henry Lake	21	1849
Franklin E. Stewart	19	1850
John Roberson	4	1851
James Roberson	4	1851
David Roberson	4	1851
Henry Stevens	20	1851
John Stevens	20	1851
Asa McFall	27	1851

RESIDENTS OF SECTIONS AND WHEN SETTLED.—*Continued.*

Name.	Section.	Year settled.
James Daniels	32	1852
John Van Blaricom	33	1852
John Wassenger	24	1852
Colon Redpath	8	1853
Wm. Roberson	9	1853
Dexter Filkins	12	1853
Theodore Staley	13	1853
George Wakefield	22	1853
Enos Sowles	33	1854
Silas Smith	28	1854
William Stewart	21	1854
Phineas Stewart	20	1854
Everett Sargent	16	1854
Nicholas Hale	11	1854
Thomas Gilchrist	16	1854
George W. Place	7	1854
Vestell Baker	1	1854
Waldo Baker	1	1854
Henry F. Allen	5	1855
Thomas Stevens	14	1855
John H. Diamond	15	1855
Thomas Bucknell	15	1855
Robert Wakefield	16	1855
John W. Richmond	19	1855
Reuben Warren	23	1855
Ebenezer Stearns	31	1855
Henry Stearns	31	1855
Allen Stearns	31	1855
George W. Wilkinson	3	1856
John Elson	10	1856
Seymour E. Howe	15	1856
Tracey Richmond	19	1856
A. W. Fuller	18	1856
Warren Fuller	18	1856
John Park	20	1856
Peter Woll, Jr	19	1856
Russel Richmond	19	1856
Jesse Child	27	1856
Andrew Woll	32	1856
Ezekiel Buckle	25	1857

RESIDENTS OF SECTIONS AND WHEN SETTLED.—*Continued.*

Name.	Section.	Year settled.
Sylvester Andrews	1	1857
Wm. B. McMillan	1	1857
Enos W. Hill	10	1857
Sidney Carpenter	9	1858
Thomas Gordon	14	1858
Eli Hornish	16	1858
Samuel Strictley	17	1858
Richard Ray	34	1858
William Tongue	33	1858
Robert Holmes	12	1859
Orrin J. Wells	21	1859
Ferdinand W. Munson	32	1860
Frank Hook	30	1860
John Briggs	27	1860
Edward Briggs	27	1860
Alonzo Ferren	20	1860
Ezekiel King	20	1860
Charles Damon	8	1860
Joseph Hubbard	26	1861
Leonard Hook	30	1861
Nicholas J. Holt	34	1861
George Detterloy	31	1862
Robert S. Creig	22	1862
Benjamin Waldron	22	1862
George Frink	24	1862
David Hall	19	1862
Richard May	14	1862
Samuel Sidell	18	1863
Calvin Dillion	23	1863
William Burch	29	1863
Daniel Ellenwood	16	1864
Henry Pell	16	1864
Calvin Wilcox	3	1865
Leonard Conradt	7	1865
Henry P. Boyd	6	1865
Adam Conradt	7	1865
William A. Dean	9	1865
Peter J. Dean	9	1865
Harvey Bushnell	18	1865
George Baker	29	1865

RESIDENTS OF SECTIONS AND WHEN SETTLED.—*Concluded.*

Name.	Section.	Year settled
John Casterton	28	1865
Lewis Geyer	29	1865
Miles W. Davison	30	1865
Michael Chaffee	27	1866
Robert Johnson	29	1866
David F. Crandal	21	1866
Andrew Earl	23	1866
James J. Bennett	24	1866
Francis S. Hardy	25	1866
Elijah Musson	26	1866
Peter Lamoroux	13	1866
Elias Kleckler	11	1866
Alfred Earl	11	1866
Edgar Durfee	7	1866
Charles Sharp	6	1866
Ansel Wells	1	1866
Stephen Wiles	2	1866
John Van Arsdale	2	1867
William Newman	6	1867
John Hawes	31	1867
George Raymor	11	1867
Isaac Norton	12	1867
Eri Campbell	16	1867
Jerome Hand	19	1867
Charles Yelland	23	1867
Henry Rogers	30	1867

POPULATION OF SECTIONS.

Section.	Over 21.	Under 21.	Total.	Section.	Over 21.	Under 21.	Total.
1	10	15	25	18	16	24	40
2	11	17	28	19	26	27	53
3	11	10	21	20	28	20	48
4	10	5	15	21	28	20	48
5	11	13	24	22	20	27	47
6	6	14	21	23	22	40	60
7	12	11	23	24	11	18	29
8	17	23	40	25	9	10	19
9	26	33	59	26	5	1	6
10	13	11	24	27	18	17	35
11	16	26	42	28	15	16	31
12	11	15	26	29	8	14	22
13	12	13	25	30	9	13	22
14	11	9	20	31	16	20	36
15	9	14	23	32	8	11	19
16	23	20	43	33	6	8	14
17	17	11	28	34	8	14	22
Total					479	560	1,039
Colored							11
							1,050

THE STORY OF JOHN TANNER[1]

BY MRS. ANGIE BINGHAM GILBERT[2]

I am more than pleased to bring you my greeting tonight, and I am more pleased because I feel that I represent one of the oldest and best friends of this Society, my husband, Thomas D. Gilbert of Grand Rapids. He was constantly in attendance and felt very great interest in this and in our own Society of Grand Rapids. The last time we came here together to a meeting the Society seemed to be in a decline. It had not been able to get the recognition from the State that it had hoped, and many of the most prominent and most active of its members had recently died, and many of the others thought that it would be the last time they would ever meet together, and there was a sadness over the entire meeting. But I am pleased to find that it has revived and so many others have become interested in it, and that such a large number are present.

Some months ago I was asked to prepare a historical paper for this meeting, but I was unable to do so on account of my health. I came here on very short notice with no expectation of having anything to say and am entirely unprepared. This incident I shall speak of was a very remarkable story of the old time Michigan. A tragedy on account of the many peculiar characters who were connected with it. Mr. Peter White asked me to write the story of Tanner. I did so and it can be found in Ralph Williams' work on the Honorable Peter White, page ninety-two. I am very glad, since I was born at all, that I was born in Michigan and in that historic part of Michigan in the Upper Peninsula on the banks of the St. Mary's River, one of the most beautiful rivers in the world. I am glad that I was a child of pioneers, not only people who were trying to help the white people of America, but also trying to be a benefit to the people who were here before us, the dark men whose homes we have taken; and that I was a child of pioneers who have given their lives to the betterment of these people.

I have often wondered at my great interest in the pioneer and the Indian, but it suddenly seemed to come over me at the last meeting of this Society on hearing one of the papers read, the occult reason why I was so interested and when the speaker mentioned the Sault Ste. Marie and the establishment of the first Jesuit Mission, I happened to think that I was born on almost the identical spot where historians and those who have looked into the matter tell us Marquette and the Jesuit

[1]Told at the annual meeting, June 5, 1908.

[2]See *Memoirs of the Soo*, Vol. XXX, pp. 623-633, this series. Mrs. Gilbert died Nov. 7, 1910, at Grand Rapids. cf. supra, memoir.

priests had the ceremony of what is called "planting the cross," and in the house where the treaty[3] was made where so many so narrowly escaped massacre by the Indians. Some time ago I was given a tomahawk that was found under the foundation stones of the mission house which my father built. The tomahawk is of iron, rusty and old, showing that it was buried a long time, long before this mission house was built because it was even under the foundation stones. My sister was born in the mission house and we two were brought up over this tomahawk.

St. Mary's River, from Lake Huron to Lake Superior, is full of historic interest. I know the history of almost every spot from the source of the river to its mouth. Many years ago my mother and an Indian girl whom she had brought up were wrecked near the mouth of the river. No lives were lost. All the way up the river are spots connected with the Indians making stories of very great interest indeed. As you reach Sault Ste. Marie on the American bank of the river just below the old Indian agency, stood a beautiful old house which was always painted white. It was built under the old elms and was a most picturesque spot. This was the home of John Tanner,[4] commonly known as "Old Tanner." He was born in Ohio, I do not remember just where. He had a very strange and terrible personality and was the "bogie man" to children and a source of worry to nearly every one. He was an old man when I was a little girl. The Indians came and massacred all his people and the people in his town. His family were all killed but himself.[5] He saw them take little children by the feet and dash their brains out. He was taken prisoner and carried to the north and brought up among the Indians. He became practically one of them, and was known as the "white Indian." He married an Indian woman, and had a large family. He was a very remarkable man, and was really very intelligent. I do not know much of his history. In middle life he found out about his people and went to Ohio where he found out all about himself. After that he became quite well educated. He was also very religious. His life was written many years ago, and is in the State library here in this city. It did not give the latter part of his life. He came with his

[3]On June 16, 1820, Gov. Cass made a treaty with the Chippeway Indians. Schoolcraft describes the scene in his *Narrative Journal of the Travels from Detroit, northwest through the American lakes in 1820*, etc., and states that the Indians were at first much opposed to the treaty, showing a threatening attitude. In *Sketches of a tour of the Lakes, of the character and customs of the Chippeway Indians*, etc., by T. L. McKenney, pp. 183-4, he attributes Mr. Cass' final success and the diverting of an Indian attack upon the Americans, to the wise council and intervention of Mrs. Johnson, the Indian wife of the interpreter.

[4]See *Sketch of John Tanner*, by Judge Joseph H. Steere, Vol. XXII, p. 246, this series.

[5]Tanner's Life, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner During Thirty Years' Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America*, prepared by Edwin James, London, 1830.

Indian family to the Soo and settled there before I was born. He was a man with a very violent temper which he never controlled. Outside of that he would have been a very interesting man, but when enraged he was almost insane. I do not know whether his Indian wife left him or died, but his children left him and he lived alone in this little house. After a while he was anxious to marry a white woman.[6] He had been below, (we called it going "below" and "above" when we went south or north) and the people became interested in him at Detroit and recommended a widow there whose name was, I believe, Mrs. Duncan, although I am not certain. He probably did not give any exhibition of temper while there, and she finally consented to marry him and came back to the Soo. He became very cruel to her, and wanted her to live as his Indian wife had done. In his violent rages he had threatened to kill her and she became afraid of him and determined to leave him. At that time it was considered a terrible thing to have a divorce, and she was at a loss to know what to do.

About this time John Tanner went away for a little time, and while he was gone she came to my father, of whom she thought a great deal, and he told her he could not advise her to leave her husband, but that if he had threatened her life he should not say anything about her going. He and many others became interested in her case and a collection was taken up and enough money was raised to send her away while Mr. Tanner was out of town. When he came back and found her gone he was in a terrible rage. He was very angry at these people for helping his wife to go away, and determined at some time or other to kill every one who had helped in anyway to get his wife away from him. He went to Detroit to see her, but she refused to come back. This was before my birth.

Henry and James Schoolcraft were brothers. Henry was then Indian agent at the Soo. He was called at that time, "Uncle Sam's pet." Marie Schoolcraft was the sister of Henry and James, and married Judge John Hulbert, of an old Detroit family. The Rev. Abel Bingham[7] was my father. An officer of the United States army, Major Kingsbury, was commandant at the fort which could be seen from my home.

The years went on, and this old man lived alone in his beautiful picturesque old house on the bank of St. Mary's River. He had a great many beautiful ideas, but his anger increased. He had spells of rage but was at times very reasonable. For many years he interpreted for my father who was a missionary, and very a excellent one. He was a

[6]Schoolcraft in his *Thirty Years With the Indian Tribes*, p. 601, states that Tanner went to Detroit where he became pleased with a country girl who was a chambermaid at Ben Woodworth's hotel. They were married and had one child and when she had lived with him one year she made her escape.

[7]Rev. Abel Bingham. See sketch, Vol. II, pp. 146-157, this series. Mr. Bingham wrote a paper on *Early Missions at the Sault Ste. Marie*, which is published in Vol. XXVIII, p. 520, this series.

very strange and in some ways a noble looking man. He was tall and spare, with long white hair which he wore parted in the middle and drawn back behind his ears like a woman's. He had a fierce eye, and his countenance was most forbidding. When he was not angry he was very pleasant and gentlemanly. He was very much like a white man, excepting for this terrible temper.

After I became quite a girl I remember him. When he was pleasant we were interested in seeing him but when angry, we were very much afraid of him. He used to sit in his door at sunset. When my sister and I were little and had to pass his house, and saw Tanner sitting on his doorstep we took hold of hands and ran past the house. Like an Indian, he nourished his feeling of revenge and hatred. Very often they were obliged to shut him up in jail until he got over these spells. He was however very lonely and about two weeks before the tragedy he came to my father's house and told father he could not endure this life any longer and that he must make some change. He made a proposition to father that he should come and live at the mission house of which father was in charge. He said if he could only eat at table with the family he would stay in his room and not disturb anybody. Father knew what a terrible thing his temper was, and refused to have him. He came down from the study, I remember, and passed through the sitting room where Mrs. Hulbert was sitting with several other persons. He was very angry but seemed only grieved at father's refusal. About two weeks after that time he began to be very crazy, acting as he did when he was in his frenzies. Father went over to the garrison to talk to Major Kingsbury about having Tanner shut up in jail. While he was talking to him an orderly told him that Mr. James Schoolcraft had been shot by Tanner. Father was the first one that arrived at the spot. Mr. James Schoolcraft was a sutler at the garrison. He was rather a gay man and very handsome. Saturday was the 4th of July, and he had gone over to the Canadian side to have a good time with the officers on that side. I do not know at what time he got back to his home. He was sleeping off his good time on the Monday after the 4th, and got up from his bed in the afternoon, put on his dressing sack and slippers, and took a walk in his beautiful garden across what is now Porter avenue where he had a vegetable garden. Just as he got to a clump of bushes in the garden some one fired a shot which struck him in the heart. There was a very great commotion. When father arrived upon looking about the place he found a wad of paper which he supposed was in the gun. He unrolled it and found this paper was part of a mission hymn book that was used in the chapel. There was very great excitement in town that afternoon. This was Mr. Peter White's first visit to this Lake Superior region. He was a boy of fifteen, a young roustabout looking for work. Everybody took guns to hunt Tanner, who was a very skillful marks-

man. The men didn't go very far into the woods and didn't find Tanner. From that day to this John Tanner has never been heard of. The town hunted for him knowing that he had threatened to kill every one who had helped to get his wife away. Particularly did he try to kill Henry Schoolcraft, but he had gone away and only his brother James was at home. He said if he couldn't get Henry, he would get Jim. Mr. Hulbert and wife had gone to Detroit for a visit and Mrs. James Schoolcraft had gone with them. He also threatened to kill father and several other persons who had given money toward getting Mrs. Tanner away.

On Saturday night the Fourth of July this little house of Mr. Tanner was burned to the ground. When the people went there to try and put out the fire they could not get near as powder had been placed around it and every little while it would explode. Some thought Mr. Tanner was burned with his house, but afterwards when they looked they never found any part of him. It is thought he went away and hid in the woods.

They had a guard around my father's house for two months and nobody went out of the house in the evening because they were afraid of John Tanner. Whatever happened, John Tanner did it. It was called the "Tanner summer." A great many stories about his having been seen here and there were told, and father who was much interested investigated all these stories and never found but one he thought had any claim to truth. It was supposed that he had gone to the north with which he was familiar. I went with a small party of girls down to Schoolcraft's home and saw him as he laid there. I was old enough to know all about it and remember it well indeed. An officer in the army named Lieut. Tilden had had difficulty with Mr. James Schoolcraft, and had been heard to say that "cold lead would fix it." Nobody thought anything about it at the time however. Lieut. Tilden while serving in the Mexican War had gotten into some difficulty and was courtmartialed during which he wrote a letter to my father telling him that during the courtmartial he had been charged with Schoolcraft's murder instead of Tanner. He asked for a letter saying he had not done the deed, but when father, who was sure that Tanner had murdered Mr. Schoolcraft, went out with a letter for signers, there was one man who said he would not sign it as he was afraid Tilden had done the deed. Some thought he had sent two soldiers out who did it. About a month after the murder these two soldiers came in, and the barrel of one of the guns was empty. But what had become of Tanner?[8] No one knew. Then they said that

[8]Tanner's family always hoped to find him. There is a story of his brother James finding him, told by Elizabeth T. Baird, *Wisconsin Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 47-55.

Tilden[9] had hired these two men to go into the woods and shoot James Schoolcraft.

A very remarkable thing happened about a month after this murder. These two soldiers were on guard. A sentinel was standing there and the men were standing about when a terrible thunder storm came up. I think I have never seen a storm come up so quickly, and it proved the most terrible shower ever witnessed. I was looking out of the window and saw a great commotion in the garrison. These two soldiers who had been supposed to have been hired to kill James Schoolcraft, were both struck with lightning and instantly killed. They were taken past my father's house with military honors to the cemetery. One thing I remember, they played the dead march on the way out and on the way back played "Yankee Doodle." This of course made it impossible to find out anything about the murder from these soldiers, but I don't know how the courtmartial came out.

A number of years ago, about forty years after the murder, I was visiting at Mackinac, and came across the oldest daughter of John Tanner. She was a half-breed named Martha and lived to a very great age. She told me a very strange story. She said she had had a letter from Mrs. Tilden that it was her husband who had shot James Schoolcraft. But she didn't want her to say anything about it until her husband was dead. I didn't believe it. She herself was a Roman Catholic and had shown the letter to the Bishop and he had told her it had better be destroyed. He took care of it, and put it in the grate. Mrs. Hulbert, Mrs. Schoolcraft and Mr. Peter White had believed that James Schoolcraft was shot by Tilden, but father investigated the thing very thoroughly, and he did not think the thing possible. A United States soldier would not have had a leaf from a mission hymn book as wadding for his gun, and Mr. Tilden would not have known about Mr. Schoolcraft sleeping off his 4th of July celebration.

Nobody knows who burned the house or who killed James Schoolcraft.

THE VALUE OF LOCAL HISTORICAL DATA

BY FRANK TRACY CARLETON[1]

History is a science; it belongs to the family of social sciences. History is concerned not with the string of events held together by the colorless thread of chronology; historical science is a study of causation. In the social and political world, social and political structures are

[9]Tilden resigned in 1848 and died ten years later.

[1]Read at the midwinter meeting, Albion, January, 1909.

evolved, and changes take place, in response to modifications in the social and physical environment, or in the industry of the people. History is the social physics of the past; sociology, of the present. Unless the study of history aids in the solution of the social problems of to-day, it remains in the lower rank of leisure class, cultural studies,—the value of which is chiefly traditional and putative.

The medieval mind had no idea of causation in the physical world; only comparatively recently did we of modern times begin to throw off medievalism in regard to social progress. According to the early metaphysical conception of history, data and investigations were of no value, or of negative value. In a similar way, the medieval authorities considered inductive physical science to be improper and dangerous. However, metaphysics and supersition in regard to the evolution of political institutions are fortunately rapidly giving way to scientific hypotheses based upon exact and detailed investigation of historical data.

Furthermore, history consists of more than the mere record of events. It is the function of real historical study to ascertain in a measure the reason for the rise and fall of specific nations, parties and principles. Before broad and reasonable generalizations can be drawn an enormous mass of exact, uncolored historical data must be gathered and digested. This data must relate not merely to political events or to the work and ideas of certain great and more or less spectacular personages who have stood in the foreground in generations which lie forever behind the present. This data must, if it be highly valuable, tell the true story of the life, ideals, customs, industrial and social relations of the mass of the people. Each locality, class and individual can add its quota toward the accurate knowledge of the true history of a given nation.

In the past our historians have often been guilty of presenting a false picture of the history of a nation. Their conclusions have often been very much prejudiced and distorted. In part this unfortunate situation was the direct and inevitable result of a lack of minute and local historical data. In part, it was due to a false idea of patriotism which led the writers to over-emphasize the good qualities of certain historical personages and to accentuate the moral weaknesses of others; it caused the historians to find altruistic and broad-minded ideals where in reality egoistic and particularistic ambitions were uppermost. Not only were false ideas presented, but the glorification of the past inevitably made the student and reader pessimistic in regard to the present and the future. The past was seen constantly surrounded by an unreal halo. The imaginary good old days and the more or less mythical heroic heroes of the past when placed in comparison with the somber, but actual, present checked the enthusiasm of many a young idealist. With this contrast in view the present seemed hopelessly degenerate; corruption, graft and

political chicanery were believed to be of recent origin whereas in reality these evils are as old as history.

American history has suffered greatly in the past because of superficial and prejudiced interpretation of facts, and because of the lack of definite and accurate data. Fortunately, great progress has been made in the last two or three decades. Libraries and associations like the one under whose auspices this meeting is held, have been busy collecting manuscripts, newspapers, letters, old books, anything which will give a clue to the real life, ideals, customs and conditions of the people of this country. Many earnest and devoted students have studied portions of this constantly growing material and have given to the world valuable monographic studies relating to some specific historical movement or event. Others have presented more general historical works based upon the two preceding classes of material. As a result we are beginning to get a new view of our national past; and this new view is much truer and much less distorted than the older sentimental presentation. Our revolutionary heroes, for example, are no longer pictured as supermen; they are seen to be like men of today,—men affected by the same motives and influences as are those who to-day walk the streets or sit in the halls of Congress. The great man theory of history is also displaced by the view that economic and environmental forces mould, in a large degree, the political movements which stand out so prominently in our history. Unfortunately, there are still some writers, lecturers and ministers who either through ignorance or wilful perversion of facts, continue to misuse their opportunities by drawing false conclusions and presenting highly colored pictures of historical epochs and movements.

Careful study of the medieval period in European history is greatly handicapped because scholars are unable to find much material as to the common, the ordinary, events and methods of carrying on the routine of daily life. The kind of data which is important is missing. Only the exceptional and unusual happenings were generally recorded. In order that a comprehensive and trustworthy knowledge of American history be obtained, it is necessary that a mass of material be collected and studied which will accurately and truthfully tell of the actual routine of life among the mass of the people in every locality of the United States. For example, a president of the American Historical Association has pointed out that the diaries and letters of the Methodist circuit riders of the frontier districts ought to furnish a vast amount of valuable information because these men were typical frontiersmen and came very closely in contact with the life of the people. To gather this fugitive material is, or should be, the mission of this Association. From the standpoint of a student, such work is fundamental. It is absolutely

necessary in order that unprejudiced and truly scientific historical work may take the place of the biased sentimentalism which has often passed current for history and biography.

As a student of American industrial history, I cannot emphasize too strongly the desirability of aiding this Association in its laudable efforts to collect, preserve and catalogue the scattered material which relates to the period when Michigan was a frontier state of this union. Again, let it be noted, a knowledge of the home life, industrial methods, amusements, social life, ideals and beliefs is especially needed rather than the mere details of unusual events. Individuals and specific details are of importance to the historian only in so far as they aid in completing the picture of an epoch.

THE DUTCH PIONEERS OF MICHIGAN

BY MARTIN L. D'OOGE, LL. D.[1]

There are four motives that underlie colonization; that is, the love of adventure, the love of gold, the love of power and the love of freedom. All these motives may enter into the history of colonization, but a close study of this history makes now the one, and now the other of these forces most prominent. The impulse that brought the Dutch pioneers to the state of Michigan in 1847 was, as we shall see, essentially the love of religious freedom. And in this respect it was a movement quite like that of the Pilgrims and Puritans who settled on the shores of New England.

The emigration of the Dutch pioneers of Michigan from their native land was inspired by the best ideals and partook of the enthusiasm that has characterized some of the prominent events of history. It did not stand all by itself but it was a part of the larger emigration from Europe to America. The wonderful resources of this country, the privileges of its free government and the opportunity afforded here for personal advancement drew to these shores a mighty stream of population. The emigration from Holland was one of the events that swelled the stream. The modern spirit of freedom, of enlargement, came upon the people of Holland as upon the other nationalities. This modern spirit affected the people of the Netherlands in two ways; first, that of a liberalizing intellectualism, and second that of a moderate socialism. It created three parties in Holland, that is, the radical reconstructionists, the conservative nationalist, and the ecclesiastical separatist. Now

[1]Read at the fourth midwinter meeting, January, 1909.

it is to be especially noticed that the Church and State stood in close connection. With the normal Hollanders religion, theology, and morality, are bound up with all his social and civil interests. A ferment arose. Consciences were tried, conflicts resulted, battles grew hot. The conflict was determined, the persecution bitter. Finally exclusions were contrived and separatists followed. It was in this atmosphere of conflict and trial that the "free church" of Holland was born—at first called the "Christian Reformed Church," later known as the Seceded Reformed Church in the Netherlands. (Seceded from the National Reformed Church.) And it was in connection with this movement for the free church that the emigration in 1847 to Michigan had its origin.

Before we trace the history of the emigration a few words may be added by way of explanation and comment upon this religious movement. The persecution officially on the part of the government and unofficially on the part of the leaders in political, social and religious circles to which the people who espoused the cause of the free church was subject, seems beyond credence. Says one writer: "The old days appear to have returned, days in which persecution flamed up against the "Reformed." Then also the friends of truth saw themselves driven to surrender their church buildings to their persecutors, and to seek shelter in barns and stables where they might worship God according to their conscience. Even this was forbidden them and their efforts were liable to be punished with fines, deportation and exile. To be sure this was nothing new or unheard of in the history of the Fatherland, but it seemed best fitting to the chain of events that belonged to the fourth decade of the nineteenth century."

Among the preachers of the Gospel who became the object of the fiercest persecution was a young man who was destined to become the Moses that was to lead these children of a spiritual bondage into the new Canaan of freedom. This Canaan was in Ottawa County in this State and this Moses was Dr. Albertus C. Van Raalte. Dominie Van Raalte was a man small in stature, of indomitable will, of great executive ability, of penetrating insight, of unflinching courage, of unfaltering trust in God and of unselfish ambition. He was of the stuff that martyrs and apostles are made of. "A man mighty in words and in deeds" is the motto on the title page of his biography written by the Rev. H. E. Dosker, published in 1893. In his biography, written from original documents, are found recorded a number of outrages perpetrated upon the truthful pastor and his young bride. Several times his life was in danger. "The Newlighter" was cast into prison as a disturber of the peace and made to share the pallet of a common vagabond. In the midst of these persecutions and trials the "American Fever" began to make itself felt also in the veins of the young Dominie.

The voyage to America in those days was a great event. An emigrant to America took leave of his kindred as a man on his deathbed says farewell to his kith and kin. The immediate occasion of Van Raalte's desire to go to America was the reading of a letter from newly arrived emigrants to a schoolmaster who lived near Arnhem. The idea of going somewhere to better the conditions of life and to escape from persecutions had been growing in his mind for some time. The alternative was America or Java, the pearl of the East Indies. Java promised more material advantages at the outset than America. Java was a Dutch possession, enjoyed a salubrious climate had a fertile soil and a luxurious vegetation. In estimating the relative advantages of this site it is interesting to find a brochure written by Van Raalte and his brother-in-law, Rev. A. Brummelkamp in 1845, that the prevailing motive that led them at that time to prefer Java to America was a most unworldly one. Since Java promised easier conditions of gaining a livelihood, the prospect was fair to having more time and strength to pursue the work of planting the Gospel and evangelizing this part of the world. To quote from the brochure named: "The thought that Java might be made a central point for the propagation of the Gospel in the far east, this thought burned in our minds, our prayers arose to Heaven frequently that this might be the issue of our plans." At a mass meeting held at Utrecht of those who were in sympathy with the movement (of seeking a home elsewhere in order to be able to enjoy freedom of worship) two delegates were appointed to negotiate with the Minister of the Colonies with reference to a settlement on the Island of Java, on condition that they should be granted religious freedom and a certain amount of temporary assistance in meeting the expenditures required in building their homes. This proposal was summarily rejected. Certain it is that had these negotiations been successful the future of Java would have been a very different one. A stream of the best Dutch population, industrious, frugal, moral and religious, would have made this beautiful country the abode of peace and prosperity such as it has never enjoyed.

From this action on the part of the Minister of the Dutch Colonies, as an indirect consequence, resulted the emigration to this country led by Dr. Van Raalte in 1847. The question was for some time an open one whether this emigration should be organized into a colony or whether all and any who chose should emigrate as individuals or as families and settle wherever they deemed best. It is easy to suppose that had the latter policy prevailed, the Dutch emigrants would have been scattered over many parts of the country and would have had no strong band of union and no concentrated influence. The tide of emigration to America kept swelling and many Hollanders on their own account and for various reasons found their way to these shores during

these years. They settled chiefly in Albany, New York, Patterson and Rochester while maintaining for a time their own language, church-service and customs, they gradually became absorbed in the American communities and lost all individuality as Hollanders. To guard against this dispersion and also to obtain financial assistance, a sort of a general epistle was sent by Van Raalte and Brummelkamp, dated Arnhem, May 25, 1846, addressed to "The Faithful in the United States of North America." This letter was sent to no one person because no one in this country was known to whom it could be personally addressed. Like a piece of writing in a bottle thrown among the billows by dispairing shipwrecked voyagers, this letter was carried by an emigrant without knowing to whom it should be given. It fell into the hands of Rev. Dr. I. N. Wyckoff[2] of Albany, a devoted friend of the Hollanders and himself of Dutch descent, who caused this letter to be translated and to be published in the Christian Intelligencer the official organ of the Reformed Church of this country. The result of this letter was the organization among the friends of the Hollanders in Albany of a league entitled "The Protestant Evangelical Holland Emigration Union." This league was of great service, especially in aiding the newly arrived emigrant, ignorant of the language, the customs and life of this land, to find profitable employment and a home.

It was the latter part of 1846 that Dr. Van Raalte[3] arrived in New York accompanied by a few followers to pave the way for the future emigrants. They sailed from Rotterdam, October 2nd, and arrived the 17th of November, a voyage of forty-five days. But now whither? It was Van Raalte's purpose to found a colony on a large scale. To accomplish this with small means, it was necessary that he should take up such lands as he could get for the smallest outlay of money. He thought of Illinois and Wisconsin. But through acquaintances made in New York he fell in with certain prominent men in that city who had become interested in Michigan. Accordingly, Van Raalte set out on the journey of inspection and discovery in 1846. A few of the more adventurous accompanied him. Several of these found temporary employment in the shipbuilding yards of St. Clair while Van Raalte pro-

[2]The Rev. Isaac N. Wyckoff was born in Hillsborough, Somerset Co., N. J., Aug. 29, 1792, and died in Albany, N. Y., March 28, 1869. He was pastor of the First Dutch Reformed Church, Leeds, N. Y., the Catskill Dutch Reformed Church and the Albany Second Dutch Reformed Church, the last place from 1836-1866. He was active in benevolent and educational enterprises and a volunteer commissioner of emigration to the numerous Hollanders who came to the vicinity of Albany from 1845-1865. His wife, Jane K., died Feb. 29, 1848. He had a son, Theodore F. Wyckoff, who entered the ministry and died at the age of thirty-five, Jan. 18, 1855, on St. Thomas Island, where he had charge of the Dutch Reformed Church. See *Munsell's Annals of Albany*, and *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*.

[3]Dr. Albertus Christian Van Raalte was born Wanneperveen, Province of Overyssel, Netherlands, Oct. 17, 1811. He gives an account of the settlement of Holland (New Haven) in *Page's History of Ottawa County, Chicago, 1882*, p. 77.

ceeded to explore the wilds of the western part of the State. From Detroit he journeyed overland to Allegan, where he was kindly entertained in a loghouse by Mr.[4] and Mrs. Kellogg, who became his "never-to-be-forgotten friends." Soon Van Raalte and Kellogg with an Indian guide went on a prospecting tour in January, 1847 and came to Hope Haven, as the site was called, the site now occupied by Holland, on the borders of Black Lake. Here they found an encampment, put up by the only white man in all the region, who was a missionary to the Indians. The name of this missionary I have not been able to learn.[5] Van Raalte hastened back to his little party at Detroit, to lead them to this spot which he had chosen as the seat of his colony.

Meanwhile other emigrants had been arriving who were awaiting at Albany the outcome of his decision. In February, 1847, a number of men, accompanied by one woman[6] arrived in the heart of this wilderness. They were possessed of one mind and soul. Their purpose was fixed. Their faith in their leader and their trust in God were unwavering. They came ready for any sacrifice needed to secure their success. Van Raalte's wife and children had remained behind in Allegan until their new home was erected. A tribute is due to Mrs. Van Raalte who from first to last was a power of strength to her husband in the founding of this colony which, to use another's phrase, "She carried on her heart."

This enterprise of founding a colony of emigrants, unacquainted with the language and customs of the country, without any experience of pioneer life, with slender financial means, was certainly heroic. As the Americans of the neighboring towns like Allegan, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, looked on and saw these Dutchmen disappearing in the woods they shook their heads and said "Settlements are good, but they are built on the bones of the settlers."

In the town now called Zeeland was planted another colony which came as a regularly organized congregation. It came from Goes, Zeeland in 1848, under Rev. C. Van der Meulen. When the question of emigration came before them, the West Indies, and the Cape of Good Hope were considered. But reports from Van Raalte, who had gone the year before, decided them to go to the United States. At a preliminary meeting about 200 of the persecuted Reformed Church followers were assembled. There they voted to go to America, and organ-

[4]John R. Kellogg was born in New Hartford, N. Y., in 1793, and was a merchant at Marcellus, N. Y., until 1836, when he came to Allegan, Mich. He entered the real estate business and later became interested in the lumber business. See *History of Allegan Co., Mich.*

[5]This was the Rev. G. N. Smith, Presbyterian missionary among the Indians located upon section 3, township of Fillmore. *Page's History of Ottawa Co.*, p. 78. See Life of Rev. George N. Smith, Vol. XXX, pp. 190-212, this series.

[6]Mrs. Grootenhuis accompanied these men having volunteered to do their cooking. *History of Allegan Co., Mich.*, p. 78.

ized as a church. They called Dr. Van der Meulen to lead them. He conducted one party which sailed from Antwerp. J. Steketee was in command of another party and J. Van den Luyster of a third.

I will not enter upon an account of the trials and hardships of these heroic colonists. In many ways their troubles were not different from those that ordinarily befall pioneers. But in one respect they were peculiar, that is, in that they were endured by a company of people who were cut off and separated from the sympathy and aid that so often comforts the settlers of new regions who set forth from older settlements with which they keep up lines of communication. This little band was practically compelled "to paddle its own canoe" and that without knowing much about a canoe or paddle. And so it happened that the canoe frequently capsized and the occupants had many an uncomfortable experience. But what made this experience doubly hard was that they got no aid or comfort from "the old folks at home." I recall as a boy hearing of some of the extraordinary adventures and hardships of these pioneers, and I have in my memory the picture of some of these old worthies, strong, fearless, unconventional, rough and ready sort of men, the stuff that heroes and martyrs are made of. It requires a skillful and strong hand to guide and control these elements but such men as Van Raalte and Van der Meulen were equal to the situation. It is probably clear that without a strong central authority this enterprise would have been shipwrecked. In this colony as in the old Puritan colony, this authority was an ecclesiastical one. The Church Council with the minister as the head was the governing power, not only in the affairs of the Church but also in conduct of business and in all social relations. And it is interesting to see how powerful even to this day is the churchly rule among the communicants of the Dutch churches and yet how loyal and true these people are to their adopted country.

In portraying the type of the Holland pioneers who have made the towns of Holland, Zeeland, etc., in Ottawa County the garden spot of this State, for I venture to say that nowhere else in this State is the land cultivated with so much care, nowhere else will you see such trim and well kept farmyards, such weedless gardens and such straight furrows. Let me borrow in substance the words of one who has spent many years among them and who is, himself, the son of one of the earliest of these fathers: "Yes, the type is a special one, a marked one. All are evidently Dutch, they came from every province of the old country; some from cities, but most from villages or country districts. Chiefly of the middle and laboring classes, some came who had literally nothing. Men of all trades and callings they constructed an active working class. Socially, with few exceptions, the people were of the humble stations in life and did not possess the culture acquired by a

liberal education and contact with the world. But there were no pauperized and criminal characters. They settled in colonies or neighborhoods and formed new communities, in which usually the former inhabitants of one or the other provinces predominated, like Zeeland or again they became incorporated in some city as Patterson, N. J., Rochester, N. Y., Grand Rapids Michigan." These emigrants were moved by a common spirit, by natural trait, no idealists or fortune hunters—a strong faith and high hopes inspired them. Not easily stirred, the liveliest sentiments and the deepest enthusiasms took possession of their hearts. Not given to chance they actually made a very great change. They broke with their past, parted from their people and sought a new country on another continent. What made them do it? The desire of religious freedom, the desire for greater opportunities, the love of a popular form of government inherited from the days of the Old Dutch Republic, were the chief motives that impelled them. But of these the desire for religious freedom was over all the inspiring motive.

They were strong Calvinists in doctrine, most of them of the bluest stripe. Conservatives of the staunchest sort. They were willing and ready to make any sacrifice for their convictions. Strange and contradictory as it may seem, Calvinism, freedom, progress are read together on many a page of modern history. How to account for it? The pivotal doctrine of that faith is the absolute sovereignty of God. No man's will, therefore, is absolute; hence the restrictions under social bondage and the love of personal liberty; hence, also, advancement by education and discipline. If progress cannot be obtained by these roads, they must come by revolution or by separation.

The average Dutch colonist may further be described as follows: He had a strong physical constitution, and was slightly below the average normal stature. His manner of life was plain. Luxury had not enervated his spirit or weakened his nerves. While he did not have the smartness of his Yankee neighbor he had fully as much vigor and pluck, and more patience and industry. The spirit of determination that characterized him is well illustrated in a remark of the heroic leader of this band who, on an occasion of critical movement, said "The stream in which I am sinking, I myself shall drink of."

In his home life, the Dutch colonist displayed some beautiful virtues. His religion pervaded the family circle and bound husband and wife together. In their trials their hearts did not grow bitter towards each other, but on the contrary, more tender and sweet. The wives and mothers of these pioneer days maintained those domestic virtues and displayed those graces and accomplishments that had been their glory and pride in the land of their birth. Exquisite housekeepers, they knew how with the least expenditures to make their homes cheerful and comfortable within, and attractive without.

Our colonist was from the start an American. He did not know much about the country, but he loved it. It was to him at once a large and free country. He had been cramped and crowded in Holland and allowed little liberty. Though clannish in a sense and devotedly attracted to the Dutch Reformed system of doctrine and observance, yet he was a good deal of an independent and ready to take his place in the country of his adoption. The progress of assimilation has been going on for these sixty years, and the grandchildren, if not the children of the original settlers, have become thoroughly Americanized in speech, in manner of living and in the conduct of business. With all this however, he still possesses the primal qualities of Dutch character, persistence, patience, industry, religious devotion, love of home and kindred, a certain independence and a genuine integrity. May these abide in him and continue to add strength and health to our natural life.

The population of Hollanders in this country with their descendants who have emigrated hither since the middle of the last century, it is estimated numbers about 200,000. By far the largest number reside in the western part of our own State. To name only the cities and towns, Grand Rapids, Holland, Kalamazoo, Grand Haven and Zeeland. At least one-third of the population of Grand Rapids by birth or by descent is Holland. There are no less than twenty-four Dutch Reformed churches, in nine of which all the services are in the English language. I ought to add, however that of these twenty-four churches, thirteen are Seceders and call themselves the Christian Reformed, and it is these that are in closest touch and communication with the Seceders of the old country, strangely enough the very body out of which more than sixty years ago the original colony under Dr. Van Raalte went forth. Another important settlement of Hollanders in the west is Pella, Iowa. The Dutch settlement of Pella has an origin quite similar to that of Holland, Michigan. Shortly after Van Raalte led his followers to the wilds of Michigan, a friend and colleague in the ministry at home named Schotte, conducted a number of co-religionists to Iowa, and founded the town of Pella. But this settlement never seemed to have had the same attractions as those in Michigan for the people across the sea and consequently has never enjoyed the same growth and influence. While the tide of emigration from Holland has for many years been small it has never wholly dried up. Not a year passes without seeing families coming over from Holland to this country. It is not at all an uncommon sight in Grand Rapids to see some newly arrived emigrant from Holland attired in his native costume, serenely walking the streets of the Valley City as if he had always lived there and quite oblivious of the gaze of the passerby. How valuable and praiseworthy an element

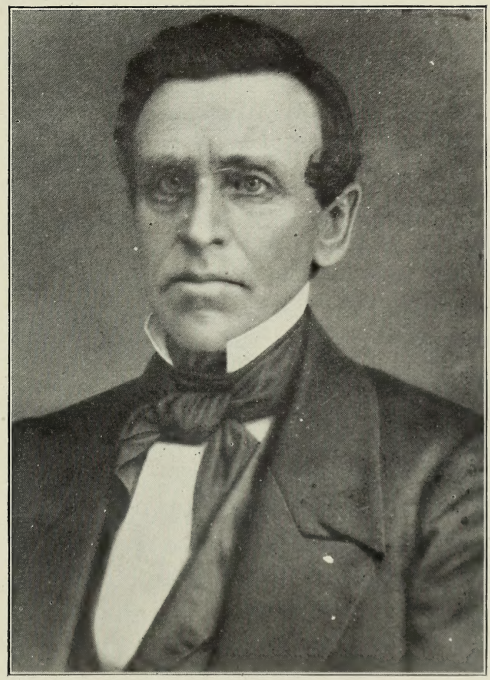
the Hollanders are in our diverse population, I will let the pen of another tell. "There is not a more faithful, honest, peaceable and thrifty class of people in the United States than the Hollanders."

LIFE OF JESSE CROWELL

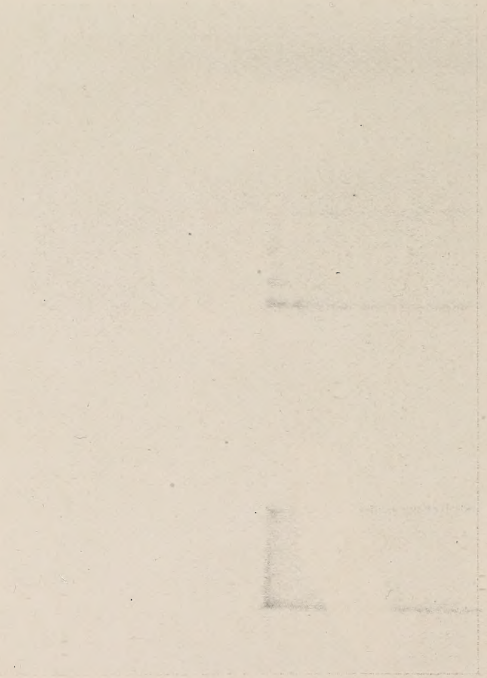
BY JAMES C. ESLOW[1]

I have been able to gain the following facts relating to the birth, life, and death of Mr. Crowell. He was born in Bridgewater, Oneida county, New York, November 19, 1797, and died at Albion, Michigan, September 28, 1872, aged seventy-four years, ten months and twenty-eight days. This record we find in his personal Bible, (now the property of Mrs. Smith Chatfield, soon to belong to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, by gift of the present owner). We also find the birth and death record of his father and mother, date of their marriage, and that he had two sisters and one brother. One sister, Mrs. Sanford, lived here, and she and her daughter Frances cared for Mr. Crowell's home. During his boyhood his parents removed to Winfield, Herkimer county, but on maturity he went South, spending several years in North Carolina and Georgia; finally returning to New York, he located in the county of Oswego of which he was a representative in the state legislature, where he acquitted himself honorably and to the entire satisfaction of his constituency. In the year 1835 he came to Michigan and purchased an interest in the entire water power in this place and the land embracing the original village plat. In 1836 was formed the Albion Company of which he was the agent during its existence and which was dissolved by mutual consent in 1842. While agent of the company he took an active part in procuring the location of the Albion Wesleyan Seminary[2] (now Albion College) at this place, donating the lands on which the college stands, as well as quite a tract outside of the building grounds, sixty acres or more. Here it may be well to say that that company, eight in number, have all passed away, Mr. Crowell being the last. Upon the dissolution of the Albion company, Mr. Crowell with three others of its members became the owners of the water power on the south branch of the Kalamazoo river, together with the mills located thereon. The interest of the three others was subsequently purchased by himself and another. Hence Mr. Crowell was directly identified with all of the improvements made thereon, with the building of the gristmill, stonemill, and the construction of the stone dam, stone flume to the gristmill,

[1]Read at midwinter meeting, Albion, Jan., 1909.
[2]See *History of Albion College*, Vol. II, pp. 204-208, this series.



JESSE CROWELL.



and the beautiful willow walk on the race bank, the willows having been planted by his own hands. In fact almost every important improvement in the village of Albion was either directly or indirectly connected with him, and any one writing a history of this village would find it necessary frequently to recur to his name. In all of his business relations be designed to be upright and honorable, ever regarding his word as his bond and, in fact, but few men pass to his age with as clear and perfect a record as he left behind him. In consequence of heavy repairs and losses he became somewhat embarrassed financially, and in an unlucky hour listened to bad counsel, placing himself in the hands of men who made promises only to break them. When he became fully convinced of the fact he began to fail rapidly. During his last sickness his attending physician remarked "that a post-morten examination would show no disease sufficient to cause death, that age and trouble was the sole and only cause." But he has now gone to the place "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest," and will be mourned by all good and true men.

His estate in bankruptcy paid ninety-seven per cent of his creditors' claims, after paying the necessary large costs of bankruptcy proceedings, showing that he was solvent, and had be handled his own business he would have been paid his debts in full and had a competency left.

My father came to Albion in the month of December, 1836. At that time there was only one frame house which was owned by Wareham Warner. I was six months old. We stayed with Mr. Warner[3] from Monday until Saturday, while our house was being built. The frame was prepared at Homer at leisure moments by my father, and moved here with six ox teams, raised and inclosed enough so that we lived in it from that time on. From his coming my father did most of Mr. Crowell's work in the line of blacksmithing, practically all the wrought iron work in the custom and stone mills, to the entire satisfaction of both. Prominent among the first recollection I have of men and things, is the memory of Mr. Crowell, and he was to me, all that Washington was to our country and he seemed to occupy the same relation to Albion. In the month of February, 1865, it was my privilege to be received by Abraham Lincoln; I asked for the pardon of my brother-in-law who was held at Indianapolis in our military prison as a prisoner of war; after the pardon was granted, at his request Hon. John W. Longyear[4] and

[3]Wareham Warner, one of the original proprietors of Albion, was born in Connecticut in 1779 and died in 1854, aged seventy-five years. When a child his family first went to Chenango Co., N. Y., where, after reaching twenty-one, he married Cynthia Adams. He moved to Ontario Co., N. Y., and in 1816 went to Monroe Co., N. Y. In 1831 he came to Michigan, stopping first at Marshall and in 1834 started to build up Albion. He was the father of ten children. See *History of Calhoun Co.*, p. 111.

[4]See sketch in Vol. XXIX, pp. 598-600, this series. Mr. Longyear died March 11, 1875.

myself remained in the company of Mr. Lincoln for several hours, until between two and three o'clock in the morning. I refer to this to tell you that Washington, Lincoln and Jesse Crowell were very much alike in stature, face and disposition. Mr. Crowell's opportunities were limited as compared with theirs, but so far as they were given him he displayed the same noble traits of character that they had, unquestionably honest, truthful, loving, of sweet disposition, beloved by all, to whom all went for counsel and advice. He never turned a needy applicant away without help. Kind and generous, he occupied the place of universal provider in the village. Before his coming, Wareham Warner had built the dam and millrace on the south branch of the Kalamazoo river but this went to the Albion company by purchase and they made the improvements. The first to be built was a sawmill, which stood in the rear of where the Albion National Bank now stands. How well I remember it and its sawyer, Mr. Finch,[5] father of Justice R. Y. Finch. The sawmill was of the old type in construction; a heavy saw frame held the saw, and (as compared with later constructed mills) would go up one day and down the next; the log was held in place by iron dogs, and set by hand, and between settings the miller spent the time in his little office where hung the slate and pencil with which the account of sawing was kept to be transferred to the company's books at night. Many an hour I spent there. Next, the custom mill was built; and the custom work came from miles around. In imagination I see the miller at his work as he emptied the wheat into the hopper, and took the flour from the trough under the bolt; first the best flour, next the low grade, then canaille, (of which emptyings were made) and at the end of the bolting chest hung the bag that caught the bran and what was left. Next to be built, was an addition to the custom mill, to be used for merchant work, which made quite an addition to our infant industries, and all struggling along without a tariff to protect them. This was before the enactment of the pure food laws, as you will understand when I tell you of the packing of the flour. The storage was in three flour chests, or bins, into which the flour was spouted from the bolts and when one was full, Mr. Crawford Green, or his son Marshall, would get into it, and calling it "tramp it down," would wallow around in it, and pack it down as best they could. Then it was shoveled into the barrels, and placed under a hand press, to finish by this slow process.

Later the steam sawmill was built at Duck Lake and gave employment to many. After this the stone mill was finished in 1845, a monument to the energy of Jesse Crowell which will enable the tooth of time to have something to gnaw upon for these many years to come. It stands to-day demonstrating his life work. About this time he built "Crowell's

[5]Asahel Finch was one of the early settlers of Albion.

freight house," on the ground now occupied by Hurley's block, to aid himself in the handling and in shipping the products of his mills. The Michigan Central Railroad reached our city at this time, the first train coming in on the 4th of July. It was constructed by the State and allowed private individuals to erect warehouses, and for this and other reasons, Mr. Crowell built his warehouse. He built and operated an ashery, made potash and soap for the public, and in fact did all he could to make a clean and honest people of those who cast their lot with him in Albion. He believed as the Englishman did, "As long as you have soap you have 'ope."

In the years of 1835-6 the people felt free to meet at his office for the purpose of transacting public or private business which was often done. During the early days of Albion's life, before there were any churches, all denominations worshiped in the little red schoolhouse, and the first in possession on Sunday morning had the right of way. One Sunday morning the Methodists were a little late, the Episcopalians were in possession. The Methodists held a conference in one corner and the result was that Mother Finch, invited them to occupy her house for worship that day. (Mrs. Finch was the mother of R. Y and James Finch who are both here and are taking an active part in making this meeting a success.) After the meeting Elder Grant said to the friends, "We can't stand this any longer, and we will meet at Mr. Crowell's office tomorrow, and devise means to build a church." The meeting was held, the resolution passed that they build a church and have it ready for service one week from the next Sunday, and that they all start for the woods, (meaning that they all were to help in the preparation of the material for the construction of the building) and they did, and held service, at the precise time ordered by Elder Grant who was a power in religious matters at that time.

I have made mention of the fact that Mr. Crowell was honest in all his dealings; but at the same time we had persons with us about whom the people had doubts. One of these was a man by the name of Chester Moss. He kept store, carrying a general stock and people became suspicious of him. To illustrate how it came about I will relate one or more of his business transactions. We had an honest farmer who traded with Mr. Moss. As was the custom he sold Moss what he had to sell and bought of him his goods and supplies, among which were liquid goods for which Dibble had a great liking. It was not an unusual thing to treat him liberally during his trading so that he would not ask the prices charged, etc., all of which went into book account to be settled once a year. During one of these annual settlements Dibble noticed that he was charged with a number of bushels of wheat, and called Moss' attention to the fact that he hadn't bought any wheat of him, on the

contrary had sold him a load of wheat about that time of that number of bushels. Moss could not quite understand how it happened and would ask "Dave," one of the clerks, if he could explain it, and he did by saying that Dibble was right; and then Moss could see it and was very sorry that it had happened, and only too glad to make it right. He told Dibble that it was clearly a mistake, and that he wanted to correct it, and would give him credit in account for the same number of bushels and that would make it all right. He did so, the settlement was made on that basis, and Dibble was out his load of wheat. One day he sold him a clock, taking his note for it, but Dibble's condition when ready for home was not favorable for the safe transit of the clock, so he was advised to leave it, which he did. And twice after that they sold him the same clock taking his note in payment, each time. Moss got rich, Dibble and others became poor, and concluded that Moss needed watching.

The lumber at Mr. Crowell's mills was sawed from green timber, and for the reason that we had no kiln-drys or time for seasoning it before using, much of the lumber used shrunk after being in the buildings. The experience of Carlton Cooley's father will illustrate how much whitewood shrunk from the green to the seasoned state. Carl was a wagonmaker, and all wagonmakers were supposed to be truthful men at that time. My father was in the business and I was interested with him. Cooley and I were talking about seasoned spokes, of which we had plenty, and to inform me of the change that took place in the seasoning of some kinds of timber, namely whitewood, he said that his father had a room in his house in Marengo, that was twelve feet square, which he used twelve boards each a foot wide to make the floor, and it shrunk the first year so that he drove it up and put in a foot board, and did this for twelve years before it stopped shrinking. Everybody who knew Carl Cooley relied upon him but used his own judgment when listening. To substantiate Mr. Cooley's statement I have to add what an old resident who came here in 1836 and lives here now told me about whitewood shrinking. He said a man went back to New York, and with other things to show his old friends of the wonderful things in Michigen, he put a piece of whitewood in his trunk. After being there a while he was telling them of it and went to his trunk but could not find it. He thought it must have been taken out; but later the rainy season came on after which he was looking for something else, and to his great surprise found the piece of whitewood in its original condition. To further strengthen Mr. Cooley; he was a horse trader, in fact a general all-round trader. I will never forget him; he traded me the first *yeller watch* I ever owned. For it I gave him a fine sulky wood, a lot of seasoned spokes, and felleys, and other wagon stock, that were as good

as gold and is as good demand. The trade was hardly completed before I saw he had much the better of the bargain, and for that reason it was several days before I showed the watch to my father. When I did and told him what I traded for it, he asked me if we didn't have any thing else that Cooley wanted, which assured me that my opinion was good as to who got the better of the trade. But I resolved to even up with him which I did later on in a horse trade, and felt content when my father said to me, "James you are even now on the *yeller watch* trade." These are only a few of the pleasant incidents that happened during the early history of Albion, but I was not asked to relate incidents, but to present the early life of Albion and Mr. Crowell's connection with it. His words of encouragement went into each one's life, and he was interested in all of our infant industries, in fact was the moving spirit that fostered them and insured their success. To the farmer his presence was encouragement; he was his banker, his provider; in time of need he furnished him storage for his surplus grain; all that was asked to show for it was his wheat receipt, which was redeemed with cash or placed to the credit of the seller as he wished.

As I listen to the church bells ringing, the thought often comes to me that the peals of gladness are only the echo of the words of encouragement given the infant society by him years ago. These he gave to all denominations alike, also material aid, thereby making it possible for us to have the number of churches and their bells; and the added thought, that they may be ringing his praise, in unison with praise to God who created such a man and blessed Albion by placing him with us. He made no profession of religion, was not a member of any church, yet he contributed to the support of the Methodist Church. [I am of the opinion that he did to all of the churches.] In the Methodist Church, his slips were in the southeast corner, and were regarded as free seats, but from the fact of their being very desirable ones were used for the guests of the church on state occasions, when not occupied by him or his friends.

When I was asked, by the Jesse Crowell Monument Association, to prepare and present the above facts, it was thought proper to present them at this time, and especially so for the reason the meeting was called to convene here for the purpose of gaining and preserving as much of Calhoun county and Albion history as possible, and that could not be written without giving Mr. Crowell a prominent place. What he did was public property, all in attendance would be interested, *that we would also refer to what was being done to perpetuate his memory*, this to be considered as addressed to our home people, and his friends wherever they may reside who desire to aid us in our work and not as an appeal to visitors who have shown an interest in the Michigan

Pioneer and Historical Society, and Albion. To do this makes it necessary to look at the facts as presented to us as an association. As has been stated in an unlucky hour he listened to bad counsel, and his property was exhausted, and to-day he lies in an unmarked grave. The Association has been organized for the purpose of erecting a suitable monument to perpetuate his memory; one of small dimensions would best suit him, were he here to express his wishes, but it is the desire of the Association to erect a suitable monument to represent him, his noble nature and his works. It has been my privilege and pleasure to view our nation's gift to the memory of Washington, in the City of Washington; a shaft 555 feet high, the highest monument erected to the memory of man. And it is right that it should be, as he was the greatest man mentioned in our history. "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The Association feel that they want to erect the finest one to the memory of Mr. Crowell that shall adorn the grounds of our beautiful "Riverside Cemetery." To do this we must have money. It is our desire that all persons in our community give all they can to aid in carrying forward this work, and be ready to respond liberally when called upon, as time is money with the solicitors. Try and give as much as you can, instead of seeing how little will answer. To erect a small, cheap marker should not be done and will be regretted sometime by all. To do more means money and plenty of it.

It is well to remember that money is given us to be used and not to hoard. It has its value this side of the grave not beyond. What we put to good use we never regret. All who live here and are enjoying the comforts and pleasures made possible by the early efforts of Jesse Crowell should regard it a privilege to contribute to this cause. Robert Y. Finch is president, H. M. Dearing secretary and treasurer of the Monument Association; either of them will receive your contributions. Citizens of Albion! our streets and public parks were dedicated to the public, by Jesse Crowell, and yet not one bears his name. It seems proper that his name should be given to our beautiful park on North Superior street, and what ever is necessary to accomplish this will be done at no distant day, and it is hoped that all will join in having this done.

GREETING

BY GEORGE W. STONE[1]

There are a great many things of which the old pioneers of Calhoun county may well be proud. The county contains 720 square miles—in 1837 the population was 4,863 or a fraction over six inhabitants to the square mile. In 1904 the population was 52,963 which gave about seventy-three inhabitants to each square mile, making a gain on each section in the county of sixty-six inhabitants in seventy-one years. The resources in an early day were all the pioneer could ask notwithstanding that we had an abundance of fever and ague which was a sure sign that any man too lazy to shake would not remain long in the county, which accounts for its rapid progress and prosperity.

Calhoun was blessed with an abundance of fine water, as pure and clear as crystal, coming from springs, brooks, creeks and beautiful lakes all over the county and mostly emptying into the Kalamazoo River which finally makes its course westward to Lake Michigan. The timber was plentiful—white, red and burr oak, hickory, basswood, black walnut and tamarack which were used for buildings and fences. We also had plenty of what we boys called "popple," that we used for making whistles. The soil was very rich. A large portion of the county was burr-oak openings. The yield of our products consisting principally of wheat, corn, oats, rye, hay, potatoes and vegetables, horses, cattle, sheep and hogs makes us rank with the best counties in Michigan.

We certainly can lay claim to some large manufacturing interests. Three of our cities have a population of 31,517, which is one-half of the entire population of the whole county—Albion, 4,943; Battle Creek, 22,213; Marshall, 4,361. Calhoun county's record during the Civil War is in my estimation and in the estimation of every individual who loves his country, the crowning glory of all. She furnished more soldiers during the Civil War, according to her population, than any county in the State, only four counties contributing more, as is shown in the following report:

	Population 1860.	No. soldiers.
Calhoun	22,378	3,878
Kent	26,661	4,214
Lenawee	38,112	4,437
Washtenaw	35,681	4,081
Wayne	75,547	9,213

[1]Read at midwinter meeting at Albion, 1909.

Is this not a record of which to be proud?

You may think from my enthusiasm that I am a native of Calhoun county, but I am not. I was brought from New York City and transplanted here in 1856 when seven years old. On my arrival I was friendless and homeless. I was taken in, clothed, fed and sent to school and given the name I now bear. The only way I can ever recompense Simeon A. Stone and his wife, my good old foster father and mother, is never to disgrace, but always aim to honor my adopted name. No boy ever had better parents. My father Stone came to see me at Richmond, Va., while I was in the hospital during the war.

I meet here today many old pioneers whom I have known over fifty years. They all know my boyhood history and I speak of it here to assure them I appreciate what Albion and Albion people did for me, a homeless, friendless orphan.

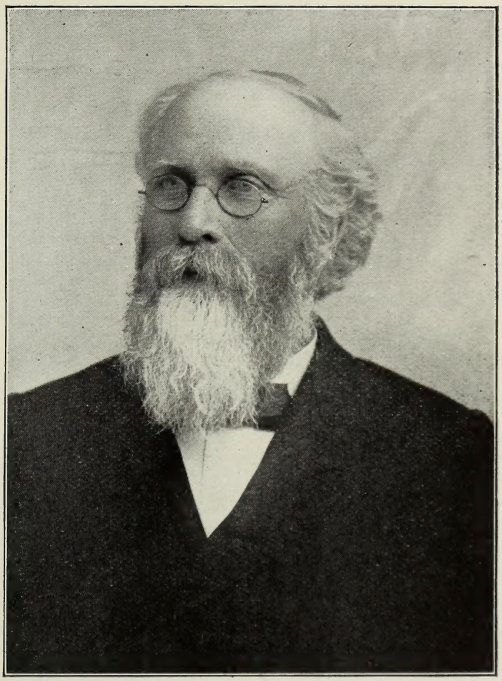
MARSHALL MEN AND MARSHALL MEASURES IN STATE AND NATIONAL HISTORY[1]

BY JOHN C. PATTERSON

INTRODUCTION

Emerson has said, "An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man." It can with equal propriety be said that a beneficent achievement and a progressive reform are the lengthened shadow of some efficient leader seemingly raised up for the purpose, whose influence on mankind is beyond measure. Marshall has had several such leaders, men who have formulated measures, perfected governmental policies and have set in motion political forces which have brought forth results and have produced consequences of far-reaching magnitude. While as citizens of Marshall, we cherish a local pride in claiming them as pioneer citizens of our city, we cannot claim them as all our own, for their work, influence and achievements were not confined to our city, county or State, but have been rendered, exercised and felt over the United States, and in fact over the whole world. This city, this State, this nation and the world at large are under lasting obligations to Isaac E. Crary,[2] the founder of the public school system of Michigan, to John D. Pierce,[3] the organizer of the said public school system and the father of the Homestead Exemption Law of Michigan, and to Charles T. Gorham, Oliver C. Comstock, Jr., Asa B. Cook, Jarvis Hurd, John M. Easterly, George

[1]Delivered at midwinter meeting, Jan. 13, 1909.
[2]See sketch, Vol. XIV, p. 282, this series.
[3]See sketch, Vol. XXXV, p. 295, this series and Bingham Biographies, 582.



JUDGE JOHN C. PATTERSON.

Ingersoll, Herman Camp, Randal Hobart, Platner Moss, William Parker, Charles Berger, James Smith, Hovey K. Clarke, Erastus Hussey and other citizens of Marshall, in arousing sentiments, directing influences, and in starting forces into action which eventually overthrew American slavery. It is not to be forgotten that many other workers were laboring for the same end, and for years had been preparing the way; but the acts, counsel and influences of these Marshall men can be *traced directly* in a continuous course and by a connected chain of events into measures, and organization which eliminated African slavery from our land. It is the purpose of this paper to trace the little leaven while it was leavening the whole lump, and to follow its influences and acts to final results.

I.

ISAAC E. CRARY,

The Founder of the Public School System of Michigan

Isaac E. Crary was an influential member of the constitutional convention of 1835 which formulated our first state constitution. As chairman of the Committee on Education, he drew up, reported and secured the adoption of the article on education in that instrument which, for the first time in American history, provided for the separate department of public instruction in the state government, with a constitutional officer at its head and which, for the first time in our history, provided that the title of section sixteen in each township, reserved in the ordinance of 1785 and consecrated by the ordinance of 1787 for the primary schools, should be vested in the State as trustee for the perpetual support of the common schools throughout the State, and which also, for the first time provided that the title to the university lands should be vested in the State as trustee, and that the income therefrom should become an endowment fund for the maintenance of the state university. These provisions not only applied to the lands already granted but to all lands which should afterwards be granted to the State.

In this article on education, which in the final arrangement became Article X of the constitution of 1835, conceived, formulated and reported by Isaac E. Crary, the separate department of education with an executive officer at its head, was established, the broad scope of public instruction was provided for, and the financial foundation of our public school system was secured. This article is now and always has been the Magna Charta of our public schools.[4]. Few persons have any adequate conception of the broad scope and far-reaching influence of this article.

[4]*Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1880*, pp. 297, 315; *History of the University of Michigan*, Hinsdale and Demmon, pp. 17, 18.

Isaac E. Crary was the founder of the public school system of Michigan. This proposition is not in accord with the popular opinion and is in conflict with much that has been published, and the original documents must be appealed to in order to determine his real historic status. On the fourth day of April, 1835, Isaac E. Crary was elected a delegate from Calhoun county to the constitutional convention to convene on the 11th of May following. On the 13th of May, Mr. Crary in convention moved a standing committee on education.[5] On the 14th of May, Mr. Crary was appointed chairman of such committee.[6] On the secoud day of June he reported the article on education[7] and on the fifth day of June the said article without material change was adopted by the convention.[8] On the 23d day of June, Mr. Crary was appointed a member of the committee on the ordinance submitting the said constitution to Congress,[9] and on the 24th day of June, the said ordinance was reported and adopted by the convention. This ordinance, recognizing the then existing policy of vesting the title of the school lands in the township, proposed a new policy and required that the title of the school lands be vested in the State as trustee for the support of the schools throughout the State as one of the conditions for admission into the Union. This proposed tenure of primary school lands would change the uniform practice of the federal government during its entire existence, and this provision was inserted in such ordinance by Mr. Crary to secure a change of such policy and to vest the educational lands in the State by congressional enactment as provided for in said Article X of the constitution.

The constitution and accompanying ordinance[10] were formulated and adopted by the convention in May and June, 1835, and three thousand copies were immediately published and distributed broadcast throughout the Territory. Thus these three new measures which have since revolutionized public school matters in this country were published to the world in the summer of 1835.[11] This constitution was ratified by the people of the Territory on the first Monday of October, 1835, and at the same election Mr. Crary was elected a member of Congress. He went to Washington at the opening of the following session of Congress relying on the constitution as the foundation for his credentials, but in consequence of the boundary controversy, he was not seated for over fifteen months thereafter. The said constitution and accompanying ordinance were sub-

[5] *Journal of Constitutional Convention of 1835*, p. 18.
[6] *Journal of Constitutional Convention of 1835*, p. 26.
[7] *Journal of Constitutional Convention of 1835*, p. 88.
[8] *Journal of Constitutional Convention of 1835*, pp. 120-126.
[9] *Journal of Constitutional Convention of 1835*, p. 218.
[10] *Journal of Constitutional Convention of 1835*, pp. 219-220; *Public Instruction and School Laws of 1852*, p. 17.
[11] *Journal of Constitutional Convention of 1835*, p. 221.

mitted to Congress by the President on the ninth of December, 1835.[12] On the fifteenth day of June, 1836, Congress "accepted, ratified, and confirmed" the said constitution and thereby adopted Mr. Crary's system of land tenure, but it took no action on the accompanying ordinance.[13] In the supplemental act of June 23, 1836, Congress rejected said ordinance as a whole, but it made a counter proposition to Michigan which contained Mr. Crary's system of vesting the title of educational lands.[14]

Mr. Crary, though not given his seat in Congress, was in Washington guarding and guiding this new measure. While working with the committee, having charge of the legislation of Michigan's admission to the Union, fortunately the work of drawing up the ordinances of June 15th, and of June 23rd, 1836, were assigned to Mr. Crary. He discreetly drew the said ordinance of June 15th so as to obtain the assent of Congress to the provisions of said Article X of the constitution, and on the rejection of said ordinance he carefully drew the counter proposition to Michigan in the act of June 23rd so as to again secure the same result.[15] Mr. Crary's influence is apparent upon the face of these measures. Fortunate indeed, was it for Michigan and for the cause of public instruction, that Mr. Crary was in Washington and secured by congressional compact his great measures embodied in the article on education in the constitution of 1835. This counter proposition of Congress to Michigan, containing the said ordinance of June 23rd, so far as the tenure of educational lands was concerned, was accepted by the legislature of Michigan, July 28th, 1836.[16] In this manner, the titles to the primary school lands and seminary lands were secured and forever vested in the State as trustee for the maintenance of such schools and university, by constitutional enactment and by congressional and legislative compact long before January 26th, 1837, when Michigan was formally admitted into the Union.

Mr. Crary's policy of vesting the title of the primary school lands in the State, as trustee for the people of the State at large, changed the policy of vesting the title of such school lands in the several townships to aid the schools therein, which had for fifty years been uniformly followed by the federal government. The ordinance of 1785 for the first time reserved school lands for public purposes, reserving section sixteen in each township "for the maintenance of the public schools within such township." In Ohio and Indiana, the primary school lands in each town-

[12] *The Old Northwest*, Hinsdale, p. 330.

[13] *U. S. Laws*, 1835-1859, p. 337; I Brightly's *Digest of the U. S. Laws*, 1789 to 1859, p. 614; 5 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 49.

[14] 9 *U. S. Laws*, 1793 to 1859, p. 397; I Brightly's *Digest of U. S. Laws*, 1789 to 1859, p. 615; 5 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 59; *Mich. Pioneer and Historical Colls.*, Vol. VII, p. 21.

[15] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. I, p. 40; Cooley's *History of Michigan*, p. 320.

[16] *Laws of Michigan* for 1836, pp. 39, 49.

ship had been "granted to the inhabitants of such townships for the use of schools."[17]

Such lands in Illinois had been "granted to the inhabitants of such townships for the use of schools."[18]

The school lands of Michigan were excepted from sale by the act of March 26th, 1804, as "section sixteen shall be reserved *in each* township for the support of schools within the same."[19]

Mr. Crary clearly realized the weakness and dangers of the federal policy. He was also familiar with the barren and disastrous results of that policy in the other states previously organized out of the Northwest Territory.[20] He conceived, formulated and secured the adoption of a policy which avoided the weakness and dangers of the old system and secured the inestimable benefits of the new. Time and experience have demonstrated the wisdom of the Crary or the Michigan policy—it has been accepted and followed by the federal government, and by all the states receiving primary school lands, which have since been admitted to the Union.[21]

Congress adopted this system of land tenure in its magnificent grant for agricultural colleges, July 2, 1862, vested the title in such lands in the several states as trustees, and required that the proceeds thereof be perpetually reserved as an *endowment fund* and that the interest thereof should forever be used for the "endowment, support and maintenance" of such schools.[22]

Thus Isaac E. Crary though dead, rendered invaluable services in securing the endowment for the Michigan Agricultural College. Mr. Crary's great measure, for the first time set down in Section 1 of Article X of the Constitution of 1835, providing for an independent department of public instruction with a constitutional officer in the State government, has been copied by nearly all the states, and the Federal Bureau of Education is an outgrowth of this measure. Mr. Crary's wise statesmanship not only secured and provided for our magnificent school funds, but being followed by other states, it has been the approximate cause of securing the magnificent school funds in those states adopting his system. The seminary or university lands in Ohio were conveyed directly to the universities or companies receiving such lands for the purposes of the universities, and the title was never vested in the State. Such lands in Indiana and Illinois were respectively "vested in the legislature of said State to be appropriated solely to the use of such seminary by said

[17]2 *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 173, and 3 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 389.
[18]3 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 428.
[19]4 *U. S. Laws*, 1789-1818, p. 598.
[20]*Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1880, p. 51.
[21]*Mich. Semi-Centennial Address*, Sill, pp. 199, 200.
[22]12 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 503; 2 Brightly's *Digest of U. S. Laws*, 1857-1865, p. 289.

legislature."[23] One township of our university land was excepted from sale by said act of March 26, 1804, as a township "*for the use* of a seminary of learning."

It will be observed that in these states, the seminary and university lands and the proceeds thereof were placed in *a general fund,* available for *any seminary or university purpose whatever* in the discretion of the legislature. Mr. Crary secured a radical change in the *nature* of these funds. Section 3 of Article X of the constitution of 1835 provided that the proceeds from such lands "shall be and remain a *permanent fund for the purpose of said university.*" The ordinance of the constitutional convention setting forth the conditions upon which the Territory was willing to be admitted into the Union provided that the university lands should be conveyed to the State and "*shall be appropriated solely for the use and support of such university* in the manner as the legislature may prescribe," and the congressional ordinance of June 23rd, 1836, in the counter proposition to Michigan used the language above quoted. These words *were written* by Isaac E. Crary and were crystalized into constitutional enactment and congressional compact by the magic of his genius. These words converted the *general* funds under the Indiana and Illinois policy into a *specific and perpetual endowment fund* for the Michigan university.

This endowment fund sustained the university for thirty years of its most critical history, and enabled it to make a name, and to acquire a fame as a great educational institution, which attracted to it and overwhelmed it with students and compelled the legislature to come to its relief and provide means to accommodate the ever increasing hosts of students from all over the world, knocking at its doors for admission. Michigan university thus founded and endowed, to-day not only stands in the first rank of such institutions, but is the acknowledged model of all the flourishing state universities in the west.

It must not be forgotten that Mr. Crary completed his great work for education in the constitutional convention and Congress prior to June 26th, 1836. Where was John D. Pierce, the alleged founder of the public school system, during the time that Mr. Crary was doing this work? He was an obscure missionary in the wilds of Michigan, unknown outside the little hamlet where he resided and by a few scattering pioneers in the vicinity, who were fortunate enough to receive his ministrations.

Mr. Crary gave to Michigan three measures which have produced our magnificent school system, viz:

First—He created a centralized department of public instruction with a constitutional officer at its head in the state government.

Second—He vested the entire primary school funds in the State to be

[23] 3 *U. S. Statutes at Large* 220, 428; 1 Brightly's *Digest of Laws of* 1815-1819, pp. 69, 294.

held by the State as trustee and required the income thereof to be apportioned for "the support of schools throughout the State" forever.

Third—He converted a *general* fund, available for *any university purpose* into a *specific endowment fund* for Michigan university, and vested the title of such funds in the State as sole trustee and required the income thereof to be perpetually used for the maintenance of said university. Mr. Crary grasped the principle that centralization was essential for prompt and effectual power, and he incorporated that principle into his measures for educational supervision, tenure of educational lands and administration of educational funds. While the department of education was borrowed from the centralized Prussian system, Mr. Crary adapted it to a republican form of local self-government. In the tenure of educational lands, he rejected the assumption that the township was the unit of *all* government, and that the township meeting was the source of *all* political power, which up to his time, had molded the federal policy; and he made the State sovereign over the public schools and of educational funds. Truly Mr. Crary possessed the understanding to conceive, the wisdom to direct and the hand to execute the essential elements of successful statesmanship.

The work and statesmanship of Isaac E. Crary have thus far been considered in his legislative capacity, as a member of the constitutional convention of 1835 and as an unseated member of the first session of the Twenty-fourth Congress, but his subsequent labors and achievements in executive statesmanship were no less brilliant and far-reaching in influence.

Having created the office of superintendent of public instruction, as a further service to the cause of education, Mr. Crary sought a fit man to fill that office, and from the great mass of the unknown, he selected Reverend John D. Pierce and secured his appointment as such officer to execute the great educational work he had laid out and begun. Mr. Crary not only created the office but he also created the officer, and thereby made the great achievements of John D. Pierce a possibility. Undoubtedly had it not been for his acquaintance with Mr. Crary, John D. Pierce would never have been known as an educator. Michigan and the world are indebted to the influence and sagacity of Isaac E. Crary for the great achievements of John D. Pierce in the educational domain.

Mr. Crary was a member of the first board of regents of the state university and served from 1837 to 1844. He helped locate, organize, open and govern the university during its early struggle for existence. He was the only man on the original board of regents who had made schools and colleges a special study,[24] and he rendered invaluable services in preparing the curriculum of study and providing for the teach-

[24] *History of the University of Michigan*, Hinsdale and Demmon, p. 30.

ing department.[25] He was a co-laborer with Mr. Pierce for four years in establishing and building up this institution, and as a regent, he labored for the university for years after Mr. Pierce had retired from office.

In 1842, Mr. Crary was a member of the state house of representatives and as the chairman of the committee on education, he prepared and made a report which being adopted by the legislature protected the university funds and retained the supervision of the department of public instruction over the institution and saved it from threatening danger. Mr. Crary was also a member and speaker of the same house in 1846, and here again he labored to build up, and to perfect the public school system of the State.

The Marshall Union School was one of the first graded schools organized in the State. Isaac E. Crary as a leading member of the old, and as the most influential member of the new school board, rendered services which few men could render in organizing, opening, and putting that school into successful operation and in developing the union school system. He was one of the great leaders in the evolution of the present day high school system, out of the primary, graded and union schools of his time, which now at public expense, performs the work of the old time private teacher, academy, seminary and branches of the university.

Mr. Crary was a leading member, president pro-tem and chairman of the committee on judiciary department in the constitutional convention of 1850. Here again his wisdom and influence were felt in expanding and perfecting the great school system which he had established in Article X of the constitution of 1835. John D. Pierce was also a leading member of this convention and here the two great apostles of public instruction of Michigan were able to provide for their long cherished free school system, which was unattainable at an earlier date. Isaac E. Crary, as we have seen helped to formulate the only two constitutions this State ever had, and he left the impress of his influence upon both instruments.

Mr. Crary was a member of the state board of education from 1850 to the time of his death, May 8th, 1854. His commanding influence as leader and executive officer was felt in the organization, opening and putting of our first normal school at Ypsilanti. It will be remembered that at that time, normal schools were somewhat unusual, that this was the first school of the kind established in the west and that many questions came up for solution.

While the separate department of public instruction was borrowed from the Prussian system, the tenure of educational lands from the constitution of New York,[26] and the mode of administering public school

[25] *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, McLaughlin, p. 39.
[26] *New York Constitution of 1821*, Section 1 of Article VII.

funds from the constitution of Connecticut.[27] Mr. Crary combined these wise measures and founded a composite public school system in Michigan, which has never been excelled and which has since been universally adopted and will be followed as a precedent for centuries to come.

The original documents show that Mr. Crary formulated the legislation and founded the public school system of Michigan, that he was the leading organizer of our high school and normal school system, and that he was the most competent and influential regent in organizing the university, and yet, how many of his uncounted beneficiaries, give him credit for his great public services? Has not the distinction *due him* been awarded to another?

Why has John D. Pierce in recent years been so generally called the founder of the public school system of Michigan? This honor does not appear to have been awarded him during the life-time of Mr. Crary. An able article appeared in the *Democratic Review of July, 1838*, upon the public school system of Michigan, citing Hon. Lucius Lyon,[28] a member of the constitutional convention of 1835 and then United States Senator from Michigan as authority. That writer gave a complete outline of the system and praised Mr. Pierce for his work *in organizing* the schools under such a system, but he did not give to him the position of founder of such system.[29] The reserved and reticent Isaac E. Crary, so far as I have been able to find, has left no written account of his great life-work. John D. Pierce, long after Mr. Crary's death, published his version of their joint and several labors. It is usual for autobiographers to make their subjects prominent. While with justifiable egotism Mr. Pierce expressed an honest pride in his part of the work, *he did not*, however, claim to be the founder of the school system of Michigan, and his paper clearly established the fact that Mr. Crary was *the founder*. Mr. Pierce gave Mr. Crary equal credit with himself, as a private citizen, in approving the Prussian system of an independent department of public instruction in the state government, and also approving the mode of vesting the title of the primary school and university lands in the State as trustees for such schools and university.[30] Mr. Pierce gave Mr. Crary the *exclusive* credit, as a member of the constitutional convention, of drawing, reporting, and securing the adoption of the article on education in the constitution of 1835. He also gave Mr. Crary, as a member of Congress, the exclusive credit of drafting the several ordinances for the admission of Michigan into the Union. Mr. Pierce gave Mr. Crary the exclusive credit of converting the educational ideals, which they had discussed and jointly approved, into enduring constitu-

[27] *Connecticut Constitution of 1818*, Article VIII.
[28] For sketch, see Vol. XIII, p. 325, this series.
[29] 2 *Democratic Review*, p. 370.
[30] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. 1, p. 37.

tions and effective statutes. He also gave Mr. Crary the exclusive credit of securing his appointment as the first superintendent of public instruction in any constitutional government.[31]

Upon receiving his appointment, Mr. Pierce commenced his work in the educational field. He filed his first official report and presented the accompanying measure to the legislature on the fifth day of January, 1837,[32] measures were passed and approved March 18th, 20th and 21st, 1837.[33] These dates show that Mr. Crary had laid the foundation, and had secured the funds for the public school system, *long before* Mr. Pierce began his work in the field of public instruction. *Prior Tempore Prior Jure.*

A local editorial published two days after his death says: "In 1835, General Crary was elected from this county, a member of the constitutional convention. He was, in that body, chairman of the committee on education, and had drafted Article X of the constitution, which provides for the appointment of superintendent of public instruction; made it imperative on the legislature to encourage the promotion of intellectual, scientific and agricultural improvements; made the proceeds of all the lands that had been, and should be granted to the State for the support of the schools *a perpetual* fund, *the interest* of which was to be inviolably devoted to the support of schools; provided for a system of primary schools and for the establishment of libraries, and made the funds arising from rent and sale of lands granted for the university also a perpetual fund. These educational provisions were greatly in advance of the times. Gen. Crary had made the subject of education a study, and the State is indebted to him for the wisdom, which has resulted so greatly to the benefit of our people, in the consolidation of the school fund and the establishment of the school system. His interest in the subject never flagged. He was as devoted to the subject and to the system in which he was instrumental in establishing, at the day of his death, as he was when he drafted the provisions of the constitution. He has been constantly connected with the system, too, as a legislator, as a member of the board of regents, member of the board of education, of which he was president, and of the school inspector, moderator and director in the district where he resided. He was one of the founders of the Union School of this village and had charge of the location and erection of the building. In all these capacities he showed a zeal in the cause which never tired, a spirit of devotion in the interest of the rising generation which commanded the respect and won the esteem of all."[34] This article gives an impartial summary and a

[31] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. I, p. 39.
[32] *Public Instruction and School Laws of 1852*, p. 33.
[33] *Laws of* 1837, pp. 102, 116-209.
[34] *Marshall Statesman*, May 10, 1854, Vol. XV, No. 37.

just estimate of his public services, and it clearly indicates that Isaac E. Crary was regarded by his cotemporaries as the founder of the public school system of Michigan.

II.

JOHN D. PIERCE

The Organizer of the Public School System of Michigan

John D. Pierce was the organizer of the public school system of Michigan. The original documents must also determine the truth of this proposition. The constitution of 1835 provided for the appointment of a superintendent of public instruction, "whose duties shall be prescribed by law." Section three of an act of the legislature approved July 26, 1836, entitled, "An act to define the duties of the superintendent of public instruction and other purposes" contained the following provision he shall "prepare and digest a system for the *organization and establishment* of common schools and a university and its branches."[35] Governor Mason in his annual message to the legislature, January 2, 1837, said "The superintendent of public instruction will report to you a system for the *government* of the University of Michigan and for the *organization* of the public schools of the state."[36] The superintendent's report was made to the legislature January 5th, 1837,[37] and it discussed plans and prices for the sale of primary school and university lands, modes of investing the money, and it also recommended and explained plans for the *organization* of the primary schools and university of the State.[38] It submitted three bills to the legislature providing for such plans. The first measure, approved March 18th, 1837, was entitled "An Act to provide for the *organization and government* of the University of Michigan."[39] The second measure, approved March 20th, 1837, was entitled "An Act to provide for the organization and support of primary schools."[40] The third measure approved March 23rd, 1837, was entitled "An Act to provide for the disposition of the University and primary school lands and for other purposes."[41] These several acts were amended in June, 1837, and the amendatory acts contained the same titles.[42]

These titles indicate the scope and purpose of the statutes, and Mr. Pierce's official life was spent in carrying out their provisions. These

[35] *Laws of* 1836, p. 50.
[36] *Governor's Annual Message*, 1837, p. 12; *Public Instruction and School Laws of* 1852, p. 22.
[37] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1880, p. 302.
[38] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1880, p. 23.
[39] *Laws of* 1837, p. 102.
[40] *Laws of* 1837, p. 116.
[41] *Laws of* 1837, p. 209.
[42] *Laws of* 1837, pp. 308, 316, 324.

statutes provided for the *organization* of the common schools and the state university. They authorized and required the superintendent of public instruction to sell primary school and university lands, and to use the proceeds in the organization of the primary schools and the university. Mr. Pierce's authority and official work were confined to the field of *organization* of a public school system out of materials already furnished, and upon a foundation already laid by Mr. Crary. Ex-Superintendent of Public Instruction, Francis W. Shearman, a co-temporary and neighbor of both Mr. Crary and Mr. Pierce and for a time associated with Mr. Pierce as editor of the Journal of Education, declared in the presence of the writer, that Isaac E. Crary was the *founder* and that John D. Pierce was the *organizer,* of the public school system of Michigan, and in his historic sketches of such a system, he outlined the evidence and detailed the fact which supported such classification.[43] Professors Ten Brook, McLaughlin, Hinsdale, Demmon, Gower, Sill, Putnam and other discriminating writers, relying upon the original documents for authority, also detail facts which lead clearly to the same distinction.

The organizer of a great public school system is not without honor. A Cornell, a Rockefeller or a Stanford can endow, but it requires the wisdom and the genius of a White, a Harper, or a Jordan to successfully organize a university. Alexander Hamilton could formulate, but only a John Marshall could interpret the Federal Constitution and make it a living force. John D. Pierce was a *constructive statesman* but his fame as such depends upon his achievements in behalf of our system of homestead exemptions, as disclosed by the debates and journal of the constitutional convention of 1850, but not as the founder of our public school system in 1835. This will be more fully referred to hereafter.

It is conceded by all that Mr. Pierce entered upon his educational work at a later date, and that he used the materials already provided and built upon the foundation already laid by Mr. Crary. With these facts admitted, and with the original documents extant, what a marvel it is, that the title of the founder has been withheld from Mr. Crary, and that it has so generally been awarded to Mr. Pierce. One writer says: "Rev. John D. Pierce aided by Hon. Isaac E. Crary, was the founder of our educational system."[44] The record shows that Hon. Isaac E. Crary was the founder, *subsequently* John D. Pierce was the organizer of such system. The biographers of Mr. Pierce—Part II., entitled

[43] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for* 1850, p. 56 *et sequitor; Public Instruction and School Laws of Michigan,* 1852, pp. 12-15, 29-37; *Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction for* 1880, p. 300 *et sequitor;* Rust's *History of Calhoun County* (1869), p. 41; Evart's *History of Calhoun County from* 1830-1877, p. 25.

[44] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Coll.,* Vol. V, p. 45.

"John D. Pierce was the founder of the Michigan School system"—say, "Some people hold that Mr. Crary never received his due recognition for the share he had in the establishment of our school system, and that he, rather than Mr. Pierce, should get the credit for the plan. A good deal of investigation has persuaded us, that there is no real ground for such belief." [45] That conclusion could not have been founded upon the original documents. Another writer says: "John D. Pierce is conceded, and justly, to have been the founder of the Michigan school system."[46] Others, among whom are men of eminence, have embraced and proclaimed the same historical heresy. Did these writers examine Article X of the constitution of 1835 and the authentic records cited? Is it true in fact, that history is merely an accredited fable? This continent was discovered by the enterprise and genius of Christopher Columbus, and yet it unjustly bears the name of a subsequent explorer. I submit that the records of the constitutional convention of 1835 and the history of the first session of the 24th Congress, together with the legislative records of 1836, and 1837 of this State, not only disprove the quotations above made, but that they establish beyond all controversy, that Isaac E. Crary *was the founder* of the public school system of Michigan, and that such a system was founded *long before* John D. Pierce entered upon his educational career, or had any official existence.

After his appointment to office, Mr. Pierce commenced the work of *organizing* the public schools and the state university, out of the materials furnished him, and upon the foundation already laid and according to the plans outlined in Article X of the state constitution. He threw his great soul and magnetic influence into the work. He inspired governors, legislators, school officers and people with his own earnest enthusiasm, and he was accepted and followed as prime leader in the enterprise. He drew the primary school law of 1837, borrowing freely from the public school system of New York, and from other states.[47] He formulated bills for the re-organization of the state university and for the management and disposition of educational lands. He had the fifty years of experience of Thomas Jefferson in the evolution and establishment of the university of Virginia before him as an aid. It will be remembered that Jefferson was not only the father of the University of Virginia, but he was also the father of the American system of state universities. The official reports of Mr. Pierce were able and convincing, and his recommendations were promptly adopted by the legislature. He was a gifted and successful organizer, and for four years and a half in that capacity Mr. Pierce rendered invaluable services to the State and to the cause of education.

[45] *Life of John D. Pierce*, p. 80.
[46] *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. III, p. 221.
[47] *Revised Statutes for New York*, for 1829, Chapter XV.

Isaac E. Crary was known in public affairs in his native State before coming to Michigan. Dr. Bushnell, in his lectures on *Historic Persons of Connecticut,* comments upon Mr. Crary's public life and then adds, "He has now gone to help found a new state in the west."[48] Mr. Crary studied at Amherst,[49] and he graduated at Washington College, now Trinity in 1827.[50] He was a sound thinker, a close observer, an able lawyer, and a close student of sociological and governmental affairs.[51] He had devoted much time and thought to the schools and colleges and had made much research in educational and kindred subjects. The large collection of pamphlets, papers, reports, letters and addresses by scholars and statesmen, upon these subjects and the collection of college catalogues made by Mr. Crary and now in the possession of the writer, clearly show that he was deeply interested in these subjects and that he was far in advance of his time. He studied the Prussian system of public instruction before he commenced his great work. Cousin's[52] Digest of that system had been translated and published in this country and at this time, was being examined and discussed by progressive educators and thinkers throughout the country.[53]

Perhaps no man in the territory in 1835 was better equipped to take charge of the educational interests of the people than Mr. Crary,[54] and the convention, recognizing the fact, readily followed his leadership and promptly adopted his measures. Traditions tell us that after his election as delegate, (April 4, 1835) until the convention met May 11, 1835, Mr. Crary devoted his time in preparing himself for his work in convention. He made careful research and sought light and information from all available sources. It was during this period that the well-known conversation was had with Mr. Pierce sitting on a log north of the old court house in Marshall. Isaac E. Crary laid the foundation of the public school system in Michigan, broad and deep in the adamant of the constitutional enactment and cemented it with congressional compacts, *long before* John D. Pierce entered the educational field. If John Harvard by donating seven hundred pounds sterling and a library of

[48] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll.*, Vol. XIV, p. 286.
[49] *Catalogue of Collegiate Institute, Amherst, Mass.*, 1823, p. 91.
[50] *History of the University of Michigan*, Hinsdale and Demmon, p. 174.
[51] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XIV, p. 285.
[52] Victor Cousin was a Frenchman, born in Paris, Nov. 28, 1792, who taught and lectured in the Sorbonne. In 1831 he was commissioned by the government to visit cities in Germany for the purpose of studying their educational systems. This resulted in a series of reports to the minister, published as "Rapport sur l'etat de l'Instruction Publique dans quelque pays de l'Allemagne et particulierement en Prusse." They were translated by Mrs. Sarah Austin in 1834 and spread about the United States. He took part in the politics of his times, was apparently in sympathy with the monarchy under certain constitutional safeguards. The last few years of his life were spent quietly at the Sorbonne. He died at Cannes, Jan. 13, 1867. He bequeathed his library to the Sorbonne.
[53] *Report of John A. Dix, Commissioner of Common Schools of New York*, 1836-28.
[54] *History of Higher Education of Michigan*, by McLaughlin, 150.

three hundred volumes to a struggling institution—if Elihu Yale by contributing five hundred pounds sterling to another institution—if Ezra Cornell by giving five hundred thousand dollars to establish "an institution where any person can find instruction in any study," and if Leland Stanford by providing a few million dollars to endow still another institution, are entitled to be called founders of the institutions respectively bearing their names; why should not Isaac E. Crary who secured the primary school funds now amounting to nearly six million of dollars, and who obtained the endowment fund of the state university now amounting to over half a million dollars, be awarded the distinction of being the founder, not only of the primary and secondary schools of the State, but also of being the founder of the University of Michigan?

While the fame of Isaac E. Crary for two-thirds of a century has been dimmed by the grotesque fabrications, sarcastic abuse and dramatic ridicule of Thomas Corwin,[55] have not his own beneficiaries treated him more unjustly, and more cruelly than did his great political antagonist in 1840? Have not the people of Michigan overlooked his achievements and ignored the fame of her most useful statesman, and by common accord awarded another the honor due him?

A casual observer, in comparing the work of these two great men, might well consider Isaac E. Crary as the architect and John D. Pierce as the builder of our educational structure. Mr. Crary was more than the architect, he not only laid the foundation and drew plans and specifications, but as regent of the university, member of the local school board and as member of the state board of education, he rendered invaluable services in *building and developing* our great university and in establishing and perfecting our grand system of normal and high schools. He provided for school libraries and for instruction in agriculture in the constitution of 1835 and for free schools in the constitution of 1850. Mr. Crary was therefore both architect and builder. He labored in the educational field long before Mr. Pierce entered it and he toiled years after Mr. Pierce had retired.

The influence of Mr. Crary's statesmanship has affected more lives, controlled more destinies, diffused more knowledge, created more living institutions, and has advanced and enlightened civilization *more* than that of *any other citizen* of Michigan. Every rural schoolhouse, every high school building every normal school edifice and every university hall not only in Michigan, but also in other states copying his system, and every agricultural college in the Union are the results, and existing monuments of his life work. Today three fourths of a million of school population of this State are receiving or are entitled to receive the

[55]Thomas Corwin, for sketch, see Vol. XIV, p. 280, this series. This attack was made upon Crary in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1840.

benefits of the primary school fund which he secured for them. To-day myriads of high school, normal school and university students in this and in other states are receiving benefits of his policy. Every person, living or dead who has ever received instruction in any of the public schools of Michigan or in other states adopting his system, is a debtor to him. The numberless millions of children and students of the future, who shall receive instruction in any of these public schools, will be under lasting obligation to him. Mr. Crary's beneficent purposes, and his exalted ideals were revealed in his address dedicating the first state normal school edifice by these words, "I do dedicate this building to the People of the State of Michigan, and to promote the great cause of education—the cause of man—the cause of God."[56] Shall we not preserve the perishable traditions of his fame and make them immortal?

Has not his widow, Mrs. Belona Crary Frink, in giving his portrait to be hung in the capitol, where the present and future generations can became familiar with the features of the statesman, who did so much for them, made a priceless gift to the State?

While Isaac E. Crary, as founder of the most comprehensive and complete system of public instruction ever devised deserves to be held in immortal remembrance, his name has almost been forgotten and his fame has almost been buried in oblivion. Not a county or a township, not a city or a village, not a school or a postoffice in Michigan, and not a professorship in the normal school or in the university he founded now bears his name. I would not detract from the fame of John D. Pierce. As an organizer, he deserves lasting remembrance. I simply demand exact justice for Isaac E. Crary. *Fiat Justitia Ruat Coelum.*

The fact that great injustice has been done him is the cause and the excuse for the argumentative length of this part of the paper.

Let the inaccuracies of the past be rectified, the unspeakable injuries already done to the memory of Mr. Crary, so far as possible be redressed, and let future writers go to the original documents for their facts. Ex-Superintendent of Public Instruction Delos Fall has well said "There are three names which every teacher in Michigan should learn to pronounce in logical order and with due appreciation of their worth and the great part they played in the formation of this State: Victor Cousin, Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce."[57] Cousin should be honored as interpreter, Crary as the founder and Pierce as organizer of the Prussian system of public instruction on the western continent.

When impartial historians shall carefully consider the original records, and the chronology of the public services of these two great men, and their respective class of honors shall be correctly determined, the honor of founder of the public school system of Michigan will be awarded

[56] *Public Instruction of Mich.*, 1853, p. 80.
[57] *Introduction to the Life of John D. Pierce*, p. 2.

to Isaac E. Crary, and that of organizer to John D. Pierce, then and *only then*, will ample justice be done the name of Isaac E. Crary. Then indeed will be fulfilled the prophecy of the eloquent George C. Bates who said, "The life and public services of General Crary will remain a monument to his memory, when all that Corwin has done or said to benefit the world is buried in oblivion."[58]

Justice demands that his portrait be assigned to a prominent place in the gallery of Michigan's most eminent statesmen. Hoping that the progressive statesmanship of Isaac E. Crary may be recalled, his just fame may be restored, and his name handed down to posterity, as the "Founder of the Public School System of Michigan," I leave his fame in the custody of the State which he served so ably and so well.

PRECEDENTS AND OBSTACLES

The system of uniting the primary, secondary and higher schools at public expense, and under the state control was not originated by the founders of our school policy. This policy existed in the Prussian code, but that system provided for the teaching of the Catholic Catechism to the children of Catholic parents, and the teaching of the Lutheran Catechism to the children of Lutheran parents, thus recognizing the union of the church and state; while our system was independent of the church. Thomas Jefferson[59] had labored for years to combine these grades of secular schools under state control and at public expense for Virginia before our school fathers commenced their work. Thomas Jefferson was the first educator on this continent to work for an institution of higher education exclusively under the state government, divorced from ecclesiastical influence and control. It had long been the established practice of the sectarian organizers to establish and to sustain denominational colleges as a rule of church polity, to educate their clergy, their workers for religious purposes and for church extension. Jefferson endeavored to establish and maintain a university independent of the church to educate citizens, legislators, judges, executives and statesmen for national service and progress. He was the first to encounter "ecclesiastical opposition directed against the proposed non-sectarian university," and to meet the prevailing notion that higher education should be under the control of the church. That practice had long been followed, and it was the prevailing sentiment of his day. In-

[58] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XVII, p. 349.

[59] Thomas Jefferson spent the late years of his life in devising a scheme of education which would embrace all the children of his native state. He was assisted by his friend Joseph C. Cabell, a member of the senate of Virginia. Cabell carried out all of Jefferson's plans. He induced the legislature to expend $300,000 in the work of construction and to appropriate $15,000 as a yearly support to the institution. Jefferson personally superintended every detail of construction and in March, 1825, the institution was opened with forty students. At the beginning of the second year there were 177 students.

deed that sentiment *still* exists, and in spite of our numerous popular state universities, it is a mighty power in the collegiate world.

To-day, obedient to that sentiment, a large number of the students enrolled for the bachelors' degree conferring institutions of the country are in the so-called denominational colleges and institutions founded, built up, and maintained by religious organizations or private donations. It will be remembered that in 1817 when Judge Woodward was formulating his Catholepistemaid or "University of Michigania," and when the governor and judges of the Territory in 1821 were formulating their charter for the "University of Michigan," "for the purpose of educating youths," Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell were laboring to establish the University of Virginia. Jefferson labored forty years for that institution, and he is not only the father of the University of Virginia but he is also the father of the state university system of America. We are under greater obligation to him as an educator than as the author of the Declaration of Independence, while the form and rhetoric of that immortal document were his, the sentiment and substance were paraphrased from the Virginia Bill of Rights previously formulated by George Mason,[60] (the great uncle of Michigan's first governor). The American system of state universities was an evolution from the constructive statesmanship of the Sage of Monticello. At first these universities were opposed as Godless, sacriligious and dangerous, and Mr. Jefferson was denounced as an infidel.

Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce were familiar with Mr. Jefferson's struggles in the Old Dominion, and of the charges made against him, before they commenced their work in Michigan. They too, in re-organizing the university, were compelled to contend with the prevailing sentiment and establish precedents, of having higher education under ecclesiastical control. Both were eminently qualified to battle with custom. As layman Mr. Crary was known as a staunch churchman, and as a clergyman, Mr. Pierce was extensively known as an orthodox missionary, and both had the entire confidence of the religious people. Mr. Pierce, however, after he was appointed superintendent of public instruction was compelled to abandon and oppose a denominational institution which he had taken an active part in establishing, to be consistent with his state university policy. The Presbyterians of the State in 1835 had organized Michigan College,[61] and Mr. Pierce labored earnestly to raise funds for that institution and was active in securing its location at

[60]George Mason, for sketch, see Vol. XXXV, p. 605, this series.

[61]Michigan College, later called Marshall College, was chartered in 1838 and liberally endowed by citizens of the village of Marshall. It was incorporated as Marshall College, April 16, 1839. The Rev. John J. Cleaveland, Presbyterian divine, was president from 1839-1843, and then retired, having brought the college into high repute both at home and abroad. See sketch, Vol. XXX, pp. 528-549, this series.

Marshall. The trustees of this college on the 20th day of October, 1837, resolved that "in the opinion of the board it is not expedient for the friends of the enterprise to engage in advancing the interests of the University of Michigan or its branches by pecuniary patronage or otherwise."[62] Mr. Pierce at that time had been engaged on the public school system for about a year, and had filed his first report the January preceding, and this resolution was the result. Michigan College was incorporated under the name of Marshall College in 1839, and Mr. Pierce signed a spirited remonstration against granting a charter. Marshall College, then under the gifted leadership of the Rev. John P. Cleaveland, D.D. was a rival of Michigan University. In his first report, Mr. Pierce disapproved granting charters to denominational colleges and recommended that the exclusive power of conferring degrees be given to the university, which policy with scarcely an exception was followed for a quarter of a century. Unlike Jefferson, Messrs. Crary and Pierce were able to successfully meet and overcome to a large extent the sentiment and prejudice against a Godless college without being denounced as infidels and corrupters of the morals of youth.

JOHN D. PIERCE AND HOMESTEAD EXEMPTIONS

The achievements of John D. Pierce, as a constructive statesman were not confined to the domain of education, but were extended into other fields of progress no less beneficial and lasting. Mr. Pierce was a thinker, a philosopher and philanthropist as well as a statesman. From the existing laws and conditions of society, he could reason out new measures and conditions for the benefit of mankind. He had experienced the anxieties of the head of a family under overwhelming financial misfortune, when the law permitted imprisonment for debt and allowed the creditors to turn the unfortunate debtor, wife and helpless children into the street without food or shelter, and to take the wife's property to pay the husband's debts contracted before marriage. His love for humanity caused him to grapple with the problem and to seek a remedy for the misfortune. In 1845, standing on the streets of Detroit with the late William H. Brown of Marshall, Mr. Pierce called his attention to the large number of people passing to-and-fro on the street and remarked, "All these people have a God-given right to *live*. If they have a right to live, it follows that they have a God-given right to a *domicile,* to a *home,* a place in which to live. If society protects the life of a debtor, it should protect the home of a debtor, for himself and his family. If life is sacred, the home of the family, the unit of society,

[62] *History of Olivet College* (Williams), 150-155; *Record and Papers of Marshall College* in the Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.; *Public Instruction and School Laws,* 1852, pp. 38-44.

the foundation of all government should be sacred. Without a home, life is not worth living, and good citizenship cannot be expected. Humanity and patriotism demand that the home should be protected from Shylock creditors, misfortune and improvidence."

This was the theme of discussion between the pioneer minister and pioneer lawyer of Marshall for hours. Thus Mr. Pierce was elaborating his measure for relief long before the statute was formulated. He enlarged upon the principle that a man's home is his castle, his refuge, his sanctuary and seems to have elaborated from his own brain a method of protecting and preserving it. The law for imprisonment for debt had been abolished in 1839, and the statute exempting personal property from execution, substantially as it now exists, was enacted in 1842, but the home was still subject to alienation for debt in Michigan. Mr. Pierce was a member of the state house of representatives in 1847, and he introduced a bill to exempt the homestead from execution, but it failed to pass. He was elected to the next legislature, and he again introduced his exemption measure, and through his personal influence secured its passage. It became the homestead law of 1848, which was the first homestead exemption law adopted in any of the northern states, and John D. Pierce became the father of the homestead exemption policy of Michigan. This law provided that a homestead of forty acres in the country, or one lot in any city or village, with a house thereon owned and occupied by any resident of the State shall not be sold on execution or any final process of court to satisfy any debt upon contract made after July 3d, 1848. While the law required amendments to perfect it, it established the *principle* and contained the substance of the constitutional provision and law as it now exists. The Michigan homestead exemption law introduced the subject, and it was discussed throughout the land, and it became the model for many states. Mr. Pierce was not satisfied to leave the sancitity of the home simply to legislative enactments. He was a delegate to the constitutional convention in 1850 and was appointed chairman of the committee on Exemptions and Rights of Married Women. This gave him an opportunity to strengthen his great measure and to fortify it by constitutional safeguards. Mr. Pierce formulated, and on the 25th day of June, 1850, introduced as a minority report of that committee, substantially what now exists as Article XXI of our state constitution.[63] Three members of the committee concurred in the report. The other four members of the committee reported against the exemption policy in the majority report made July 17, 1850.[64] The exemption policy having come up for discussion on the 30th of July in the convention, Mr. Pierce, as the author of the measure, supported it

[63] *Convention Debates of Michigan*, 1850, p. 240.
[64] *Convention Debates of Michigan*, 1850, p. 428.

and discussed its sentiments and philosophy with great earnestness, ability and eloquence. Among other things, he said: "The measure now under consideration is one of great interest to the people of the state. The subject is one that has come home to every family." He referred to the Hebrew code, which every seven years cancelled all debts, and to the exemption of the fee of real estate from alienation; while the creditors could seize the use of the land for a time, but once in every fifteen years, the land returned to the owner, as "a code provided for every man and his family," and with this single exception in the history of the race, the legislation of the world has been for the incidentals pertaining to human life rather than for man himself. Humanity has been wronged, outraged, down-trodden, and the whole care of the legislation has been bestowed upon property, and its representative, money. Man and the family have been disregarded and turned out as vagabonds by due course of law. If anything on the face of the earth needs civilizing, it is legislation. The spirit of aggressive capital is aggressive. It has no limit, no boundaries controlling the legislation of the world, it has been resistless in sway. It never tires, it never sleeps, soulless, remorseless, merciless, conscienceless, it presses forward regardless of the dying and the dead. Legislation is beginning to relax its iron grasp and is already in the process of civilization. So man is above money. In all the exigencies of business, the changes of fortune are over-turning the affairs of life. It is just that man and family should not bear the entire burden of misfortune, and money and capital which are less than man, wholly escape. Let wealth bear the burden and humanity be spared. The homestead should be free, inviolable. No man, no woman, no child, no family should be driven from the home because the hand of adversity presses them. The state is bound to protect, not to crush. Free religion, free schools, free trade and free homes are essential elements of liberty. The home must be inviolate, or liberty is but a name, and freedom a mockery. Man without a home is an outcast. He has been robbed of his birthright by the strong arm of government under the control of wealth. Man has a natural right to the free use of the air, it is essential to his existence. So is water, he cannot exist without it. The same is true of light. Man would droop and die without it. But the right to these essential elements is no more clear, no more certain than the right of man to a place on this earth. This right is clearly inalienable. To deprive any man or any family of a home and turn them out as vagabonds under any pretense whatever is tyranny. It is tyranny of the most atrocious character. A man without a home, what is he? Robbed of his birthright, he becomes an outcast, and is made so by law. If society, if the state has a right to do this, it has a right to put him out of the way, he with his family have no business to live."[65] These

[65] *Convention Debates of Michigan*, 1850, pp. 656-661.

extracts show the character of the speech. Seldom if ever has so forcible, able and convincing an argument been made in support of any measure in the legislative history of the state. The majority report of the committee was annihilated, and as a result, on the second of August the minority report was adopted by an overwhelming majority in the convention, and the Homestead Exemption Law as drawn by Mr. Pierce became Section XXI of our state constitution. The principle was adopted for all time. Thus by means of the humane foresight, masterly effort and progressive statesmanship of John D. Pierce, the sanctity and security of every home in Michigan was guaranteed by constitutional enactment. During this historical debate, the honor of being the father of the Homestead Exemption Act and of the policy in Michigan was repeatedly conceded to Mr. Pierce.[66]

In this great effort, Mr. Pierce was aided and supported not only by the vote and counsel of his great associate in the educational fields, Isaac E. Crary, but also by his neighbors, Nathan Pierce and Milo Soule of Marengo and William V. Morrison of Albion, his colleagues from the county in the convention.

The Homestead exemption policy was adopted by the legislature March 25th, 1848, and it was inserted in the new constitution, August 2nd, 1850. Michigan was the first free state to adopt the measure, and practically was the pioneer in that humane legislation. But other states, perceiving the wisdom and benefits of this progressive measure, have copied our statute and constitution in rapid succession, until now, the home and the family are protected from misfortune and improvidence by this policy in almost every state. Pennsylvania and Vermont adopted this policy 1849; Maine, New York, and Ohio in 1850; New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Illinois and Iowa in 1851; Indiana and Louisiana in 1852; and the federal government in 1862. Many other states have exempted homesteads by legislative enactments from sale on execution for payment of debts; and to-day, in over forty states in the Union, the home and family are protected by the humane measure, so thoughtfully evolved and formulated, so progressively presented and so earnestly and ably advocated by John D. Pierce sixty years ago.[67]

ORIGIN OF THE POLICY

John D. Pierce was without question, the author and father of the homestead exemption laws of Michigan, and the Michigan policy was copied in substance by nearly all the other states. But history does

[66] *Convention Debates of Michigan*, 1850, pp. 657-660.

[67] *American Law Register* (M. S.), Vol. I, pp. 641-765, Vol. X, p. 156; 2 *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy and United States History*, p. 462; Thompson on *Homesteads and Exemptions*, note 2 of reference; 51 *New Hampshire Reports*, pp. 252-261, *Barney vs. Lamb*.

not sustain the claim that he was the originator of the policy. The principle upon which homestead exemption laws rest is claimed to be the dictate of enlightened public policy. "The system is an evolution from Christian impulses, patriotic devotion and wise statesmanship." Mr. Pierce in his effort was inspired by these motives and not by precedent. It will be remembered that in 1820, Thomas Benton opposed the practice of selling public lands for money and advocated the policy of distributing them to actual settlers. Said he in the Senate: "The freeholder is the natural supporter of a free government. Tenantry is unfavorable to freedom. The tenant has in fact, no country, no hearth, no domestic altar, no household gods. It should be the policy of republics to multiply their free-holders." This was the policy of that great statesman in 1820.[68] John D. Pierce perfected Benton's conception and policy of statesmanship by making the home of the free-holder inalienable for the payment of debts, and the Benton policy as perfected by the Pierce safeguard, was adopted as the free homestead laws of the United States in 1862, and is now the law of the land, and the "freeholder hearths, domestic altar and house-hold gods," thanks to the statesmanship of Benton and Pierce, are safe and beyond the reach of misfortune and improvidence.

The Republic of Texas in 1839, adopted the first homestead exemption law on this continent.[69] This short-lived republic has therefore contributed at least one measure of progressive statesmanship of lasting benefit to mankind. It was drawn by some master legal mind, possessing that comprehensive foresight and sagacity which can only be acquired by long experience and careful study. It is a model, so far as it goes, that has not yet been excelled. As the first Homestead exemption law of the land, and as the contribution of a former American republic to human progress, it is entitled to a place in this paper. The following is the complete statute:

"An Act, entitled "An act to exempt certain property therein named from execution." Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas in Congress assembled:* That from and after the passage of this act, there shall be reserved to every citizen or head of a family to this republic free and independent of the power of a writ of Fiere Facias or other execution issuing from any court of competent jurisdiction whatever fifty acres of land or one town lot including his or her homestead and improvements not exceeding five hundred dollars in value, all household and kitchen furniture (provided that they do not exceed in value two hundred dollars), all implements

[68]Benton's *Thirty Years in the Senate*, Vol. I, pp. 103, 104; 2 *Cyclopaedia of Political Economy and United States History*, p. 463.

[69]2 *Cyclopaedia of Political Science and Political Economy and United States History*, p. 465; 14 *Texas Report*, p. 599, *Cook vs. Coleman.*

of husbandry (providing that they do not exceed fifty dollars in value) all tools, appurtenances and books belonging to the trade or profession of any citizen, five milch cows, one yoke of work oxen or one horse, twenty hogs and one years' provisions; and that all laws and parts of laws contravening or opposing the provisions of this act, be, and the same are hereby repealed. *Provided,* The passage of this act shall not interfere with contracts with parties heretofore made.

JOHN M. HANSFORD,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
DAVID G. BURNET,
President of the Senate.

Approved Jan. 29, 1837. Mirabeau B. Lamar.[70]

The state of Mississippi adopted a homestead exemption law January 22, 1841 and Georgia adopted such an act December 11th, 1841.[71] While these acts antedate the Michigan law, a comparison shows that the latter was not copied from the former. Mr. Pierce seems to have grasped the principle and to have formulated the law as an evolution from his own heart and brain. The homestead exemption law is of recent origin and one of the numerous modifications of the severity of the common law that has been adopted during the existence of our State. These laws had no place in our law reports until 1851. And they had no name or place on the law digests until 1856.[72] The homestead exemption laws in the various states vary in amount, quantity and value. Some attach as a vested right. Others vest upon claiming such rights. Some are secured by legislative enactment and others by constitutional provision, but all are based upon the same plan and are intended to preserve the home and to protect the family as a rule of public policy, and such measures have the approval of enlightened civilization.

How few realize what blessings they have received and under what lasting obligations they are to this pioneer citizen of Marshall. Today, nearly three millions of people of Michigan live in their homes, as their fathers for sixty years have lived, secure under the protection conceived, formulated, and obtained for them by the genius and statesmanship of John D. Pierce. Today nearly eighty million American citizens live in tranquil and secure homes as a result of the measure of Marshall's pioneer benefactor. How many who have passed away, how many who

[70]Mirabeau B. Lamar, brother of Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, the jurist, was born in Louisville, Georgia, Aug. 16, 1798, and died in Richmond, Texas, Dec. 19, 1859. In 1835 he emigrated to Texas and was active in its movement for independence. He filled many military and political offices and in 1838 was chosen president, serving until 1841. During his presidency Texas became a recognized republic. *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography.*

[71]1 *American Law Register* (M. S.), 645.

[72]1 *American Law Register* (M. S.), 642.

are residents of foreign provinces adopting his system, and how many generations to come, are and will be his beneficiaries! He rescued the home, that pound of flesh nearest the heart, from the power of the soulless, heartless, exacting creditor. This homestead exemption policy has developed more resources, added more production, accumulated more wealth, secured more patriotic free-holders and at the same time has caused more tranquility, avoided more anxiety and produced more happiness in our country than any other measure. Time would be too short to enumerate all its blessings. John Howard Paine embalmed the home sentiment in song, "Home, Sweet Home," which has immortalized the author. John D. Pierce enshrined the home *itself* with all its sentiments, with all its shrines and with all its household gods in protecting statutes and in shielding constitutional enactments, which together with his achievements for education, should immortalize his name as the guardian statesman of the home, the family and the school.

MARSHALL MEN IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Small causes sometimes produce great results, and local events often project forces that destroy institutions and revolutionize nations. Such an event occurred in Marshall, January 26, 1847. An attempt will be made to glance at that event, state the issue therein joined, mention some of the parties, designate some of the fields of contest, and trace it to its final results. It will be remembered that African slavery then existed under the laws of fifteen states of the Union, recognized by the Federal Constitution as it then existed, and was protected by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. The Mexican war, brought on and prosecuted to extend slave territory, was in progress, and that Wilmot Proviso, a measure to limit slave territory, was then pending and being debated in Congress. The federal government was in control of the slave power. Lewis Cass was seeking the nomination for President from the Democratic party and was endeavoring to win the support of the slave states. The underground railroad extending from Mason and Dixon's line to Canada, under the management of slave-hating Quakers and liberty loving Puritans, was in active operation; transportation for fugitive slaves was free. Such were the conditions when the drama herein outlined was enacted.

Adam Crosswhite, his wife and four children born in Kentucky, and one child born in Michigan, had for some time been living in a little cottage on East Mansion street in Marshall near the outskirts of the village. The parents and the four older children were fugitive slaves and under the laws of Kentucky, were the property of one Francis Giltner of Carroll County, that State, while the youngest child born in Marshall was free under the laws of Michigan. Crosswhite was a

mulatto, his mother a slave and his father, his first master. He was tall, a man of marked physique, intelligent, industrious and a good citizen. He had purchased his home and was paying for it by installments. If not the original George Harris of Uncle Tom's Cabin, he belonged to the same type of manhood and he had made many friends in the little hamlet. About forty colored people, some slave and some free-born then lived in the village. Rumors had been afloat and fears had been entertained that this family would be kidnapped or captured and returned to bondage, which resulted in an understanding between Mr. Crosswhite and his friends that should such an attempt be made, he should fire a gun as an alarm and that all should be on the alert.

In December, 1846, a young man by the name of Francis Troutman came to Marshall as a stranger and claimed to be a lawyer looking for a desirable location. He remained in town some time, and a suspicion was aroused that he was a slave-hunter on the track of fugitive slaves from labor. These apprehensions disturbed the tranquility of the little Puritan village, and developments were awaited in feverish solicitude.

On the 26th of January, 1847, about four oclock in the morning, Francis Troutman, David Giltner, Franklin Ford, and John S. Lee of Kentucky, heavily armed, and Harvey M. Dixon of Marshall, a deputy sheriff went to the Crosswhite home to seize the family under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 and return them to bondage. It was long before the light of day, but Adam Crosswhite was on guard, and seeing the would-be captors approaching, he fired the signal shot, "heard 'round the world," and stood sentinel at the door. He refused to submit to arrest, and his wife refused to open the barricaded door. The slave-hunters broke open the door by force, and hunting out the terrified children from their hiding places, were hurrying to drag them away. Meanwhile, in response to the signal shot, friends and neighbors, white and black, by the scores were rushing to the spot "like Clan-Alpine warrior from Scottish heath at the signal whistle of Roderick Dhu," and surrounded pursuer and pursued alike. Moses Patterson, the colored auction bell-ringer of the village on horse at the utmost speed galloped through the streets frantically ringing his bell and shouting the alarm.

The whole village was at once aroused. The response was so quick, so spontaneous and so overwhelming, that the slave-hunters were disconcerted; they hesitated and stood at bay in the presence of two hundred or more determined freemen. No further efforts were made to take the family away *by force*, and resort was had to arguments.

Here commenced the final battle between slavery and freedom. *Here met* the Cavalier and Puritan, *here the sleeping* influences were aroused and here the passive forces were unfettered, vivified and put into action,

which continued the irrepressible conflict in different forms, and on different fields, in an unbroken succession until the final triumph.

Francis Troutman, the champion of slavery led the forensic attack, and demanded that the citizens should disperse, and that he should be permitted to take the parents and the four older children, back to Kentucky, citing the Federal Constitution and statutes as his legal authority to do so; and making no claim to the child born in Michigan, but he proposed to tear it from its mother's breast and leave it without parental care. This demand and appeal from the spokesman for the master was responded to in various ways by the numerous spokesmen for the slaves. Some responded with defiant sneers, derisive personalities, sarcastic ridicule and howls of contempt. Some replied that slavery was a local system and did not exist in Michigan and that under the ordinance of 1787, and the state constitution the parents and children were free. Some answered that the Federal Constitution and the Fugitive Slave law of 1787 did not apply and gave no authority to kidnap their citizens. Some declared that these persons had a God-given right to freedom, which no human law could take away. While other vehemently proclaimed law or no law, these citizens should not be dragged back to bondage. *All were united in this purpose that these slaves should not be taken back to Kentucky.*

Resolutions were discussed, offered and rejected or adopted as if in a New England town meeting, until late in the morning. No actual force was used and no personal violence was inflicted. Undoubtedly this was due to the fact that Gen. Gorham, Dr. Comstock, Messrs. Cook, Hurd, Easterly, Ingersoll and other citizens of commanding influence while earnestly endeavoring to persuade the slave-hunters to abandon their efforts to seize and remove the fugitives and thereby avoid occasion for violence and blood-shed, counseled moderation and kept more impulsive citizens under control. Had it not been for their presence and disapproval, the men from the south, without doubt would have been decorated with tar and feathers and furnished with free transportation out of town on a rail, as was proposed by some. How this kindness was requited will hereafter appear.

During the discussion, a colored man attempted to enter the house, and Troutman standing at the door, drawing a pistol drove him back. Complaints were made against the Kentuckians for breaking down the door, and against Troutman for drawing a deadly weapon, before Randal Hobart, a justice of the peace. They were arrested and led from the fugitives' door to answer the charges, and the fugitive slaves were left among their friends.

On the hearing of the case, John Van Arman,[73] the celebrated criminal

[73]See sketch, Vol. XI, pp. 281-286.

lawyer then residing in Marshall, volunteered to plead the bondsman's case. The cowardly attack at night, the curse of slavery, the gifts of freedom, and the proposition to tear the mother's breasts from the lips of the babe, furnished ample themes and inspiration for the gifted advocate. His eloquence and his scathing arraignment of the defendants has seldom been equalled. The defendants were convicted and fined, and Troutman was held for trial in the higher court. That day's experience convinced these men that Marshall was in earnest and without unnecessary delay they left for home.

Upon the removal of the slave-hunters from their midst, the crowd dispersed and the fugitives dropped out of sight. Under the guidance of George Ingersoll, they were piloted to the stone mill in the southeastern part of the village then carried on by him, and were secreted in the garret during the day. Isaac Jacobs, the colored hostler at the Marshall House, hired a team and covered conveyance of William W. Smith, and George Ingersoll, and Asa B. Cook saw the family carefully stowed away in the conveyance and between nine and ten o'clock that evening started for Jackson. The next train for Detroit left Marshall early in the morning. It was arranged that the fugitives should be in the background at Jackson when the train arrived, and that Mr. Ingersoll should be on the train. If the slave-holders were not aboard he would be standing on the rear platform of the train, which was to be a signal for the family that the coast was clear and that they should board the train. The tall figure of George Ingersoll was stationed on the rear platform of the train the next morning as the train pulled into Jackson. The fugitive family was secreted in the wood-yard, and seeing the auspicious signal, boarded the train. Mr. Crosswhite paid for the conveyance to Jackson and the fare for himself and family on the car to Detroit, out of money he had accumulated. On taking the train at Marshall, Mr. Ingersoll who was an out-spoken Abolitionist, ascertained that Henry A. Tillotson, a Cass Democrat holding the position under the democratic state administration, was in charge of the train as conductor. He feared that the conductor would thwart his plans. Observing A. O. Hyde of Marshall, an Anti-slavery Whig on the train, he disclosed his plan and fears to him. Mr. Hyde advised taking the conductor into their confidence, and requesting him to collect fare, ask no questions and keep mum. This was faithfully carried out, and the Abolitionist, Whig, and Democrat, all citizens of Marshall, defied the inhuman fugitive law, and risked its penalties to help the slave to secure his liberty. George Ingersoll as guardian and liberator, led the way and guided the foot-steps of Adam Crosswhite and family until he saw them safely landed beneath the British flag of Canada, where their shackles dropped off.

The excitement in Marshall subsided, and business was resumed. But the drama proposed to be acted, and the object lesson of the heartless cruelty and inhumanity of African slavery *could not be forgotten,* nor could its influence be overcome. The liberty-loving sentiment of the community was aroused. Convictions ripened into purpose, and purpose ripened into active determination to *limit and destroy* the curse.

The baffled and enraged slave-hunters returned to Kentucky, and were received as heroes and martyrs. Public meetings were held, their insults and treatment were rehearsed, the citizens of Marshall were denounced on the platforms, and in resolutions as Abolitionists, traitors and barbarians; Carroll County and the whole south was aroused to the highest pitch of frenzy. The proceedings of these public meetings, and pamphlets relating to the incidents of the "Abolition Mob" at Marshall, in extravagant terms were widely distributed, pro-slavery books were written in the most inflammatory language and were sent all over the south. The matter was laid before the legislature of Kentucky and Francis Troutman made affidavit of his version of the Abolition mob of Marshall, which was referred to the committee on Federal Relations. This committee took the matter under consideration, and on the 1st of March, 1847, made a report containing a finding of facts, resolutions denouncing the citizens of Marshall, asking redress from the legislature of Michigan, and requiring the Senators and Representatives of Kentucky in Congress to secure the passage of a more stringent fugitive slave law, with the severest penalties under the Constitution. The report was adopted and sent to the Governor of Michigan, and to Henry Clay and his colleagues in Congress. This report was *the first legislative demand for* the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Pursuant to the *mandate* of the legislature of Kentucky, issued on the exaggerated state of facts at Marshall set forth in the affidavit of Francis Troutman, Henry Clay brought forth the fugitive slave law of 1850 as a part of the compromise scheme. *Seldom* has the action of a state legislature been so *fruitful of foreseen, and farreaching results.* Therefore the said report and affidavit inserted in full at this point:

REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FEDERAL RELATIONS

"The committee on Federal Relations to whom was referred the proceedings of a meeting of the people of the counties of Trimble and Carroll, in relation to a recent Abolition mob in the town of Marshall in the state of Michigan, have had the same under consideration and submit the following report: It appears to the satisfaction of the committee that one Francis Troutman was employed as agent and attorney in fact for Francis Giltner of the county of Carroll, to go to said town of Marshall in the state of Michigan to reclaim, take and bring back

to the state of Kentucky certain fugitives and run-away slaves, the property of said Giltner; and said Troutman proceeded under the authority thus given him, to the said town of Marshall for the purpose of reclaiming and bringing home to the owner the slaves aforesaid; and whilst endeavoring to arrest said slaves, a mob composed of free negroes, run-away slaves and white men to the number of two to three hundred, forbade said Troutman and those who accompanied him for that purpose to arrest and take into their possession the slaves aforesaid, and by their threats, riotous and disorderly conduct did prevent Troutman and those who accompanied him for the purpose, from taking into their possession the slaves aforesaid. Your committee regret that the citizens of the town of Marshall in the State aforesaid, have thus acted and conducted themselves; such conduct and such outrages committed upon the rights and citizens of the state of Kentucky, or any other state in the Union, must necessarily result in great mischief, and are well calculated and must, if persisted in by the citizens of Michigan or any other free state in the Union terminate in breaking up and destroying the peace and harmony, that is desirable by every good citizen of all of the states of the Union, should exist between the several states, and is in violation of the laws of the United States and the constitutional rights of the citizens of the slave states. The affidavit of said Troutman is appended to this report and made part hereof, marked (A) Wherefore,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the commonwealth of Kentucky, That the legislature of the state of Michigan be and is hereby respectfully, but earnestly requested to give the subject consideration which its importance demands, and to take such action thereon as in the judgment of said legislature, is deemed proper and right, with a view to maintain that peace, amity and good feeling which ought to exist between the citizens of the states of Michigan and Kentucky and for the purpose of enabling the citizens of Kentucky to reclaim their run-away and fugitive slaves to the state of Michigan.

Resolved further, That our senators and representatives in Congress be requested to turn their attention to the subject embraced in the foregoing report and resolution, and urge upon the consideration of Congress the importance of passing such laws as will fully enable the citizens of the state of Kentucky and other slave states, to obtain and reclaim their slaves that may run away to the free or non-slave-holding states of the Union; that they also declare by said laws the severest penalty for their violation that the Constitution of the United States will tolerate.

Resolved, That the governor be requested to forward to the governor of the state of Michigan a copy of foregoing report and resolutions with

the request that he submit the same to the legislature of his state, for its consideration and action; that he also forward a copy of the same to each of our senators and representatives in Congress.

Approved March 1, 1847.

(A) The Affidavit of Francis Troutman.

The affiant states that as the agent and attorney of Francis Giltner, of Carroll County, Kentucky, he proceeded to the town of Marshall in the county of Calhoun, and state of Michigan, and in company with the deputy sheriff and three Kentuckians, on the morning of the 27th of January, went to the house in which he found six fugitive slaves, the property of Giltner. The slaves were directed to accompany us to the office of a magistrate; some of them were preparing to obey the summons, but before the affiant could get them started, he was surrounded by a mob, which by its violent threats, menaces and assaults, prevented the removal of the slaves to the office of the magistrate. Affiant directed the sheriff time after time, to discharge his duty, and he as often made an effort to do so; but so great was the excitement and violence of the mob, that the officer was afraid to seize the slaves. Resolutions were offered by some of the influential citizens of the town which were calculated greatly to excite and encourage the negroes and abolition rabble, who constituted a part of the mob. The negroes engaged in the mob were estimated at from forty to fifty, many of whom are fugitive slaves from Kentucky as affiant was informed and believes. The number of persons engaged in the mob were variously estimated at from two to three hundred. All the resolutions offered by those engaged in the mob were sustained by general acclamation; many of the mob pledged their lives to sustain them, and at the same time had guns, clubs and other weapons in their hands, with which to execute their purposes. Affiant contended for some hours with the mob, and still insisted on taking the slaves before the magistrate for trial, but the influential men in the mob told affiant that there was no need of a trial, and that any further attempt to remove the slaves would jeopardize the lives of all who might make such an attempt, and they were determined to prevent affiant from removing the slaves from town, even if he proved his right to do so; they stated further that public was opposed to southerners reclaiming fugitive slaves, and that although the law was in our favor, yet public sentiment must supercede the law in this and in similar cases. Affiant then called upon some of the most active members of the mob to give him their names, and inform him if they considered themselves responsible for their words and actions on that occasion. They promptly gave their names to affiant, and he was told to write them in capital letters and bear them back to Ken-

tucky, the land of slavery, as evidence of their determination to persist in the defense of a precedent already established.

The following resolution was offered:

Resolved, That these Kentuckians shall not remove from this place these (naming the slaves) by moral, physical or legal force. It was carried by general acclamation. Affiant then directed the sheriff to summon those leading men in the mob to assist in keeping the peace; he did so, but they refused their aid, and affiant understood them to say that they would assist in preventing the arrest of the slaves. A consultation was then held by eight or ten of the mob, out some distance from the main crowd, as to whether affiant might take the slaves before a magistrate; the decision was in the negative, and the following resolution was then offered: Resolved, That these Kentuckians shall leave the town in two hours; (some penalty in event of failure to do so was attached, which affiant does not recollect). It was sustained by the unanimous vote of the mob. A warrant for trespass was then issued and served upon the sheriff, affiant and company. We stood trial. The magistrate, who was an Abolitionist, fined us $100. A warrant was then taken out against affiant for drawing a pistol upon a negro and telling him to stand back when said negro was making an attempt to force himself upon affiant and into the house where affiant had the slaves. On trial, affiant proved his agency and that the slaves were the property of Giltner, for whom he was acting as agent, yet the court recognized the affiant to appear at the next circuit court for trial. Many were the insults offered the affiant by the leading men of the mob, who informed him at the same time that it was just such treatment that a Kentuckian deserves, when attempting to recapture a slave, and that they intended to make an example of him that others might take warning. That there had been attempts by slave-holders to reclaim slaves in their town, but that they had always been repulsed and always shall be. The insults offered affiant as a private individual, were treated with contempt, but such as were offered him as a Kentuckian, during the time of the mob and progress of two days' trial which succeeded, were resented in such a manner as this affiant believed the honor, dignity and independence of a Kentuckian demanded. Given under my hand this 15th day Febr., 1847.

F. TROUTMAN.

(Franklin County seal.)

Personally before the undersigned, a Justice of the Peace for said county, this day came the above named Francis Troutman, who made oath in due form of law, to the truth of the statement set forth in the foregoing affidavit. Given under my hand this 15th day of February, 1847.

H. WINGATE, J. P."

Acts of Kentucky Legislature for 1846-7 (published by the state printer, pages 385-6-7 and 8).

In connection with Troutman's affidavit, the version of the affair by Gen. Charles T. Gorham (1872) and William P. Hobart (1908) are also inserted.

Hon. Charles T. Gorham:

During the winter of 1847, there stood on the property now owned by Mr. James T. Downs, in the eastern part of the city, a humble dwelling. The house was located near a grove. A colored family occupied the place. The history of that family forms the subject of this sketch.

Adam Crosswhite was born in Bourbon County, Kentucky, October 17, 1799. His father was, under the laws of that State, his master, his mother being, at the time of his birth, a slave. At an early age, Adam was given by his father to his half-sister, as a servant. Miss Crosswhite afterwards married Ned Stone, a notorious slave-dealer, who if not the original Simon Legree of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" might have been, so similar were his life and character to those so graphically portrayed by Mrs. Stowe. Stone retained possession of the boy Adam for a time and then sold him to a man named Troutman for $200. When twenty years of age, the boy was traded off to one Frank Giltner, who lived in Carroll County, and with whom he stayed until forty-five years of age. When twenty-two Adam married, and at the age of forty-five was the father of seven children. At that time he became aware of Giltner's intentions to sell a portion of his family. Watching his opportunity, he obtained a skiff and with his family, pushed off for Madison, Indiana. There he was received by the underground railroad managers and sent north. At Newport, Indiana, the pursuers came upon the party, by that time swollen into a flock of twenty. The fugitives were hidden by Quakers and protected for many days.

An incident is related of how a young Friend disconcerted the hunters. He represented himself as a slave-hunter and gained their confidence. Assuring them that he knew of the hiding place, he took the party, just at night, into a dense swamp, and leaving them on some slight pretext, failed to return. The party was lost in the woods all night, thereby relieving the poor slaves of considerable anxiety.

Crosswhite was compelled to leave his wife and two children at this place and push on. His experience from Indiana into Michigan, and his wife's experience five weeks later, might be written up to form an interesting book. Such is a rapidly traced history of the occupants of the little house above referred to. Crosswhite was known as an industrious, quiet man. He had paid a portion of the purchase price for his place.

Early in the winter of 1846-47, there came to Marshall a young man who represented himself as a lawyer. He did not make known his business, but strayed through the town as if undecided about his permanent residence here. There was at that time residing here a man named Harvey Dixon, a deputy sheriff, whom the stranger seemed to take an interest in. Evidently some work was to be done and Dixon was the chosen tool. The stranger was Francis Troutman, grandson of the former owner of Adam Crosswhite and his business in Marshall was to recover the fugitives. He had obtained a knowledge of their whereabouts through a friend to whom it chanced (to what a remote cause do we trace great events) Mrs. Crosswhite had unwittingly revealed her history. Troutman was uncertain of the identity of all the children and employed Dixon to impersonate a census collector and ascertain the required facts. This Dixon did, it is alleged for the modest sum of five dollars.

In the meantime it became noised about so as to reach Crosswhite, that a systematic attempt was to be made to carry the family off. Troutman and three as dark brown rascals as one would care to meet, arranged with a liveryman to have a team ready on a given night at 12 o'clock. The liveryman left word at the stable that the horses were not to be sent until he gave orders. Orders were not given until towards morning. Crosswhite was prepared to meet his enemies. It was understood that a gun was to be the signal for the assembling of his friends. Early in the morning before it was light, Crosswhite saw the team coming towards his house. He fired a gun in the air and awaited outside his house for the approach of the men. There were four in the party. Mrs. Crosswhite answered the summons to open the door with a stout refusal to do so. Two men then sought to persuade Crosswhite to go with them, saying that they had come to arrest them and wanted him at the justice's office down town. They offered to carry him and his family to the office in a wagon. This subterfuge did not work. In the meantime about two hundred persons had assembled and were ridiculing the slave-hunters. The four men were armed to the teeth, but were too cowardly to use forcible means to take the runaways. Troutman said there was one child he did not want, but the rest he demanded, as they were fugitive slaves. This speech was received with laughter by the crowd. When it was understood that it was proposed to take the mother and leave the infant, the crowd may have used threats against the four men, but that is a disputed point.

Later in the morning, Charles T. Gorham, Jarvis Hurd, O. C. Comstock, Jr., and others went to the scene of trouble. They took no part in the proceedings, but listened to the harangue of Troutman, who was offering resolutions to the effect that "as law-abiding citizens," the

people would not interfere with his taking Crosswhite off. The fact of their presence was enough to satisfy Troutman. He obtained their names.

Finally the crowd went down to the Marshall House. Crosswhite appeared on the streets and was advised to prosecute Troutman. This he did. The attacking parties were arrested and fined. Mr. Van Arman appeared in the prosecution. Later in the day George Ingersoll quietly obtained funds and sent the family to Jackson in a lumber wagon. At Jackson, the family entered the cars and were carried to Detroit, from whence they went to Canada. Troutman and his friends went to Kentucky, vowing vengence upon the men who had aided in the liberation of the slaves. The vows made by Troutman were destined to be fulfilled, although it is probable that the loud-mouthed boastings of his party while here were more for effect then in earnest when uttered. Fate set her seal upon the acts of the marauding party and followed it with an unrelenting assiduity.

Troutman related the incidents of his defeat in Marshall to his friends at home. So indignant were they that steps were taken to convene a town meeting, the object of which was to insist upon the "observance of the laws." In due time, the town meeting was held. At it Troutman grossly misrepresented the Marshall affair. The citizens of this place were described as armed ruffians who resisted the execution of the laws of the country by force. The out-growth of the town meeting, was a county meeting, the object of which was similar to the primary assembly. Here again the story of the "northern outrage" was repeated, with graphic embellishments. With the increased size of the meeting grew the popular indignation and the falsehoods of Troutman's friends. Troutman saw that there was no turning back from the course he had taken and was determined to carry his point by dint of continued misrepresentations.

From the county meeting, the matter was taken to the legislature of Kentucky, and there an appropriation was made to prosecute the leaders of the "mob." Troutman, who saw there was no alternative, accepted the commission of returning and teaching the cursed northerners their duty. Messrs. Pratt & Crary were retained, in fact nearly all the lawyers and lawyers' clerks in this section of the country were retained by Troutman. He was a shrewd fellow and immediately set to work to manufacture evidence to support the stories he had circulated in Kentucky, and upon the strength of which, the state appropriation was made. For several weeks Troutman remained in town. His method of work was to meet some man who was easily influenced and ask him if he remembered hearing Dr. Comstock or Mr. Gorham or Mr. Hurd say so-and-so on the day of the "riot." The fellow would

partially recollect such speeches. Later at another interview, the fellow would be positive, and finally he was ready to go upon the stand and swear to such language. The man Dixon was Troutman's right bower. When sufficient testimony had been obtained to warrant trial, suit was brought in the United States Court in Detroit. The defendants numbering a dozen or more at first, then dwindled down to three, C. T. Gorham, Jarvis Hurd and O. C. Comstock. The trial began in the latter part of 1847 and lasted three weeks. The jury disagreed.

In 1848, the second trial began. Prominent democratic politicians went to one of the defendants, namely Charles T. Gorham, who was at that time a Democrat, and declared that although personally friendly to him, they wanted the case to go against the defendants. Lewis Cass was at that time candidate for president, and the politicians wanted, "at that particular time," as they expressed it, the south to understand that Detroit and Michigan sympathized with the slave-holding element. They were willing to prostitute themselves and commit an act of gross injustice to a personal friend in order to secure the southern vote. They assured the defendants that, should the case be decided against them, the Democrats would assist in paying the bills.

The case came for trial and was defended by Judge H. H. Emmons, J. F. Joy and Theodore Romeyn. After a hard fought struggle, the case was decided as Cass wanted it to be, for the slave-hunters. The defendants were required to pay about $1,900 and costs. The men who were so anxious to serve Cass's interests failed to remember their promises to help, but in that trying hour, when pecuniary injury was heaped upon wounded friendship, Zachariah Chandler,[74] Alanson Sheley[75] and other prominent men stepped forward and in the name of justice, contributed largely and unexpectedly to the defendants.

The equities of the case were not considered by the court or jury. As illustrative of the lamentable condition of society in reference to the question of slavery, and the subservience of northern men to the will of the south, we state that one of the jurors (a Whig) afterwards said to Mr. Gorham that it was extremely unpleasant to at least a portion of the jury to bring in a verdict against the defendants, but that they had concluded that it was best to do so, on account of the popular sentiment.

They knew that the case would be carried to the higher courts in the event of a verdict for the defendants, and if there, the result would be disastrous. It was better to end the matter in Detroit. The defendants saw that an appeal was worse than folly. Justice was indeed blinded to their case. There was no possibility of obtaining a verdict

[74]See Vol. XXII, p. 381 and Vol. III, p. 139, this series.

[75]See Vol. XXII, pp. 194 and 386, this series. Mr. Sheley married Ann Elizabeth Drury in 1831 and was the father of eight children.

in their favor, for at that time defendants could not testify in their own behalf. The only method of procedure was the impeachment of complainant's witnesses, and nothing further in that line could be done than had been accomplished in the two trials in Detroit. The barter of principle by the democratic element was illy appreciated by the people, however. Cass was defeated and Zachary Taylor elected to the presidency.

The case did not stop at the end of the trial. It was written on the scroll of Fate that the seed sown in the soil of Marshall should bear abundant fruit. Henry Clay took the case into the Senate chamber and there advocated the necessity of a more stringent fugitive slave law. The riotous (?) scenes enacted near the humble cabin of Crosswhite received national consideration. The law of 1793 was too lenient. Mr. Clay took a personal interest in the matter for the reason that Crosswhite was known to him, the farms of Clay and Giltner being near each other and the circumstances of Crosswhite's flight and subsequent trials at Detroit being known to him.

The result of Clay's efforts was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the most damnable law that ever received the sanction of the American Congress, and which lies a bar-sinister athwart the escutcheon of Fillmore[76] and Taney.[77] The law was the straw which broke the camel's back. The people of the north would no longer endure the arrogant demands of the south. The history of the succeeding years was written in blood. The wave of destruction which grew from the ripple caused in Marshall swept over the country. The names of the few noble men who fought the earlier battles for freedom, and the million brave souls who faced death for the sake of principle are mentioned with reverence whenever the theme is broached. The martyrs, Lincoln and John Brown head a glorious list of fallen heroes, and the stain of slavery has been obliterated from the Nation's tablet by the crimson hand of war.

Of the three men who defended their rights before a biased tribunal, Charles T. Gorham,[78] O. C. Comstock[79] and Jarvis Hurd all sleep the long sleep that knows no waking.[80]

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[76]Millard Fillmore became president of the United States on the death of President Taylor, July 10, 1850. One of the first achievements of his administration was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, thereby losing the support of a large portion of his northern followers.

[77]Roger Brooke Taney succeeded John Marshall as chief justice of the United States in March, 1836. In his decisions he upheld and supported the Fugitive Slave Law.

[78]Gorham, see sketch, Vol. XXXI, p. 27, this series.

[79]Comstock, see sketch, Vol. XXVI, p. 365, this series.

[80]*Marshall Statesman*, 1893, numbers 18, 19; see also *Marshall Statesman*, January, 1847, and December 15, 1905; Evart's *History of Calhoun County*, 1877, p. 23; *Life of Zachariah Chandler*, p. 75.

WILLIAM W. HOBART

The Crosswhite case

A little over sixty years ago, Marshall, Michigan, was and had been for years an important station on the "under-ground railroad," that mysterious abolition organization by whose aid, many thousands of negro slaves achieved liberty "before the war." For those times, the Abolitionists were comparatively strong in and about both Battle Creek and Marshall. I recall to mind that such a man as Erastus Hussey[81] and Jabez Fitch[82] were open and avowed Abolitionists, Fitch being the Liberty Party's candidate for governor, in several state campaigns.

For several years, some of these fleeing slaves would drop off at Marshall, and finding employment and not being disturbed, would acquire holdings on the outskirts of the town until they formed quite a settlement, which was known to the unregenerate as "Nigger Town." To this negro settlement, about 1845, I think, there came Adam Crosswhite and his family, consisting of his wife and three or four children. Several of the children attended the district school. I know that the oldest son attended the same school that I did. I was a lusty lad of thirteen years and he was two or three years older. I remember that I struck quite an intimacy with young Crosswhite, who confided to me under a pledge of secrecy that he and his family were fugitives from slavery in Kentucky, and having reached Marshall on the "Underground" on their way to Canada and certain freedom, had stopped off for a few days at the negro settlement, where finding some old Kentucky friends, and being offered employment, they concluded to locate. The denizens of the settlement appeared always to be apprehensive as to their safety, as young Crosswhite told me several times that suspicious looking white men had been loitering about "Nigger Town," but as they disappeared and nothing came of their spying, confidence was measurably restored.

One of the characters that infested Marshall in those days was an old darkey, that from his vocation, we boys called "Old Auction Bell." As I remember, he was about six feet tall and lame and rode an old under-sized Indian pony. When mounted he cut a most ridiculous figure, with his height increased by the tallest stove-pipe hat that he could get hold of, and his feet just clearing the ground. His business was to ride through the streets of the town and announce auction sales or "wondoos" as he called them. Mounted on his faithful steed, he rode ringing a dinner bell, at the same time yelling at the top of his voice, "Auction Bell! Auction Bell! Auction Bell!" until reaching a con-

[81]See sketch, Vol. XIV, p. 79, this series.

[82]Deacon Jabez S. Fitch built the Presbyterian church at Marshall. See sketch, Vol. II, p. 239, this series.

venient corner, he would stop and announce to the atmosphere or to any one who might be listening, that at such and such place, Mr. Blank would offer for sale to the highest bidder, the following—and here would follow a description of the articles to be sold, clothed all in the rich imagery of the Ethiopian imagination.

Early one morning in the fall of 1846, if my memory serves me right, shortly after I had risen, I heard the old darkey's bell and he yelling in evident fear and excitement, "Auction Bell! Auction Bell!! Auction Bell!!!" We were about sitting down to breakfast. My father said "What in the world can be the matter with old Auction Bell? Its too early for one of his "wondoos." So we went out to ascertain. As he came opposite to us the old Auction Bell reined his pony and poured forth the wildest and weirdest story that it has ever been my fortune to listen to. I am only sorry that my memory does not serve to render it in his own vernacular. The upshot of it all was that "The slave-catchers from Kentucky had made a descent upon the negro settlement, and backed by deputy United States Marshal Harvey Dixon, had drawn pistols, knocked down negroes, shot at others, wounding some, kicked in doors and had seized the whole Crosswhite family and were preparing to take them back to slavery." The old fellow fairly frothed at the mouth during the recital of his lurid tale.

At the breakfast table, I asked my father if he was going out to the negro settlement to see the excitement. He replied "No," that he was the justice of the peace, and as such, a committing magistrate and if Auction Bell's story was half true, warrants would be applied for, and that he should go directly to his office and directed me to go to school and avoid all scenes of excitement.

But what healthy, fearless and adventurous fourteen-year-old boy could resist such a "call of the wild." As soon as I could slip away unobserved, I made a bee-line for the negro settlement, and there found excitement enough and to spare. Aside from the "Hoi Polloi" there were many of Marshall's most substantial citizens, among them, O. C. Comstock, Charles T. Gorham, I think George Ingersoll and Lansing Kingsbury and others whose names have escaped me. The slave-hunters still had the Crosswhite family in duress, but were surrounded by an angry and excited crowd, which was not chary in expressing its opinion or its threats. The central and most important figure was Frank Troutman, a young Kentucky lawyer, who was the agent and the nephew of the owner of the Crosswhites, and possibly a relation of the fugitives, as their name was certainly no misnomer. Troutman was a tall, handsome Kentuckian of twenty-five or thirty years. With him were three or four fellows of the type made familiar to us later, by Mrs. Stowe, in her description of Legree and the slave-catchers who chased Eliza

across the Ohio; low-browed, truculent looking *hombres*. Amidst all the excitement, Troutman never lost his head. When any of the better class of citizens came to expostulate with him, telling him that in view of the excitement and the passion aroused, it would be suicidal for him to attempt to remove the fugitives; he would take their names and ask them if they threatened him with violence if he attempted to remove his property. This of course they disclaimed, but called his attention to the threat and demonstrations of irresponsible parties over whom they claimed to have no control. By the time the county officers arrived with warrants issued for exhibiting weapons in a rude and threatening manner, assault and battery, breaking into houses and various other offenses, Troutman had his notebook pretty well filled with the names of substantial citizens, and what they had said to him under excitement, and this book was a very important factor in securing a verdict for the plaintiff in the case of Giltner vs. Gorham et. al., in the United States District Court for the state of Michigan. When the slave-catchers were arrested and removed, the Crosswhites were left practically unguarded and free, and the Abolitionists lost no time in getting them on the "under-ground railroad" and running them into Canada.

Whenever I could, I attended my father's court when he was examining Troutman and his men for violations of Michigan law, when attempting to get the Crosswhites. They were held for trial before the higher court, notwithstanding that in those days, my father was a sound Jacksonian Democrat though in 1860 he voted for Abraham Lincoln. In 1865 in reading the debates of the last Congressional Record on the last fugitive slave law, passed in 1849 or 50, I was intensely amused to find my democratic father, denounced by a fire-eating southern congressman as a Michigan Abolitionist, Justice of the Peace for holding Troutman and his cohorts for trial under the Michigan law. The Crosswhite case was simply one of the feverish indications of that inevitable conflict between the north and the south which culminated in the election of Lincoln, the great civil war, the expenditure of oceans of blood and millions of treasure and the freeing of the slaves.

W. W. HOBART.

San Francisco, March 19th, 1908.

Francis Troutman and his associates, with their own ears, heard the sentiment of freedom, fearlessly expressed, they had been arraigned before a court of justice in scathing terms, they had been convicted and punished for their misdemeanor, and they had returned home threatening vengeance to fire the southern heart. The people of Kentucky had also taken an object lesson in public opinion, and discovered a menace to the institution of slavery and considered means to preserve it.

Troutman returned to Marshall in May, following, not to capture slaves, but to look up evidence, retain counsel and to prosecute Marshall men for rescuing the fugitives. He exploited the action of the legislature of Kentucky on the affair, and asserted that his state was his backer, and had appropriated money to prosecute the men involved, to the extreme extent of the law, and to make an example of them to deter other abolition mobs. Pratt & Crary of Marshall were employed as local attorneys, and on the first day of June, 1847, a suit was commenced in the circuit court of the United States for the District of Michigan, in an action of trespass against Charles T. Gorham, Oliver C. Comstock, Jr., Asa B. Cook, Jarvis Hurd, John M. Easterly, George Ingersoll, Herman Camp, Randal Hobart, Platner Moss, William Parker, Charles Berger and John Smith for rescuing Adam Crosswhite and his wife and four children, claiming large damages. The first eight defendants named were among the leading business men of Marshall, and the last four were prominent colored citizens. The declaration filed contained seven counties, and was very lengthy. Separate suits in actions of debt were also commenced at the same time in said court by Francis Giltner against Oliver C. Comstock, Jr., Asa B. Cook, Jarvis Hurd, John M. Easterly, Charles T. Gorham, George Ingersoll and Randal Hobart to recover the five hundred dollars penalty under the provision of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, then in force for "knowingly and wilfully" etc.,—obstructing and hindering—claimant's agent—in seizing and arresting—said fugitives from labor" and "for rescuing such fugitives." While these penal suits were never tried, and were afterwards discontinued, at that time they intensified the feeling of the community. Anti-slavery men began to consider ways and means to limit and cripple the institution. There always had been a strong anti-slavery sentiment in Michigan, and an overwhelming majority of all parties approved the Wilmot Proviso.[83] On the 13th of February, 1847, the Democratic legislature endorsed and adopted this resolution: "Resolved, That in the acquisition of any new territory, whether by purchase, conquest or otherwise, we deem it the duty of the general government to extend over the same the ordinance of seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, with all its rights, privileges and conditions and immunities."[84] It will be remembered that the ordinance of 1787 here

[83]During the preliminary negotiations of peace with Mexico in 1846, David Wilmot, a jurist practising law in 1834 and member of Congress from 1845 to 1851, offered an amendment to the bill to purchase lands from Mexico, "That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the republic of Mexico by the United States, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory." It was adopted by the House but failed of final action. It was the basis of the organization known as the Free-Soil party, in 1848 and of the Republican party in 1856. *Harper's Cyclopedia of United States History*, Vol. X, p. 394.

[84]*Laws* of 1847, p. 194.

referred to provided "that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." The language of the Wilmot Proviso was copied from this ordinance. On the 13th of January, 1849, the legislature again "resolved that we are in favor of the fundamental principles of the Ordinance of 1787,"—and "we believe that Congress has the power, and that it is their duty to prohibit by legislative enactment the introduction and existence of slaves within any of the territories of the United States, now or hereafter to be acquired."[85] These resolutions indicate the sentiment of the masses at that time. Lewis Cass had always indorsed this old Jeffersonian doctrine until 1847. He was then seeking the nomination of the Democratic Party for president, and wanted the support of the south. On the 30th of December, 1847, he wrote his celebrated Nicholson letters, and declared that "a great change had been going on in the public mind upon the subject (Wilmot's proviso), in my own mind as well as others, and that doubts are resolving themselves into convictions that the principle it involves should be kept out of National legislation and left to the people of the confederacy in their respective local governments." This shameful repudiation of the policy of restricting slavery in the territories secured the nomination of Lewis Cass for president May 22nd, 1848, but it drove thousands of Wilmot Proviso Democrats from the party, and caused his defeat at the election. It forced anti-slavery men to unite on some practical method of restraining the slave power, and added new force to the anti-slavery cause. On the 28th of June, 1848, the case of Giltner vs. Gorham et. al. came on for trial at Detroit before Hon. John McLean,[86] a Justice of the United States Supreme Court sitting as Circuit Judge, and a jury was sworn. Abner Pratt and John Norvell appeared for the slave-owner, and Hovey K. Clarke, Theodore Romeyn, Halmer H. Emmons and James F. Joy appeared for the citizens. The names of the attorneys indicate that the case was closely contested, and that it was a battle of giants. But the trial was something more than a legal battle; it was also a political battle waged in the court room. If the slave-holder could not recover for his slaves in Detroit, the home of the democratic candidate, how could that candidate expect to receive the vote of the slave-holders in the south. Never before or since in this State, has such a powerful, persistent and subtile political influence been exerted on court, counsel, parties, witnesses and jury, as was exerted on this trial. The courtroom and the community were wrought up to the most intense degree of silent interest dur-

[85] *Laws* of 1849, p. 362.

[86] John McLean was the first United States circuit court judge for Michigan. He held that office from 1836-1862 and was succeeded by Judge N. H. Swayne. *Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan.*

ing the long trial. While this influence, which was felt, not seen, was exercised to win votes for Gen. Cass in the south, it alienated from him votes at home. The charge of the court was long and laid down the law as it then existed. Gerrit Smith came from New York, and volunteered to argue the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 before the court, but counsel for the defendants, fearing the effect upon the jury deemed it inexpedient to have so rabid an Abolitionist take part in the trial, and such service was declined. The following syllabus of the charge indicates the rules of law laid down to guide the jury.

(1) "It is under the constitution and acts of Congress only, that the owner of a slave has the right to reclaim him in a state where slavery does not exist."

(2) "There is no principle in a common law, in the law of nations or of nature which authorize such a recaption."

(3) "A parol authority by the master to his agent, is sufficient to authorize a seizure of a fugitive from labor."

(4) "To make a person liable for a rescue in such a case, he must act 'knowingly and willingly.'"

(5) "But this knowledge that the colored person is a fugitive from labor is inferable from circumstances."

(6) "To everyone who mingles with the crowd, it is not necessary that the agent should state on what authority he proceeds. It is enough that he states it generally."

(7) "And one of a crowd, who interposes by manual force or by encouraging others, by words, to rescue a fugitive is responsible."

(8) "But he does not make himself responsible where he endeavors to allay the excitement and prevent a breach of the peace."

(9) "The agent, in seizing a fugitive from labor, acts under the sanction of law, no warrant being necessary."

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(11) "Where a rescue is made by the continuous action of a crowd, anyone who took a part in the course of action is responsible, and may be sued with others who participated at a different time in the same action."

(12) "A female fugitive from labor, having had a child during her residence in a free state, on an action for her value and for the value of her husband, etc., on a charge of rescue against the defendants, the court held, as the child was not claimed in the declaration, the question whether the claimant had a right to it and a control over it, was not necessarily involved in the case."

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(14) "An expression by the agent of the plaintiff that he should not pursue the slaves, is no abandonment of his right of action."[87]

[87] 4 McLean, 402, Giltner vs. Gorman, et al.

This is one of the first cases under the statute that was tried, and it became a leading case. The charge was as fair an interpretation of the law as it then *existed,* and was as favorable to the defendants as the rules of law would permit. The defendant's only hope of success was based upon the anti-slavery sentiments of the jury. The law as interpreted by the court was a revelation to the parties, and to the people at large. It was quoted and discussed at the fireside, in the pulpit, on the platform, on the stump and in the press throughout the land. For the first time, freemen realized that they were made the unwilling tools of the slave-holder and were compelled by law, under penalties of ruinous fine and imprisonment to restore the fleeing slave to his pursuing master. A bitter hatred of slavery was aroused and a determination to limit and cripple the institution was created. On the 12th of June, 1847, the jury disagreed and was discharged. The trial had been followed with intense interest both north and south.

The defendant, Charles T. Gorham was well-known, and a man of wide influence. He had always been a Democrat and a political adherent of Gen. Cass. After witnessing the cruelties of slavery in his own town and after facing the influence of the slave-power in court, like Gen. Cass upon the Wilmot Proviso, "a great change came over his mind," and repudiating the pro-slavery platform of his party, announced his hostility to that institution. Rejecting the extreme radicalism of the Garrison Abolitionists, and the nullifying measures of the Liberty Party of the day and seeking practical methods he advocated the exclusion of slavery from the territories, as the best means of attack. From that time until slavery was destroyed, Charles T. Gorham waged a relentless warfare with head and heart, with tongue and pen, with hand and purse, in municipal, legislative, county, congressional, state and national conventions, at the hustings and at the polls, in private and in official life, in every practical manner against the accursed institution. He was ably and eloquently supported by Hovey K. Clarke, the local attorney in the case, who had similar political antecedents. Under their leadership, Marshall and Calhoun County became an important center of influence in the anti-slavery movement. A call for the celebrated Buffalo convention had been made to meet on the 9th day of August, 1848. While these Marshall men did not attend this convention in person, they were ably represented. Erastus Hussey of Battle Creek, a staunch Quaker Abolitionist, and an active superintendent of an important division of the Under-ground Railroad, and Austin Blair of Jackson, also counsel in the suit, and a radical anti-slavery man, had watched the proceedings of the case from the fugitives' door to the disagreement of the jury, with a personal interest, and had been in constant touch, and in frequent consultation with Gen. Gorham and

his associates during that time, and had been aroused by the Crosswhite affair. It was at the request of Charles T. Gorham, Hovey K. Clarke and other citizens of Marshall that they should attend the convention, represent the anti-slavery men of this vicinity, and help organize a national party on an anti-slavery platform. These men attended that convention and took an active part in organizing the Free-Soil Party, which was the first national party organized to restrict the extension of slavery in a *constitutional* way and eventually to destroy it, which prepared the way for the organization of the party of Lincoln years after. The 8th and 16th planks of the platform adopted are as follows: "Resolved, That we accept the issues which the slave-power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave states, and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is, *no more* slave states, and *no more* slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world."

(16) "Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner. 'Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor and Free Men,' and under it we will fight on, and fight forever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

The declaration of independence of Marshall men, made by words and deeds at the fugitive's door and now enrolled in a party platform, and proclaimed to the waiting world. Under the leadership of these men, the anti-slavery factions in Calhoun County were organized and were induced to support the anti-slavery candidate for Congress. As a result the democratic candidate was defeated in 1848 and William Sprague, a Free-Soil Whig was elected. He was one of the Free-Soilers, who under the lead of Joshua R. Giddings, held the balance of power between the Whigs and the Democrats in the 31st Congress. As in 1844 the Liberty Party drew off enough anti-slavery whig votes to defeat Henry Clay, the favorite son of Kentucky for president, so in 1848 the Free-Soil Party drew off enough Wilmot Proviso democratic votes to defeat Lewis Cass, the favorite son of Michigan for president. Had it not been for the agitation, the awakening and the influence of the Crosswhite affair the results would have been different.

The case of Giltner vs. Gorham et al. came on for the second trial in the United States court at Detroit before Hon. Ross Wilkins,[88] judge, and a jury drawn and empaneled by a Democratic United States Marshal, was sworn on the 10th day of November, 1848. The case was again closely contested, and on the 5th day of December, 1848, a verdict was rendered in favor of Francis Giltner, for the value of Adam Crosswhite,

[88]Ross Wilkins was the first district judge of the United States at Detroit, holding that office from 1836-1870. He was succeeded by John W. Longyear. *Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan.*

his wife and four children assessed at the sum of $1,926 damages with costs of suit to be taxed against Charles T. Gorham, Oliver C. Comstock, Jr., Jarvis Hurd, George Ingersoll, Herman Camp, Platner Moss, Charles Berger and James Smith, the suit having been previously discontinued as to defendants Cook, Easterly, Hobart, and Parker. The taxable cost of the suit was heavy, numerous depositions had been made in Marshall; the depositions of slave-dealers in Kentucky had been taken to prove the value of this man and woman and their four children and scores of witnesses had been subpoenaed and kept in attendance at Detroit during the two long trials. At that time, Roger B. Taney, afterwards of Dred Scott decision fame, was Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and a majority of the associate justices were slave-holders, or pro-slavery men. An appeal offered little or no promise of relief and the learned attorneys for the defendant could point out no errors in the rulings or the charges of the court, *as the law then existed* which would justify an appeal. The only recourse was to pay this judgment and heavy bill of costs. Some of the defendants had no property, and the financial burden to satisfy this judgment fell principally upon the defendants, Gorham, Comstock, and Hurd. These men has been compelled to defray the greater part of the expense of defending the suit, and ruin seemed certain.

Zachariah Chandler, then a stirring merchant of Detroit, had attended the trials and watched the Crosswhite affair from its inception at Marshall until the final verdict. His sturdy anti-slavery sentiments were aroused. His keen political instincts enabled him to discover and trace the pro-slavery influences brought to bear upon the trial, and being satisfied that Mr. Gorham and his associates were victims of unjust laws, enforced by the slave-powers, he called on Mr. Gorham at his hotel and made his acquaintance. He voluntarily made himself a party to the suit and assumed a share of the burdens. He promised and afterwards paid, and raised a handsome sum of money toward the judgment and thereby relieved some of the defendants from financial ruin. Thus commenced the warm personal friendship between the sagacious, radical and rash Zachariah Chandler and the sagacious, conservative and cautious Charles T. Gorham, which continued until death, and which contributed largely to the elevation and influence of both men in political life.

These Marshall men united the enemies of slavery, and under their leadership in 1849, Charles Dickie was elected to the Senate, Erastus Hussey, Hovey K. Clarke and Nathan Pierce to the House, all radical Abolitionists or pronounced anti-slavery men, and Calhoun County had a solid anti-slavery delegation in the legislature of 1850. The county took a leading position in opposition to the institution of slavery and maintained it until slavery was no more.

As Lexington and Concord preceded the Declaration of Independence and Yorktown, so Marshall preceded the Buffalo convention, the organization under the oaks at Jackson and the Emancipation Proclamation, Appomatox and the Thirteenth Amendment. The sons of the brave men of Lexington and Concord at Marshall in 1847, were more altruistic than were their sires in 1775. The sires risked their liberty and property for *themselves, their kindred, their posterity.* The sons risked their liberty and their property, not for themselves, their kindred, and their posterity, but for another, an alien race, a race of slaves. The sons were braver than their sires. The sires were unknown, disguised as Indians and went at night when they defied the tyrant's law and threw the tea into Boston harbor. The sons were known, undisguised, and went in the light of day when they defied the tyrant's law and loosened the bondsman's chains. When the voice of tyranny asked for their names, quick and distinct came the response from one "Charles T. Gorham. Put it down in capital letters and take it back to Kentucky to the land of slavery as a warning to others and a lesson to you," from another, "Oliver Cromwell Comstock, Jr. Don't forget to put down the 'Junior' as I don't want my father to answer for my sins," from another "James M. Easterly" from another, "Jarvis Hurd," and from another, "Asa B. Cooke." (Brave men were they.) (In the slave-holder's declaration filed in court, while the names of the other defendants were printed in italics, the name of Charles T. Gorham was printed in capital letters.)

While the enemies of African slavery were organizing and concentrating their force upon measures to cripple the institution in Michigan, the friends of that institution were equally active in Kentucky. The constitutional convention of 1849 inserted a clause in the state constitution declaring the right of property in slaves to "be before and higher than any constitutional sanctions." The Blue-grass State seems to have antedated Seward in announcing the "higher law" doctrine. As before stated, Francis Troutman's version of the Marshall affair had been laid before the legislature of Kentucky and the legislature had instructed their Senators and members of Congress to secure further guarantees for the reclaiming of fugitive slaves. Henry Clay was a personal friend of Francis Giltner, and being familiar with the whole Crosswhite affair he took a personal interest in the case. On the 29th of January, 1850, Mr. Clay introduced into the United States Senate his celebrated compromise resolution, demanding a more "effective fugitive slave law."

In the heated discussion of the so-called compromise measures, in their various forms and phases in Congress from January 29th until September 18th, 1850, when the fugitive slave law was signed by the president, Marshall and Marshall men were ever upon the lips of the champion

of slavery. Gen. Gorham, Dr. Comstock, Rev. Randal Hobart, and other old line Democrats were denounced as Abolitionists and negro thieves. Men of high standing and culture were branded as vagabonds, villains and robbers. The abusive tirades were repeated and enlarged upon by the pro-slavery press, and on the pro-slavery stump north and south, and Marshall became the cynosure of the whole land. This intemperate discussion of the Troutman version of the "Abolition mob" as he termed it, was gratifying to the south, but it was consolidation of the free-soil sentiments of the north. The Crosswhite case, as it has been shown, was the proximate cause of the obnoxious Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. That case demonstrated the fact that the less stringent law then in force, could not be enforced in the liberty-loving communities of the north, and the arrogant south undertook to intimidate the north with heavy penalties.

The fugitive slave law was prepared by the most radical pro-slavery champion. It provided for numerous United States Commissioners to be appointed, gave them the power of judge to remand men to slavery, deprived the alleged slave of his own testimony, right of jury trial and habeas corpus. It gave the commissioner a ten dollar fee if he decided for the master, and a five dollar fee if he decided for the slave. United States Marshals were required to make arrests, and if they refused, they should be fined $1,000 and be made to pay for the slave. The Marshals and Commissioners could call upon by-standers to assist in making captures and if a citizen refused he could be imprisoned six months, fined $1,000 and made liable for $1,000 damages. This despotic law violated every human impulse and made the usual Christian courtesies a crime, and in fact made every man, woman and child a slave catcher at the request of the master. This infamous law designed to protect the institution of slavery was overruled and produced an irresistible wave of anti-slavery sentiment and opposition, which deluged the whole land and undermined the institution itself. Public sentiment was so strong in Marshall in 1847 that the old law could not be enforced, and now that same sentiment, more earnest than ever, would not enforce the new. It was boldly announced in private and in public, in the press, in the pulpit, on the platform, and on the floor of Congress that freemen would not enforce the law. The sentiment of the people was expressed by the resolution of a Massachusetts mass meeting in these words, "Law or no law, constitution or no constitution, union or no union, the hospitality of Massachusetts will never be violated by the delivery of a fugitive from oppression, to tyrant's again." This law had shocked the moral sensibility of the whole north, it had added new fuel to the anti-slavery flame, and tended to unite all factions against it.

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 developed an unexpected force which fired the hearts of freemen everywhere, and hastened the doom of slavery. That law caused the graphic delineation of the evils of slavery in Uncle Tom's Cabin. The author of that narrative had abstained for years from all consideration of the subject of slavery but when she learned of the cruel, un-Christian and inhuman provision of the statute and heard men contend that it was the citizen's duty to enforce it, she tells us in her concluding chapter that she could "only think that these men and these Christians cannot know what slavery is; if they did, such a question could never be opened for discussion," and from this arose a desire to exhibit it in a living dramatic reality. Thus this cruel law has awakened and inspired its own Nemesis. The gifted author commenced gathering material and perfecting her plan, and in June, 1851, the publication of that mighty political narrative was commenced as a serial, in the National Era, an anti-slavery paper published at Washington and was continued until April, 1852. Some of the personal experience of Adam Crosswhite and wife in fleeing from bondage are woven into that story. The narative in the National Era was read and re-read. Nearly half a million copies were published in book form in rapid succession, and scattered all over the north and the English-speaking world. It was quickly translated into twenty different languages, and it has done more for universal freedom than any other, if not all other causes combined. It was dramatized and put on the stage and acted all over the north. It revealed the horrors of slavery, touched the great heart of humanity, and united the people in one common purpose to limit and destroy the curse. Had it not been for the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Uncle Tom's Cabin would never have been written, and the evils of slavery would not have been thus revealed.

In 1852 the Whig and Democratic parties, both blind and oblivious to the swelling tide of anti-slavery sentiment, accepted the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 as a finality, and promised to enforce it. There had been for a long time a strong anti-slavery sentiment in the Whig Party. The writer when a boy, heard Gen. Cass prophesy that the Whig Party would eventually be abolitionized. This surrender to the slave-power drove hundreds of Whigs out of the party, and its doom as a national party was sealed. After the old parties had made their nominations and announced their pro-slavery platforms, the Free-Soil Party held a convention and nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire, for president and George W. Julian of Indiana for vice-president. The platform contained these planks.

(6) "That slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment or usage can make right, and that Christianity, humanity and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

(7) "That the fugitive act of 1850 is repugnant to the constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianty, and to the sentiments of the civilized world; we therefore deny its force on the American people and demand its immediate and total repeal.

(21) "That we inscribe on our banner 'Free-Soil, Free-Speech, Free-Labor, and Freedom,' and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

The sentiments of Marshall men, as expressed by words and deeds at the fugitive door in 1847, were here again proclaimed in a national platform. The agitation continued, but the pro-slavery party triumphed at the election. The foes of slavery were as yet unwilling to repudiate old party affiliations, and unite in a national crusade for liberty. The chastening of another pro-slavery scourge was required.

Slavery had been prohibited from all the territories lying north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude in 1820 by the so-called Missouri Compromise. This act was copied from the ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the Northwest Territory. The Wilmot Proviso followed the same principle, and the principle had been repeatedly applied. The slave-power determined to break down this barrier and to repudiate this Jeffersonian policy. A bill was pending in the Senate to organize the Territory of Nebraska. Senator Archibald Dixon of Kentucky, on the 16th of January, 1854, introduced an amendment to repeal the law passed in 1820 as a solemn compact between the slave and the free states. Then commenced the discussion of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Lewis Cass, 1847, as we have seen, in his Nicholson letter, repudiated the principle of excluding slavery from the territories by act of Congress, and endorsed the policy of allowing the people of the Territory to determine whether slavery should or should not exist. Thus the doctrine of popular sovereignty was proclaimed. Under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglass, this doctrine was endorsed by the pro-slavery party, and in the discussion continued on this issue. The most earnest debate of modern times ensued in Congress, in the press, in the pulpit, on the stump, and by the fireside. The bill repealing the restriction of slavery passed the Senate March 3d, the House May 24, and was signed by the President May 30th, 1854. The Democratic party had thus repudiated the principles of its founder. Then commenced the struggle between the friends of slavery and the friends of freedom in Kansas. The application of the principles of popular sovereignty in the territories on the slavery issue, meant force against force—war between the contending parties actually existed. John Brown was a product of that struggle, and his subsequent raid on Harper's Ferry, but a subsequent guerrila skirmish resulting from the war in Kansas. The bad faith of the slave power, the hot discussion, the bloody struggle

and the bitterness resulting therefrom caused men to seek a practical remedy—an end of the conflict.

The anti-slavery sentiment in Michigan was intense, and anti-slavery men were now ready to act. Marshall men took the final lead in starting the crusade against slavery. Hovey K. Clarke, chairman of the State Central Committee and Erastus Hussey then of Marshall with others called a mass meeting of the Free-Soil party to meet at Jackson, February 22, 1854. All who favored the national free-soil platform of 1852 were invited to this convention. Hovey K. Clarke was chairman of the committee on resolutions and drafted the platform adopted by the convention. Erastus Hussey was also a member of the committee on resolutions and a member of the committee on nominations. The resolutions denounced the proposed repeal of the Missouri compromise and endorsed the free-soil platform of 1852. Kinsley S. Bingham was nominated for governor, Nathan Pierce for lieutenant-governor and Hovey K. Clarke for attorney-general. Numerous addresses were made before the convention. Halmer H. Emmons of Detroit, afterwards United States circuit judge, an anti-slavery Whig, was called out for a speech. He endorsed the platform, commended the nominees of the convention, expressed the earnest desire that before election day, all friends of freedom might stand upon one platform, and pledged to resist the extension of slavery. Mr. Emmons made a powerful speech in favor of union, which, like the speech of Patrick Henry in the Virginia convention of 1775, carried everything before it and inspired men on to action. As Patrick Henry inspired "the first general recommendation for a general congress by any public assembly" in 1774, so Halmer H. Emmons made the first appeal in a *state convention* for united actions in 1854. Messrs. Clarke and Emmons as counsel for the Marshall men in the slave suit, had been aroused and inspired by that drama. This speech and Mr. Emmons' influence was a power in bringing about harmony and united action all over the State. Seth Lewis, the editor of the *Marshall Statesman,* reflecting the local sentiment, all through the Kansas and Nebraska discussion, contended that it was the duty of citizens to vote for none but anti-slavery men. Charles M. Bordwell was elected supervisor of Eckford, and Charles D. Holmes of Albion, in April, 1854, on the anti-Nebraska ticket, and the *Statesman* advocated the union of all anti-slavery men in a new party. A mass meeting of Calhoun citizens met at Marshall, May 30th, 1854, and under the leadership of Erastus Hussey, Hovey K. Clarke, Charles T. Gorham, Nathan Pierce, George Ingersoll, resolved: "That waiving all previous party's preferences we are willing to unite and co-operate with all the friends of freedom, in an eternal war against the extension of slavery in the United States." It endorsed the nominee of the Jackson convention,

approved the mass meeting of the freemen called to meet at Kalamazoo on the 21st of June and appointed a committee of three from each township for the purpose of organizing anti-slavery men. Joseph Warren, editor of the *Detroit Tribune* during the Kansas-Nebraska debates in Congress, like his illustrious namesake, Dr. Joseph Warren, in the *Boston Gazette* in years preceding the war for independence published editorials of masterly boldness and earnestness to arouse the friends of freedom to action, and to unite all the enemies of slavery upon one platform and under one party. The influence of the *Detroit Tribune,* the leading state paper of the Whig party cannot be over-estimated, in moulding public opinion. Other papers in the State republished these articles and supplemented the cause; meanwhile Horace Greely, the master leader of the political movement was urging it on in his mighty editorials in the *New York Tribune* and scattering them broadcast throughout Michigan and other northern states. Zachariah Chandler, the Whig candidate for governor in 1852, contributed his Herculean strength, and traveled all over the State to organize an anti-slavery party. His influence wrought great results and his political opponents gave him the sobriquet "of the traveling agent of the new Abolitian party." On the 25th of May, a ringing call was made for a mass meetting of all the citizens opposed to the repeal of the Missouri compromise, to meet at Kalamazoo in a mass convention the 21st of June following. Men of all parties met at this convention. Hovey K. Clarke was again chairman of the committee on resolutions and drew the resolutions adopted. These resolutions denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and reaffirmed the Free-Soil platform of 1852. They also recommended concentration of the anti-slavery forces, offered to withdraw the ticket nominated at Jackson and surrender their organization, as means to an end, and authorized the appointment of a committee of sixteen to carry out this purpose. Erastus Hussey was also a member of the committee of resolutions and a member of the committee of sixteen to withdraw the ticket.

Mr. Clarke made a telling speech in favor of his resolutions and they were enthusiastically adopted. The action of this committee under the leadership of Marshall men, cleared the way for the union of the Abolitionists, Free-Soilers, Wilmot Proviso Democrats, and Anti-slavery Whigs into one organization. Men of all parties saw the way clear and went to work in earnest.

A call "inviting all our fellow citizens, without reference to former political associations, who think that the time has arrived for a union at the north to prevent liberty from being overthrown and down-trodden, to assemble in mass convention on Thursday, on the 6th of July next, at one o'clock P. M." signed by more than ten thousand freemen of the

State had been issued. Charles T. Gorham, Hovey K. Clarke, Erastus Hussey and over one hundred other Marshall men signed this call and two hundred citizens of Calhoun County attended this convention. In the organization of the convention, Charles T. Gorham was vice-president, and a member of the committee to nominate candidates. Erastus Hussey was a member of the committee on platform. The first Republican platform, denouncing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, demanding the repeal of the fugitive slave law, and taking a decisive stand against the extension of slavery was unanimously adopted. The committee of the Free-Soil party appointed at Kalamazoo for that purpose, withdrew its ticket nominated on the 22nd of February, and surrendered its organization and the Free-Soil party became immerged in the Republican party. Thus under the oaks at Jackson was organized the mighty Republican party[89] and it commenced its immortal career for liberty and humanity. Mr. Gorham rendered most valuable service on the nominating committee, and especially in bringing forward the name, and securing the nomination of Kinsley S. Bingham[90] for governor. Mr. Bingham had been a Democratic member of Congress, and was the only member from this State who had the courage *to refuse to follow* the leadership of Gen. Cass and vote for the Wilmot proviso. He had been read out of the Democratic party for that reason. This nomination was most fortunate. Gov. Bingham was a man of rare poise, and as an organizer, harmonizer and vote-getter and political leader, he never had a superior in the State. As governor and United States Senator, the state of Michigan can look to him as a model. It had been expected that Hovey K. Clarke would be the nominee for attorney general, but the nominating committee concluded, that the name of Jacob M. Howard,[91] a former member of Congress, would draw more votes from the Whig party, and as that party had not yet announced its course, he was nominated with the hearty approval of Mr. Clarke. The nominating committee had a most delicate and difficult duty to perform in recommending a ticket, made up of Wilmot Proviso Democrats, anti-slavery Whigs, Free-Soilers, and Abolitionists, so as to meet the approval of all factions. This duty was most faithfully and wisely performed, and the report was unanimously adopted by the convention. While Michigan was the first state to organize the new anti-slavery party, the same causes existed elsewhere, and other states quickly followed in her footsteps. The ticket thus nominated was elected by a large majority in November. The success, the influence and history of the party thus organized is known of all men.

[89]See *Michigan in Our National Politics, by A. D. P. Van Buren*, Vol. XVII, pp. 254-266, also *The Republican Party, a True History of its Birth, by Albert Williams*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 478, this series.

[90]See sketch, Vol. XXXV, pp. 475-478, this series.

[91]See sketch, Vol. XXXV, pp. 462-464, this series.

The Calhoun County convention of the Whig party, to nominate delegates to the state Whig convention met at Marshall, September 30th, 1854, and appointed delegates and instructed them to vote against the nomination of a Whig state ticket. The Whig convention to nominate state officers met at Marshall on the 4th of October, 1854. This convention determined not to nominate a state ticket, endorsed the principles and policies of the Republican party and issued a stirring address to the Whigs to unite and work to stop the extension of slavery. This was the end of the Whig party in Michigan. It completed the fusion of the anti-slavery men in the State. For earnest patriotism, devoted to the liberty and union of purpose, these men can only be compared with the men in the Congress of 1776, and in the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787. The resolutions of the Free-Soil conventions at Jackson and Kalamazoo were drawn by Hovey K. Clarke and the platform of the Republic convention was drawn by Jacob M. Howard. The resolutions and addresses of the Whig convention were drawn by James Van Dyke.[92] As bold declaration of principles, as earnest consecrations to liberty, as patriotic calls to duty, as rallying appeals for action, as assurances of harmony and unity, and as pledges to return to the Jeffersonian policy of restricting slavery, these papers were master pieces. These declarations of principles and policies were published, ratified and followed throughout the north. They performed the functions of a second declaration of independence. As the name of Jefferson is immortalized for penning the Declaration of Independence in 1776, so should the names of Clarke, Howard, and Van Dyke be immortalized for penning the second declaration of independence in 1854.

The Crosswhite case set Marshall men thinking and aroused their love of liberty and hatred of slavery. They were the pioneers in the movement and did much to give Michigan the honor of organizing the Republican party, which destroyed slavery. Similar influences were at work in other states, and similar organizations were speedily formed. Mr. Gorham was elected a delegate to the Philadelphia convention in 1856, the first national convention of the party, but by mutual agreement, Zachariah Chandler, his alternate took his place. History has its curiosities and its paradoxes. From the same exciting cause, Michigan took a bold stand against slavery and organized to destroy it while Kentucky had become the leading state to extend the curse and to

[92]James A. VanDyke was born in Franklin Co., Pa., a few miles north of the Maryland line. He graduated from Madison College, Uniontown, Pa., at the age of nineteen and after studying law at Chambersburg, Pa., and Hagerstown, Md., came to Detroit in 1834. He was admitted to the bar that year and in 1835 formed a partnership with Charles W. Whipple. The same year he married Elizabeth Desnoyers, who died July 10, 1896. He was in partnership with E. B. Harrington, Halmar H. Emmons and was general counsel of the Michigan Central Railroad Company until the date of his death, May 27, 1855. See *Early Bench and Bar of Detroit, by Robert Ross*, p. 205.

preserve its existence. Michigan would make freedom national, and slavery sectional, while Kentucky would make slavery national and freedom sectional. Michigan men advocated and formulated a platform to limit and destroy the evil while Kentucky senators introduced and advocated the fugitive slave law, and the act to repeal the Missouri Compromise. Michigan was the first state in the union to form an effective organization for the destruction of slavery, and Kentucky was the last state in the Union to abolish it. Michigan was the second state in the Union to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment,[93] and Kentucky was the first to reject it.

The state ticket nominated under the oaks at Jackson and a Republican legislature was elected in 1854. Erastus Hussey, then of Marshall, was elected to the senate. Federal officers were accustomed to detain federal prisoners in the different jails, prisons and penitentiaries of the various states, and fugitive slaves were sometimes thus detained. The duty of reclaiming fugitive slaves under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 had been granted to federal officers, some of whom, were provided for that purpose solely. The law was so repugnant to northern sentiment, that the people demanded all possible relief from their state legislature, and what is known as personal liberty laws were passed by many states. The states of Vermont, Rhode Island and Connecticut passed such laws in 1854. Erastus Hussey formulated and introduced such a bill in the legislature of Michigan, which under his leadership, with the support of Austin Blair, became a law, February 13, 1855. This law made it a duty of the prosecuting attorney at state expense, to protect persons charged with being fugitive slaves, gave such fugitives the right of trial by jury, the right of *habeas corpus,* and the right of appeal; and it prohibited the use of any jail, or any prison in the state for detaining fugitives. It required the evidence of two witnesses to establish the fact of servitude, and it provided heavy penalties for seizing free persons. The old-time conductor of the under-ground railroad had now become an anti-slavery legislator and he formulated laws for the fugitive. Maine and Massachusetts adopted similar laws the same year, Wisconsin and Kansas in 1858, Ohio in 1859, and Pennsylvania in 1860. These laws undertook to restore to the fugitive from labor under state authority, some of the rights taken from him by the federal law. They threw obstacles in the way, and made it more difficult for the master to recover his slaves. Some of the northern states claiming that the law of 1850 was unconstitutional, treated it as a

[93]Thirteenth amendment, Sec. I. "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

"Sec. II. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." This amendment was proposed by Congress, Feb. 1, 1865, and declared to have been ratified by twenty-seven of the thirty-six states, Dec. 18, 1865.

nullity, and did not pass personal liberty bills. If the federal government had authority under the constitution to adopt the fugitive Slave Law of 1850, doubtless these personal liberty measures were nullification laws. These laws and the prevailing repugnance to the measure made it difficult to enforce the federal act. The personal liberty laws of the north were influential, as hereafter shown, in the action of the south.

Lewis Cass had for many years been Michigan's most distinguished citizen. In his struggle for the presidential nomination he repudiated the Jeffersonian doctrine of the Wilmot Proviso in 1847, and had accepted the untried doctrine of popular sovereignty. This unfortunate change secured his nomination in convention, but caused his defeat, at the election. His legislature had twice endorsed the Wilmot Proviso and commanded his support. But he could not consistently retreat. In January, 1850, while discussing a resolution favoring the organization of a territorial government for California, it was manifested that he demurred to the resolutions of the legislature of 1849 and he intimated that if the legislature persisted he would resign his office as senator. Gen. Cass was the idol of his party in Michigan, and on the 2nd of April, 1850, the legislature passed resolutions requesting the senators to retain their seats and relieving them from such instructions.[94] This action of Gen. Cass and of the legislature on the slavery question raised a storm of indignation in the State. His servility to the South had made bitter political enemies at home. A radical anti-slavery man was demanded to take his place, in the Senate in 1857. Charles T. Gorham announced himself as favoring Zachariah Chandler as the man to be sent to the Senate from Michigan to meet the fire-eaters and domineering senators from the South. He worked constantly and effectively to this end. No man in the State did more perhaps, to elect Zachariah Chandler than did Gen. Gorham. The great influence and achievements of Senator Chandler in behalf of Michigan, the cause of liberty, and humanity, might not have been made possible, had it not been for his influential and efficient friend from Marshall. Under the influence of these men, Calhoun County always supported and held up the hands of that stalwart statesman and leader.

As we have seen, the fugitive slave law provoked the personal liberty laws. The personal liberty laws were in turn to provoke another movement in the South. The party organized under the oaks at Jackson to stop the extension of slavery had elected Abraham Lincoln, president. On the 20th of December, 1860, South Carolina in convention passed the ordinance of secession, and on the 24th of the month, announced the personal liberty laws of Michigan above mentioned, with similar laws from other states, as a reason for such action. This reason had

[94] *Laws of Michigan*, 1855, p. 413.

more force than all other excuses combined. Eleven other states followed South Carolina for the same reason. Secession brought on the War of the Rebellion. The war of the Rebellion brought forth the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, resulted in the surrender of the slave-power at Appomatox in April, and secured the 13th amendment to the Federal Constitution in December, 1865.

ULTIMATE RESULTS

Though young men and comparatively unknown in 1847, Charles T. Gorham, O. C. Comstock, Jr., Asa B. Cook, Jarvis Hurd, George Ingersoll, Hovey K. Clarke and Erastus Hussey, in subsequent years, became widely known and exerted commanding influences. A glance at their efforts and their achievements in the great social reform of their day has been attempted. They voluntarily became the champions of the slave when to be called an Abolitionist was the vilest term of contempt in political parlance. But their experience was not unique. Other slaves were captured and rescued in the north. Other communities released the captive from his captors. Other men were compelled to pay the burdensome price. Other municipalities were aroused by the exhibition of cruelty and inhumanity of the peculiar institution in their midst, and other freeman have bravely toiled, and sacrificed to cripple and destroy the curse, but I find no other event *from which such direct and far reaching consequences resulted* and which aided so much, in the evolution of measures for and against slavery, and which eventually destroyed it, as did the impromptu town meeting held at the fugitives' door in Marshall. Public sentiment was prepared, the time was ripe for action, the opportunity came and these men embraced it, and began their work. They formulated measures, organized forces and inaugurated a warfare against the extension of slavery, and continued the contest until the institution was destroyed. Who can estimate the ultimate results of their sacrifice and labors? Their names should be remembered, and their memories should be cherished as brave leaders, heroes and martyrs in the cause of freedom.

Francis Troutman, the champion of slavery, angered and threatening revenge, hastened home from that meeting and made complaint to the slave-holders and legislature of Kentucky. That legislature demanded relief from the state of Michigan. It required their senators and representatives in Congress to obtain greater security in their property in men. Pursuant to this legislative mandate, Henry Clay introduced the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. That cruel law aroused the sleeping hatred of the North, and brought forth Uncle Tom's Cabin, that political drama which awoke the sleeping world. The fugitive slave law provoked the personal liberty laws in the northern states. These laws were

assigned as the cause of secession, secession was the cause of the Rebellion, and the Rebellion caused the destruction of slavery.

The Republican party formulated the measures, controlled the policies and assisted by the loyal people of all parties, destroyed the institution of slavery. The Republican party was *first* organized in the state of Michigan. Charles T. Gorham, Asa B. Cook, George Ingersoll, Erastus Hussey, Hovey K. Clarke, Austin Blair, Halmar H. Emmons and Zachariah Chandler were among the leaders and most influential organizers of that party. Without these sagacious, persuasive and influential men, this party would not and in fact could not have been organized. Each had been interested in the Crosswhite case as a party, counsel or contributors. These men had witnessed some of the evils of the institution at their own door, had battled with the arrogant slave power in court, had spent time and money extorted by the cruel system.

What an experience to arouse hostility to the institution of slavery! What a school to educate stalwart freemen! These Marshall men, one and all, have left their impress upon the institutions of our country. The Crosswhite case influenced the political course of all. Without attempting to describe the effects upon each party, let its effect upon one indicate its influence upon all. As a citizen, it made Charles T. Gorham an organizer, and supporter of the Free-Soil party in 1848, and of the Republican party in 1854. As a delegate to the Republican national convention it caused him to vote for the renomination of Abraham Lincoln in 1864 and for the nomination of Ulyssess S. Grant in 1868, and as state senator, Minister to the Hague and as Assistant Secretary of the Interior, on the issues of slavery or freedom, it inspired his whole official life.

The influence of the Crosswhite case was not confined to Marshall or to Marshall men alone. Its influence in the cause of liberty was not local but national. It aroused the genius of Halmar H. Emmons and inspired him to fire the hearts of freemen in 1854, and affected his brilliant career at the bar in behalf of freedom and on the Federal Bench. It transcribed the inbred love of liberty of Austin Blair into the Buffalo platform of 1848 and into the Republican platform of 1854. It made him the great war governor of Michigan, enabled him to discover Gen. Phil Sheridan[95] and send him forth as a champion of freedom, it trained him to make Michigan a citadel of strength of Abraham Lincoln in the great crisis. It educated the fearless Zach Chandler to defy the arrogant representatives of the slave power in the Senate before the war, it nerved him to sustain the immortal Lincoln in his superhuman task, it inspired him to wield a mighty influence for liberty and

[95]Phil. H. Sheridan was commissioned by Gov. Blair, colonel of the Second Michigan Volunteer Cavalry, May 25, 1862.

union during the war. These men, and men of their type, after the Democratic party had surrendered to the slave power, in 1854, took issue on the slavery question, and organized a party to restrict slavery, and in due time to remove the dangerous and irritating curse from the land. This organization first made Kansas and Nebraska free, in spite of the broken pledges of the slave power and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It paralyzed the force of the fugitive slave law, defying the despotic demands of the master, following the impulse of Christian brotherhood, championed the cause of the slave. It grappled with the hydra-headed monster of secession, and preserved the union. It throttled rebellion and emancipated a race, it removed the irritative curse of slavery from American policies, and the whole world is glad. Now no hostility exists between Michigan and Kentucky, the apple of discord had been removed and both remain under the old flag in fraternal amity, as members of the same, but a regenerate Union. Truly on that winter morning at Marshall, Adam Crosswhite "fired the shot heard around the world."

OTHER MEN AND MEASURES

Time will not permit of a sketch of other Marshall men and measures of historic value, in the progress and evolution of the State and nation. Pre-eminent among our influential citizens, I recall the names of J. Wright Gordon,[96] senator, lieutenant-governor, governor and diplomat, Edward Bradley,[97] senator and member of Congress; George C. Gibbs, representative and supreme court reporter; Abner Pratt,[98] representative, senator, judge of the supreme court and diplomat; Henry W. Taylor, representative, judge and publicist; Hovey K. Clarke, representative, political organizer, supreme court reporter; Oliver C. Comstock, Sr., divine, member of congress and superintendent of public instruction; Francis W. Shearman, journalist, superintendent of public instruction and historian of our public school system; Jabez S. Fitch, the pioneer anti-slave advocate; Charles Dickey, representative, senator and United States marshal during the war; John P. Cleaveland, the eloquent divine and earnest educator; Nathaniel A. Balch, the inspiring teacher, lawyer and legislator; Thomas B. Church, the gifted advocate and moulder of constitutions; Jabez Fox, journalist and anti-slavery leader and organizer; Parsons Willard, legislator and governor of Indiana, Morton C. Wilkinson, United States Senator from Minnesota, who have been influential actors in forming and fostering our public school system, our exemption laws, abolition of the death penalty and imprisonment for debt, securing the rights of married women, the aboli-

[96]See sketch, Vol. XI, p. 274, this series.
[97]See sketch, Vol. XI, p. 275, also Vol. XXXV, p. 472, this series.
[98]See sketch, Vol. XI, p. 278, this series.

tion of slavery and other reforms of the day. I am not able to name all who are worthy of mention. Hoping that some more efficient worker, and more eloquent pen may record their worth and work and rescue their names from oblivion, I leave them now.

BATTLE CREEK AS A STATION ON THE UNDERGROUND RAILWAY[1]

BY CHARLES E. BARNES[2]

There is an institution now only known in history as the Underground Railway. This society, or system, as it should be more properly called, came into existence in 1840 in the midst of the famous Harrison campaign, and was organized by Levi Coffin, of Cincinnati, a Quaker. It was a league of men, almost all of whom were Quakers, who organized a system for spiriting away and conducting runaway slaves from Kentucky, Tennessee and other slave states, through to Canada. These men were enthusiastic Abolitionists, who devoted their time to watching for fleeing bondsmen, ferried them in rowboats in the nighttime over the Ohio River, and then started them to the first Underground Railway station, thence from station to station until they arrived in Detroit, where they were ferried over the river in rowboats to Canada—and freedom. The workings of the Underground Railway were a great mystery to the people because of the secret manner in which everything was conducted. Slaves strangely disappeared and nothing was heard of them until reported to have been seen in Canada. None of the methods was known to the public. These slaves were conducted from the Ohio River to Canada as if shot through a hollow tube. This imaginary explanation of how the fugitives reached Canada is what gave origin to the name "Underground Railway."

The main route, known as the Central Michigan line, passed through Battle Creek. There was another route through Michigan via. Adrian. Mrs. Laura Haviland had charge of the latter line. She resided either at Adrian or Tecumseh, and conducted a school for colored girls. The station at Battle Creek was one of the most prominent centers of the work in Michigan, and was in charge of that famous old Quaker, Erastus Hussey,[3] who spent his time and money freely in assisting the colored people to Canada. There was no graft in those days. The work was done because of a love for mankind, and a sense of duty from

[1]Read at midwinter meeting, Albion, January, 1909.
[2]Charles E. Barnes died at his home in Battle Creek, Oct. 17, 1911.
[3]Erastus Hussey. Sketch, Vol. XIV, p. 79, this series.

a moral purpose. Like all Quakers, he would not recognize laws that sanctioned slavery—they were man-made laws; he obeyed only divine laws. During the existence of the Underground Railway, which was continued from 1840 to the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation by Lincoln, Mr. Hussey secreted and fed over 1,000 colored persons, and then sent them through to the next station, which was at Marshall.[4]

Realizing that the history of this institution, particularly of the work in Battle Creek, was of more than local importance, and should be preserved, the writer visited Mr. Hussey in May, 1885, and made a record of his story, which is reproduced in his own words:

"One day in 1840, when I was in Detroit on a business trip, a man by the name of John Cross, from Indiana, called at my house in Battle Creek and inquired for me. He was very anxious to see me, but would not tell even my wife what he wanted. My wife sent for Benjamin Richard, who worked for Jonathan Hart, but neither would he confide the object of his visit to him, and so departed. I was in Detroit three or four days. After my return home I received a letter from Cross. He wrote me that he was establishing a route from Kentucky and Ohio to Canada through which escaped slaves could be conducted without molestation and wanted me to take charge of the station in Battle Creek. This was the first time that I had ever heard of the Underground Railway. I preserved Cross's letter for many years as a relic, but it is now lost. This is how I commenced to keep the station here. At that time there was only five anti-slavery men in Battle Creek besides myself: Silas Dodge who afterward moved to Vineland, N. J.; Abel Densmore, who died in Rochester, N. Y.; Henry Willis, Theron H. Chadwick and a colored man by the name of Samuel Strauther. The colored Masonic lodge was named after him—Strauther lodge No. 3. Other anti-slavery men came afterward to this place among them Dr. S. B. Thayer and Henry J. Cushman, who built the old flouring mill opposite Hart's mill. He was an earnest worker. He moved to Plainwell. There was Charley Cowles, a young man who was studying medicine with Drs. Cox and Campbell. Also that good worker, Dr. E. A. Atlee, and his son-in-law, Samuel S. Nichols in Johathan Hart's store. In Battle Creek township were ——— Harris, William McCullom, Edwin Gore and Herman Cowles; in Penfield, David Boughton, and in Emmett, Elder Phelps.

"Our work was conducted with the greatest secrecy. After crossing the Ohio River the fugitives separated, but came together on the main line and were conducted through Indiana and Michigan. Stations were established every fifteen or sixteen miles. The slaves were secreted in the woods, barns and cellars during the daytime and carried through

[4]See "Marshall Men and Marshall Measures," this volume.

in the night. All traveling was done in the dark. The stationkeepers received no pay. The work was done gratuitously and without price. It was all out of sympathy for the escaped slaves and from principle. We were working for humanity. When I first accepted the agency I lived in a wooden building on the present site of the Werstein & Halladay block (now Larkin-Reynolds-Boos. block) opposite the Williams house (now Clifton house). Before the present block was built the old building was occupied as a livery stable by J. L. Reade, and before him by Parcel Brinkerhoff as a second-hand store. There was the Underground Railway station. This building was constructed by August P. Rawson in 1836 or 1837, and when I bought it, it was occupied as a cabinet shop by John Caldwell, our village marshal, father of James T. Caldwell, the undertaker. I repaired the building and occupied the front as a store and used the upstairs and the rear lower end for my dwelling. Here I secreted the runaway slaves. After the Union Block was built, just adjoining this building on the west (the first brick block erected in Battle Creek) I frequently secreted them there. In 1855 I moved to my new home on the present site of the Seventh Day Adventist College. It was reported that the cellar under this house was built with secret places expressly for the purpose of hiding the fugitives. This was not strictly true. I will guarantee, however, that if any slaves were secreted there that they were never captured. We did not assist as many of them as formerly, because a shorter route had been opened through Ohio, by way of Sandusky and thence to Fort Malden and Amherstburg.

"I can't tell about the stations in Indiana. The route came into Michigan to the famous Quaker settlement near Cassopolis. The leader was that good old Quaker, Zachariah Shugart,[5] also Stephen Bogue and Joel East. At Cassopolis, Parker Osborn was the agent. The next station was Schoolcraft, in charge of Dr. Nathan Thomas. Then came Climax, with the station a little ways out of the village. I think the man there was called William Gardner. Battle Creek came next. Jabez S. Finch was the agent at Marshall and was a gentleman with plenty of means and stood high in the community and the first nominee on the Liberty ticket for governor. Of course, he was not elected, but we always thereafter called him governor. Then came Albion and Edwin M. Johnson. I have forgotten the name of the agent at Parma, but I think that it was Townsend E. Gidley.[6] He was not strictly identified with the Liberty Party, but always rendered assistance in furthering the escape of the slaves.

[5]These Quakers had made a settlement at Young's Prairie, had established a school and were prospering. A few Kentucky fugitive slaves had made their homes among them and were highly respected. See story of "Raid in Michigan" in *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, pp. 366-73.

[6]Townsend E. Gidley. See Vol. XIV, p. 402, this series.

"At Jackson were three agents: Lonson Wilcox, Norman Allen and one that I cannot remember. In the large places we had more than one man, so that if one chanced to be out of town another could be found. At Michigan Center, Abel F. Fitch[7] was the man. He was one of the men involved in litigation many years ago with the Michigan Central Railroad. I have forgotten the name of the agent at Leoni also the one at Grass Lake. At Francisco was Francisco himself who was a good worker. At Dexter we had Samuel W. Dexter and his sons. At Scio was a prominent man—Theodore Foster, father of Seymour Foster of Lansing. At Ann Arbor was Guy Beckely, editor of the Signal of Liberty, the organ of the Liberty party, who published the paper in connection with Theodore Foster. At Geddes, was John Geddes, after whom the town was named, and who built a large flouring mill there. He was an uncle of Albert H. Geddes of this city. I can't tell the names of the agents at Ypsilanti or Plymouth. At the former place the route branched, leaving the Michigan Central for Plymouth. Sometimes they went to Plymouth from Ann Arbor. From Plymouth they followed the River Rouge to Swartsburg, then to Detroit.[8] The principal man in Detroit was Horace Hallock, also Silas M. Holmes and Samuel Zug. They were men who could be relied upon.

"We had passwords, the one commonly used being: 'Can you give shelter and protection to one or more persons?' This was addressed to the agent by the person or persons looking for a place of safety. I usually drove the fugitives through to Marshall myself, in the night, but often got some one to go with me. Isaac Mott, then a boy, worked for me, and used to frequently take the slaves through. Sometimes others went. I used my own horse and buggy.

"It was just four weeks after John Cross had appointed me agent that the first fugitives came. They were two men, William Coleman and Stephen Wood. These men came through under fictitious names and always retained them. This the fugitives frequently did. While Coleman and Wood were yet secreted at my house Levi Coffin, the originator of the Underground Railway, and John Beard, a Quaker minister, came through on the route. They were a committee appointed by the Quakers of Indiana to visit the colored people of Canada and to learn how they were succeeding, and to ascertain what assistance they were in need of. They went home on the other route, and so I did not see them on their

[7]It was Abel F. Fitch who was involved in the railroad conspiracy case and died during the trial.

[8]In Detroit a society was formed to aid the refugees. Among the most active were Alanson Sheley, Horace Hallock, Samuel Zug and the Rev. C. C. Foote. They purchased a tract of land ten miles from Windsor and parceled it into farms of ten to fifteen acres each. These were given to refuges, many of whose descendants are still living in Windsor. *Detroit Tribune*, Dec. 27, 1889, *Obituary of Samuel Zug.*

return. Coffin was acquainted with Wood, and Beard with Coleman. The two colored men, when they saw their old friends, were overcome with joy. By the way, I never met John Cross until eight years afterward, at the great Free-Soil convention at Buffalo. Some of the slaves were frightened upon their arrival, while others were full of courage and joy. From one to four usually came along together. At one time forty-five came down upon us in a bunch. It was when the Kentucky slave owners made a raid upon the slaves at the famous Quaker settlement in Cass County. One night a man by the name of Richard Dillingham came to my house and informed me that there would be forty-five fugitives and nine guards here in two hours. What to do I did not know. My wife was sick in bed. I met Abel Densmore, then Silas W. Dodge and Samuel Strauther, and we talked the matter over. We had to act quickly. Lester Buckley owned a small unoccupied dwelling house on the rear of the lot where J. M. Caldwell's block now stands (the present site of J. M. Jacobs' clothing store). Buckley was a Whig, but sympathized with us. He said that we could have the use of the building. There happened to be a stove in the house. I got some wood and then went to over to Elijah T. Mott's mill, on the site of the present Titus & Hicks flouring mill, and he gave me sixty pounds of flour. Silas Dodge went to a grocery store and bought some potatoes and Densmore got some pork. We heard them coming over the West Main street bridge. Everybody had heard of their coming and every man woman and child in the city was upon the street and it looked as if a circus was coming to town. It was a lovely moonlight night. There were nine white men with them who acted as guards. Ahead of them rode Zach Shugart, the old Quaker, with his broad-brimmed white hat and mounted upon a fine horse—he always had good horses. He met me in front of my house and shook hands with me. I told him of my arrangements. He took off his white hat and with a military air and voice said: 'Right about face!' They all about-faced and marched down to the house and took possession. The nine white men stopped at the hotel and our friends cared for their horses. The darkies cooked their own supper of bread, potatoes and pork, and as they were very hungry they relished it keenly. The next morning the majority of them went on to Canada, but a few remained, who became honored citizens and well-known. Among them were William Casey, Perry Sanford, Joseph Skipworth and Thomas Henderson.

"I expected every day to be arrested, but I escaped all legal proceedings. Once word came that thirty armed men were on their way to capture the slaves in Battle Creek. Dr. Thayer and myself had 500 bills printed, stating that we were prepared to meet them, and advised them to stay away. Many persons condemned me for this and I made enemies.

Dr. Moffit said that it was treason against the government. I sent the bills along the railroad by an express messenger by the name of Nichols, who was in sympathy with us. He threw the bills off at every station. At Niles he met the party of southerners on the train coming east. They read the bills and turned back. The Quaker station in Cass County and the ones at Schoolcraft and Battle Creek, were well-known throughout the south as the headquarters for many escaped slaves and the names of the men who kept the stations were equally well-known.

"I could tell hundreds of interesting incidents. One day a slave woman who had been here about a week was assisting my wife with her work when a party of slaves drove up. Among the number was a daughter whom she had not seen in ten years. The recognition was mutual and the meeting a very affecting sight. One slave with his wife and two children were overtaken by the slave catchers in Indiana. The fugitive put up a hot fight with the southerners while his wife and children escaped to the woods. In the fight the negro was shot in the leg. The men brought him back to the hotel, and while they were eating their dinner they left him in charge of the landlord's young son. The little fellow whispered to the darkey, 'Uncle, do you think that you can run? If so, the woods are only forty yards away. You had better run.' And he did, although badly wounded in the leg. When the slave catchers came out from dinner and found that the fugitive had escaped they were furious and their rage knew no bounds. The little boy looked very meek and said that he was not strong enough to stop such a great, big man. The slave overtook his family at Schoolcraft and they came on here together. He was suffering severely from his wound, but I hustled him and his family through to Canada.

"There had been a barber working here for some time by the name of Jim Logan. He was a dandy sort of a fellow. One day a fugitive and his wife came to my house for shelter. He had been a slave of Wade Hampton, and so we called him by that name. Hampton worked about here for three days. One day while we were at dinner Jim Logan came walking in. The colored woman gave a shriek, jumped from the table and almost fainted away. She and Jim had been engaged to me married in Kentucky, but not having heard from him in two years she married Wade Hampton. I could fill a book with incidents."

To his position as Battle Creek agent for the Underground Railway, which was one of constant excitement, resulting in the most unexpected happenings, Mr. Hussey added the strenuous life of editor of the Liberty Press, the state organ of the Abolitionists of Michigan, printed in this city. The feeling against the paper became so strong that the building in which it was printed, old Eagle Hall block, located on the present site of the block on East Main street, now occupied by J. M. Jacobs, the

clothier, was set on fire and burned on the night of June 9, 1849, and of all the printing material destroyed. The persecutions of this old Abolitionist editor and the vicissitudes of the paper would make a story in itself.

After selling his beautiful old homestead to the Seventh Day Adventists for the site of their college building, Mr. Hussey erected a commodious residence on the corner of North Washington avenue and Manchester street, now owned by W. K. Kellogg, where he died, January 21, 1889, after an eventful and useful life. Mrs. Hussey, who sympathized with and assisted her husband in his anti-slavery work, passed away March 22, 1899. The sole survivor of this prominent pioneer family is the daughter, Mrs. Susan Hussey, who resides on Oak Lawn farm, west of the city, on the interurban line. Mrs. Alice B. Stockholm, of Chicago, famous as the author of "Tokology," was brought up in the family of Mr. and Mrs. Hussey.

REMINISCENCES OF GRAND TRAVERSE REGION

BY MRS. MARTHA GRAY

Grand Traverse region was once holy ground. It was here the Great Manitou came down to meet and bless His children. In those shadowy dells from many a dark bosom went up a fervent prayer to the Great Spirit who had not written His laws for them on tables of stone, but had traced them on the tables of their hearts. Here on Grand Traverse Bay occurred the awful struggle between Manabooza, the good, and his bad brother, the evil one. Manabooza was born of a virgin who descended from heaven and alighted on an island, perhaps one of the Manitous. Her name was too holy to be mentioned, she was simply called the "Woman" by the people. The Midas, (the priests,) only knew her name. She had two sons. Her second son was a mischievous spirit and sowed the evil seeds of sorrow and trouble which sprang up in the path of the people. He was finally overcome and destroyed by Manabooza the good, to the great satisfaction of the Indians. The flint rocks on the east shore of Grand Traverse Bay are the remains of this evil spirit. There are many legends of Manabooza and his struggle with the powers of darkness personified in some visible form. In a conflict with the evil one in the form of a fish, Manabooza was swallowed and his canoe at the same time. But he, nothing daunted took his stone hammer from the canoe and pounded on the heart of the great fish which threw the fish into terrible agony and he began to make violent contortions as

though he would dislodge the enemy he had swallowed. Then Manabooza fearing he would be thrown into the water or drowned stopped up the throat of the fish with his canoe, and kept on pounding on the heart of the evil one. After a period of silence and darkness, light began to shine in and Manabooza found himself on the beach and sea gulls were picking the flesh from the dead fish to liberate him. When the sea serpent became envious of Manabooza he brought on a flood and drowned all living things, and the Great Manitou creation was destroyed. Manabooza escaped by fleeing to the highest hill and climbing a tree which he was obliged to make grow four times to keep above the water. When the flood subsided Manabooza repeopled the earth by sticking arrows in the ground. His symbol was the white rabbit. The grave of this wonderful man is here in Northern Michigan on North Point near Alpena or Thunder Bay.

Grand Traverse means a long, long way round and it must have seemed a long way to the first people who came over the Great Lakes and threaded the pathless wilderness guided only by chart and compass, sleeping under the everlasting stars, with giant trees for canopy while the hemlock and pine boughs furnished a soft couch whose sweet odors soothed their weary senses and refreshed them for toilsome onward march still farther from civilization.

Sleeping Bear Point is on the west shore of Leelanau County. It is a huge mountain of pure white sand that has been accumulating on that point through centuries washed up by the restless waves of Lake Michigan and thrown upon the beach, where the winds, in turn have caught and carried it forward. It is always moving, always growing for the forces that create it are ever in motion. Sleeping Bear was caught and imprisoned within his clasp, the giant monarchs of the forest that grew along his path. Their tops peer from the summit or along the sides at passerby as though in mute appeal for liberation. But they will never be released for Old Sleeping Bear has lain under the spell of an enchanter for centuries and will never awaken until some throes of nature arouse him from his sleeping place beside the blue water.

In 1863 Northern Michigan was thrown into the market through the homestead law and from that time on its future was assured. Men began flocking into the region and upon the close of the war nearly every quarter section was taken, many of them by the "boys in blue" and my father, Elijah Stata was one who sought and found, for a time, a home in the wilderness. He was a born pioneer. His people left Holland at the close of the Spanish wars, crossed the Atlantic and settled at New Amsterdam. A generation or two later they left New York and migrated up the Mohawk Valley. In another generation or two, the country of the Mohawk becoming too settled, they moved again,

this time into Canada. Still restless and roving my father's generation started out, each taking a different direction. My father came into Michigan and owned a farm at Grand Ledge in an early day. He returned and made his home in New York for a time and there married my mother. Her parents had transmitted to their posterity the same roving inclination. They came from England, settled in Massachusetts and belonged to the Colburns, the Stowells and the Winchesters. Her grandfather was a paymaster in the Revolutionary war. They belonged to the stirring times when men were willing to lay down their lives for a good principle, to be sacrificed on the altar of the country they had chosen for the sake of freedom.

My father served through the civil war and at the close went south to seek his fortune in that land that had been devastated by the War God. He found a more subtle foe lurking in the mud-beds of the Missouri River flats than ever lay in ambush or was met on the battle field. He buried a part of his family who had fallen victims to Asiatic Cholera and returned North the same year. On arriving at Chicago we took passage for Ogdensburgh and on that same steamer met a man named Johnson who was returning to Glen Arbor, having been "outside" to purchase supplies. He told father such glowing stories of the wealth of the wild, new country, the timber, the land for nothing, the ease in which one could become a well-to-do man that father would gladly have ended the journey at Glen Arbor but our mother would not. The next spring father returned and worked all summer for John Dorsey making fish barrels. White fish were abundant in Lake Michigan at that time in 1868. That autumn my father returned east and moved his family into Grand Traverse region. We children were delighted and happy that the change was to be made; for we like all children thought a new country and new people would bring us many things and we were not disappointed though the things brought were not expected.

One sunny day in September, Oswegatchie of the Western Transportation line, Capt. Rossman in command, landed us safely on the little dock at Glen Arbor. The only business the boat had at that dock was to take on wood and leave us, together with another family. Glen Arbor was like many other things one sees on maps, a name only. A dreary stretch of pure white sand, a few cabins completely hidden by small oak and pine trees, a hotel and no guests, a small general store owned by the Northern Transportation line, and a postoffice kept by George Ray in his home, completed the whole. The only industries, cord wood chopping to supply the steamers passing over the lakes and the taking of white fish which were salted and shipped to outside markets. Here we began to hear the term "outside." Anyone not living here, lived "outside." We thought this a very peculiar expression but

in time its full significance grew upon us. We were to know some day that no other word could be used in its stead. It exactly expressed the condition, we were inside and the great world all outside.

Father decided we must get the things together again and finish our journey and be in the new home before winter would be upon us. We had been stopping in Glen Arbor until mother was strong enough to take the journey of twenty-five miles to the farm that father had chosen. Our baby was but three weeks old when we landed at Glen Arbor and that journey of twenty-five miles was considered more arduous than all the hundreds and hundreds we had come. Wagon journeys in the early days were difficult, and it took long hours to make short distances. Already father had gone with two loads and had taken two days for the journey and the next trip my brother Seth and I were to go. Mother and the little children would come last. One beautiful morning the wagons were again brought to the door and loaded and I took my seat by my father's side, Seth rode with the man who drove the other team, and we began that toilsome journey. The country was rough and hill upon hill rose before us. The patient horses kept climbing higher and higher. At every step we were jolted and nearly thrown from the wagon. But as often as we were jolted over a root on one side just so often were we jolted on the other and thus our equilibrium was preserved. When we had gone ten miles we came to the crest of the hills that formed the background to Glen Arbor and here we stopped to rest and feed the horses and eat our lunch. From here, the view was magnificent. Stretching away over miles and miles the country and great lakes lay before us and at the foot of the hills lay an inland lake nine miles across which was called Glen Lake. It was only one-half mile from Lake Michigan and men had planned to open a channel so that vessels could seek a safe harbor there from storms that were frequently occurring on the great lake. Away over Lake Michigan we could see the great Manitous so far away that they could be seen only on a clear day. And to the northward lay old "Sleeping Bear." It was late in the day when we came to a place where father stopped the horses and calling to Seth told him to help me from the wagon. "Now," said he, "it is only two and one-half miles home and you two will run through the woods and get there much sooner than we can by the wagon road. Seth, be sure and follow the blazed trees and do not lose the trail, for if you do, you will perish in the woods." Father had six miles to make by road so Seth took my hand and we started on the trail.

Just as night fall was upon us, we emerged from the forest into a tiny clearing and Seth said, "This is home." There was a pond, a tiny dark pool, the forest leaves lying deep to the water's edge. Across the

pond stood a log cabin and at the end of the pond another log cabin, and still another log building stood on a hill, the strangest looking building I had ever seen, just a square tower whose top was surmounted by a shaft with four great arms outspread. The solemn stillness of everything had begun to impress me and we were thankful that we were to have neighbors at least, for a family lived in a house at the end of the lake, and at the other was to be our future home. We crossed to the cabin. Seth lifted the wooden latch and we entered. Our cook-stove was there, father having brought it with the first load, so that we could cook, and it was all up and ready. Seth built a fire and we sat in the light of it until some time after dark, when father came. He had lighted himself through the woods with a lantern. Soon after we had a light and supper. The old man whom we had met the year before and through whose influence we had been brought to our present condition came in in the evening. It was his son who lived in the same clearing and was to be our neighbor. His name was Lije Johnson and his wife's name was "Marthy." "Lije" and "Marthy' it was from the beginning. Everyone was called by his first name. Older men were called "Old Men." The "Old Man" had married a second woman and she had left him and gone to her relatives "outside." He was going in the spring. Father had bought out the old man's improvement and that was how we had even this small beginning in the wilderness. In the evening the old man and his son Lije came in and the four, father and the teamster, fell into war reminiscences.

It was the first day of November when mother arrived and not a day too soon for the second day the snow began to fall gently, silently, without any warning whatever. It snowed fifty-one days, then the sun shone out one day only, then the snow began again as it had done in the beginning, never any effort, never any noise, no sign of storm, no wind, no roar, no rush, just gently, silently fell; and mother sat in the cabin and wept all the time. We children did not run out to play for there was no place to play, nothing to play with and we could only stand by the two little windows and watch the snow fall and wonder if spring would ever come and it was not Christmas yet, that joyous time for children, a time lost to us now, and worst of all we had no books.

It was not long before we began to be acquainted with our new neighbors, the Johnsons. They lived in an adjoining township, the line ran right through our clearing, they on one side, we on the other, our cabins but a few rods apart. "The "old man" Johnson was a tall thin man and had such an unkempt appearance that he might easily have passed for a denizen of the most remote part of "Arkansaw." I can never forget him for he sat by our fireside many a night during that dreary winter and told such queer stories as we had never heard be-

fore. He had taken up a homestead allowed soldiers of the Civil war. In time he could expect a pension and then hoped to make a home in a more civilized section. His son Lije could not be induced to become a worker and contrived a mill to be operated by the wind, which could not be relied upon. The forests failed to furnish sufficient wind to perform the task and so a huge coffee mill was successfully run by hand-power probably the first of its kind in Grand Traverse county. A part of the mill was used as a factory for making crude furniture. "Marthy" did not keep her cabin, her cabin kept her. She said she had not descended from working people and could not work. Such were our neighbors, the Johnsons.

Rev. Charles Williams a homesteader living in the township of Kasson, ten miles away, held services once in four weeks and wished to use the Stata cabin for this object, and in this way all the neighbors could meet the newcomers. The snow was over a foot deep and falling so fast that any road or path was impossible but nearly all were present. Rev. Williams owned a fine piece of land and gave his services to the cause. He was a good man and was honored by his fellow citizens in after years by the offices of Probate Judge and Representative in the Legislature.

A young woman whom the people called Melvina said she was going to have two "bees" at her house on Tuesday, a "chopping bee" and a "quilting bee" and she invited mother and told her to bring her daughter. Another woman whom the people called "Sary Ann" said she had been invited and would come for us if we would go and mother promised she would. The people took their departure and the next morning no one would have known that a footprint had been made in the snow.

The next Tuesday the neighbor came for us. Her husband, Harvey Noble, was the only man in the township who owned a team of horses. He had brought them hundreds of miles and knew if anything happened to them that they could not be replaced. He was raising a little corn and millett, had gathered some wild marsh hay and his sons purchased some feed at Glen Arbor which Mr. Noble had succeeded in getting home before the snow was too deep for travel. His two sons chopped cord wood at Glen Arbor to earn money to pay for the feed. The house where the "bees" were to be held was very small made of logs, the roof covered with shakes, the floor made of puncheons and the cracks chinked with moss. There was an old fashioned elevated oven cookstove, one bed, a table made of boards and some chairs Lije Johnson had manufactured in his factory. There were holes bored in the logs in one corner and large wooden pins driven into them, then wide shakes laid across the pins to form the cupboard. When noon came she got out a loaf of bread and cutting a slice gave it to her child, a boy of two

years, but no move was made toward dinner. We found out afterwards that the woman had food for one meal and that was to be at supper time and we had come too soon, and must go without dinner.

Soon after noon the people came to the "bees." The men went into the woods and by nightfall a large "slashing" had been made. The women began to work and the quilt was in a fair way to be finished, but there was only one window and long before the quilt was done they had to quit working as the room was too dark. The supper consisted of potatoes, pork, bread, tea, cornstalk pickles and sweet cake. The pickles were made of cucumbers salted with green cornstalks cut in pieces about the size of the cucumbers and tasted like the dill pickles on the market to-day. It was growing late and we ate hastily and started. The trail made by the horses could be followed and in good time we reached home. Then mother burst into tears and wept bitterly. What kind of a place had we come into? What kind of people were these? Father ever hopeful tried to tell her we would never be so poor, we would always have enough.

It was about Christmas time when mother decided to let Seth, now a healthy boy of seventeen go to Glen Arbor to work. The men were on the trail coming and going every week and the trail being through our clearing they were sure to stop both ways and tell stories. Father was a genial man and enjoyed seeing them, and mother's bread was good and the men were sure to get some thick slices if they were coming in from Glen Arbor. That walk of twenty-five miles was enough to sharpen any man's appetite. We had an abundance of food for the first year and mother dispensed it with a generous hand and the men were sure to stop. These men seeing Seth, a robust, rollicking youth just springing into manhood thought he would enliven the camp and they persuaded mother to let him go. He could earn some clothing and his living, at least, and that would be of future use. The men declared he would have work for good and earnest by another winter and the present work would initiate him.

The cord wood camps were small flat-roofed shanties built of logs and sometimes the roofs were made of logs too. Basswood saplings were plentiful and the wood soft and easy to work up into long troughs and these troughs would be laid on for the roof and one tier of troughs fitting into the first row, completed and made the roof quite storm-proof. A trough roof sounds queer but it was much easier to make the shallow troughs than split out shakes for a large roof and the troughs kept the storm out as well. Hemlock bark made a good serviceable roof and I have seen floors made of this material too. But in a new country anything that can be utilized must play a part in adding to the comfort of man, and the things that cost money must be avoided.

Seth's bundle was made ready and one Monday in company with three men he started over the trail. In coming and going they always had a company of three or more and walked single file. The first breaking the path for the rest, always with his eye on the blazed trees. When he became weary he fell out and dropped behind and the next man took the lead, and so on. Seth being the boy, fell in the rear and the path was a blessing, considering the heavy bundle, his youth and the twenty-five miles.

Our mother decided to go in search of a small store that she had heard was located three miles from us in Almira township, owned and conducted by Matt Burnett who had come into the country two years before and had brought some money with him. His father took up a homestead and built a small frame house, the lumber coming principally from Traverse City and a little mill on what was afterwards called Ransome's Creek. The sons, Matt and Sam, bought from the State, the school section, and began operations on it. The Burnetts were real pioneers. They had brought into the country some money and a determination to win. Matt had married a woman of culture and their coming was a great uplift to the community. They built a good-sized frame building all unfinished at the time and to-day after forty-four years it is unfinished still, and in this building they opened the store. The articles they had for sale were the common things, pork, flour, tea, sugar, matches and other simple supplies. Their goods were hauled from Traverse City fifteen miles to the east, and many times when someone had walked many weary miles to purchase these simple supplies they found Mr. Burnett 'out' or they must wait until he could get them in from Traverse City. It was to this store our mother decided to go. Our baby was four months old and she could not leave him, so she planned to carry him one mile on the way and leave me to care for him until her return. In this clearing lived two families, Mrs. Sally Fuller and her stepson Wesley. When she reached the next clearing she found no one living there. Levi Mansfield a bachelor owned the place and he was at Glen Arbor chopping wood. There were four roads leading out of this clearing and mother used her best judgment and chose the one she thought right, and plunged into the woods again. After what seemed an endless journey she came out into the strangest clearing she had ever seen, a strip four rods wide and extending both ways as far as the eye could reach. She had never seen or heard of anything like this before, and decided she was lost and would not see the little store that day, and began to retrace her steps. The snow was falling all the time and she was very weary and growing more faint and tired with each step forward. When she reached the last clearing where she lost the right trail all trace of her

tracks made in the morning were gone but remembering the house and how she approached it she struggled through the snow and reached the woods to find the path again. When she came in sight of the log shanty she sank down exhausted and began to cry for help. It was growing late in the day and the evening shadows were gathering in the forest. Wesley Fuller chopping wood at his door heard her cry and hastened to her assistance and helped her into the shanty. His wife brewed some tea and gave her something to eat, helped her to dry her clothing and when she was somewhat refreshed Wesley ran over to Sally's house and got the child and carried him to mother. His joy knew no bounds when he again rested on her bosom. When mother was ready to start Wesley took the sleeping child in his arms and going before us breaking the path, carried the child all the way home. She had gone eight miles through that awful storm but it was the last time she ever undertook such a journey. Wesley Fuller told her that the queer place was the Allegan and Traverse City State Road that had recently been opened up.

By the first of February the snow was so deep all traveling was done on snow shoes and the men came over the trail carrying as much provision as they were able to "back" home. Money was not to be had in large quantities at Glen Arbor and if they had received all money, supplies were not nearer to them than Traverse City or Glen Arbor. Everything at Glen Arbor was under the control of the Northern Transportation Company and good serviceble clothing and common staples could be obtained in exchange for work performed. But prices were high at the close of that awful Civil war, tea two dollars a pound; pork and sugar twenty-five cents a pound; flour eighteen dollars a barrel, and after the men had chopped cord wood to earn the necessities of life and then carried them home on their backs twenty-five miles they thought that they were doubly earned and that they had paid a high price for them.

In the month of March the men came home to make maple-sugar and Seth came too, and doing as the rest did, he brought all he could carry and that was a large piece of salt pork. He had earned his living, some good stout clothes and had had enough left to purchase the pork. When we saw him on the trail he was a funny sight. He was exhausted and could not carry the pork. He had cut a hole through the tough rind fastened a stout string to it and was dragging it through the snow behind him. The cord wood camps were broken up. The men had come home. The sun shone out once more and when the days grew a little warmer the maple sap began to run up the trees and the sugar-making was on.

Nearly all the settlers had some rude outfit for sugar-making, troughs

hewn from pine logs, large iron kettles for boiling the sap down, but occasionally a lucky man had a large sheet or galvanized iron pan and these came slowly into the country. It was almost impossible to get things at first. We had some kettles and father, doing as the others did, hewed out some troughs to catch sap and we made sugar too. It seemed that there would never be an end to the sugar-making. The snow was fully six weeks in going off and then long after it was gone the sap kept running. The last runs of sap were converted into sugar for beer making and some of the sap boiled just thick enough to turn into vinegar. For the manufacture of our beer we went into the woods and gathered princess pine, winter-green and squaw-berries, hemlock boughs, sarsaparilla and all things of this nature we could find and boiled them in plenty of water, strained and sweetened the mixture and put it in a wooden tub. Then mother made hop yeast and mixed in and a few hours later it would begin to ferment and a day or two later was ready for use. This was a good spring medicine and was a delicious drink, nearly all the settlers made this healthful beer and felt happy to treat a visiting neighbor to a copious draught.

We had commented on the great depth of snow, time and again and thought there would be heavy rains and a general breaking up and that the whole country would be flooded with water. But no such thing happened. The snow went as it came—silently, gently, no rush, no roar, just went. Things did not move in this new country at all like anything we had ever seen before and father would say: "The ground cannot hold all the water, there must be some outlet for it," and all in good time the outlet was found. The sun kept shining and it had stopped snowing. The moisture had all fallen from the atmosphere, a change had taken place, and finally the ground was bare and dry—no mud like we had seen in New York State, just dry ground.

As soon as the little pond was open in the spring, the frogs began to sing and a little later, toads came by hundreds from—no one could tell where—and hopped into the tiny pool and floated there day after day swelling their little throats and singing such happy songs of gladness that we thought no creature large or small was ever so happy to see spring come. After a few weeks the toads went as they had come, and a little later the whole clearing was alive with the tiniest little black toads that ever could be. We were not annoyed by the toads for we had seen them all our lives and the frogs were old friends too, but snakes were around the little pond in such numbers that father decided to try and destroy them. He and Seth cut stout poles and went around the pond several times each day killing all they could find and they killed as many as twelve in once going around. But they were there always the bane of our lives; for at any time one was liable to

come upon them and receive the shock that every individual experiences when encountering a snake.

The sugar things were finally gathered up and stored away for the next season and other work begun. A garden must be made and we started work at that. We began to find out something of the soil of this new country which we had come into. We thought we understood half of the climate and the summer would finish the acquaintance; we will see if it did. Father began to spade up the ground for lettuce and peas and lo and behold! the soil was only an inch or two thick on top—the rest all sand and in patches pure white sand. No wonder the snow had gone off without visible signs. The whole country was like a great sieve and the water had run through it and away to feed the little ponds. In after years we found that the country had been at some remote time all under water and salt water at that. The fossil remains of coral and other evidences of salt seas were found in abundance. But at first we knew nothing of these things and gathered the coral to garnish tiny beds in the garden. In after years we were to know something of the world's history and this strange, new country was to have a deeper meaning for us. The country was new in every sense of the word, fresh from its long sea bath; and the soil, the accumulation of the few centuries that had elapsed since its baptism by the sea, could have no depth. How that magnificent forest ever grew in that soil is a mystery to all who know the country. Neither was the soil alike in all places; perhaps one quarter section would be all sand with giant pines and hemlocks, the next some depth of soil with beech and maple interspersed. Around the ponds was sand always, and there were clearings, for men soon found that water could not be had on the highland without going to the level of the great lake—in after years, there were wells in the great country over two hundred feet deep.

There was another strange thing in this new country that same spring worth recording. The people had told us of the pigeons and how they came there every year to nest, and that they had killed them for food. They had even gone into their nesting places and taken the squabs by the sackful, and told what fine eating they were. We had thought that these stories might have some truth but were not prepared for the deluge that came upon us. As soon as the buds began to swell and weather to grow warm they came by the millions. I have seen flocks fly so low and so thick that Seth actually knocked them down with a stick. We finally did not try to shoot them—it was a waste of powder and shot. Once Seth killed nineteen at a single shot by firing into a flock that were flying through the clearing. So we put up the gun and set some traps by the little pond where they came down to drink and caught all we could use. They nested just a few miles from where we

were located and Seth and I went to see them at home. Their homes were simplicity itself—a few sticks laid on a tiny crotch of a tree—that was all and the trees were literally full of them. How the queer nests ever held the eggs and kept them from falling to the ground is a mystery.

The beech trees were the only nut-bearing ones in the country and they bore abundantly. That was one reason why the pigeons came. Another reason was the solitude which they like for their brooding and food for their young. Some of the pigeons always lingered through the summer as though they were watching nature to see if food would be forthcoming another year.

Father, mother and Seth, worked out of doors, I did the work inside and took care of the baby, a boy nine months old by this time. Mother had declared over and over again that she would leave the country as soon as spring came, but now that spring had come, there were so many strange things—clearing land, etc.—to do there was no time to move. Her Puritan spirit came to the front to assist her and she decided to stay and subdue one spot in the wilderness. She had brought an abundance of garden and other seeds from New York state and garden-making together with other work was dear to her heart. There was sure to be an outlet for her energies, and I think she enjoyed the toil at first.

Lije Johnson would come over and help father and Seth roll logs together on our land; then they would go over and roll on his; and before the summer was ended the tiny clearing was enlarged by several acres. The Old Man Johnson lingered on waiting for a payment on the land—there was still some money coming from the sale of the old home—but he never got it when it did come, for our mother was a practical woman and kept the money to keep her children from starving while we were helping to develop a new country.

The garden was made, some potatoes and corn planted—new land being cleared for the latter—but no grain of any kind could be sown for there was no land for grain. Not a spear of grass growing on the tiny clearing could we find, but we began to explore the country some and when we found a bunch of grass—it grew in bunches—we always dug it up and carried it home and mother set it out in the yard—a beginning of what would take years to finish. It was years and years before grass seed would catch and grow evenly. It grew in stools or bunches as though nature was so perverted that she refused to perform her proper function and only sported. The garden seeds came up that we had sown, but the plants were sickly looking things as if they too were out of their natural element and refused to luxuriate in that virgin soil.

The sun kept right on shining ever since the snow had stopped and continued to shine. We brought water from the little pond and watered

the garden as best we could and wondered when the rain would fall. There was not a breath of air and the little clearing blazed like a furnace. The mosquitoes swarmed by millions and made the nights miserable adding their stings to the intense heat. Occasionally we could see great thunder-heads away to the west and hear the deep mutterings caused by the positive and negative forces of the upper air coming together, but the clouds rolled away, and the thunder died in the distance, and no rain fell on the parched earth. We almost thought we had come into a world of chance and if one thing chanced to be it kept right on—that was the way the snow had done, and now the sun had come and it seemed that the very heavens were turned to brass and everything would melt with heat. I could go on indefinitely in this strain for the sun shone all summer and no rain fell. Sometimes there would be a sprinkle but not enough to wet the thirsty earth. And the wind never blew. Everything seemed to be under a spell of an enchanter, silently waiting some magic touch to awaken to life the dormant nature that had been asleep through the centuries.

When spring opened we began to look around to see what the country offered for pleasure, instruction or maintenance. We found almost no flowers, we fished in the pond but found no fish. In after years, fish were planted and can be caught in many of the ponds now. We discovered that there were almost no animals there either; occasionally a bear, later some deer—but they are both gone long since. In the twenty-five years that I lived there, I never saw but two bears. There was nothing for animals to live on. It seemed that vegetation outside the magnificent forest was paralyzed, and ground-hemlock was the only green thing in the woods. We were a quarter of a mile from a road and half a mile from the nearest neighbor—excepting the Johnsons. Many of the people were poor and uneducated, having no experience in life, only the male portion had been in the war. If we lived we must work, wait and suffer and then perhaps we could not see any of the results of our toil.

Fourth of July came and went but we scarcely thought of the day. We were out of the world and had enjoyed our last celebration of the nation's Independence, for some years to come. Every four weeks the same minister came and preached what he called the gospel. I think he was orthodox but he had no theology. He did not understand the term at that time so he taught what he knew, and that was the stories he had heard in his childhood, and the conclusions he had come to in his early manhood. I had heard these stories all my life and could understand them, but the plan of salvation as laid down by some churches had always been such a mystery to me that I could not understand it then and just wondered what it was all about. But here in the wilder-

ness was a man who told stories instead of teaching mysteries and they were such wonder stories that they took root in the fertile soil of the unfilled brains of the listeners. These meetings were the only things to remind us that it was Sunday. We had heard the last Church bell ring that we should hear for years to come and everything of an intellectual nature was swept like a flood from us. All that was left for us was nature in its simplest form; no garnished nature with bud and bloom made beautiful, just unadorned nature, grim, silent and forbidding.

Occasionally some would set a slashing on fire and not watch it carefully enough and the fire would run through the forest and the clearings would be filled with smoke and the nights made fearful by the glare of the fire from the burning timber. But these fires were of great benefit for the undergrowth would be burned away and the next year the berry bushes would spring up as if by magic and the second year the berries would begin to come. There were none at first. Trees and ground-hemlock seemed to be the garment chosen by nature to adorn herself in.

The first summer wore away as it had begun. There was nothing when it opened and there was nothing at its close—a few nubbins of corn, some potatoes, only a little money left and starvation seemed near. We had seen nothing but work with no results. Father was hopeful and would say, "The country is new and all will come right in time." One thing was sure, we could make arrangements and another season see how large a crop of maple sugar we could gather. The nubbins of corn were carefully gathered and carefully housed in the loft, the potatoes were stored in a deep hole under the floor, more corn was purchased—we must live on that now—and we got ready for when that awful snow was on and no one could get in or out. In the early fall father and Seth went to Lime Lake, a mile from us, and cut down some pine trees, sawed them into bolts, the proper length for sap buckets and piled them ready to be hauled home when the snow came. There was so little money left that it was decided that Seth should go to Glen Arbor the first thing in the fall and work all winter. It might be necessary to use his wages to keep the wolf away from the door and his clothes were made ready for his departure. We began to understand something of how we must proceed in order to keep soul and body together. The soul might shrivel until scarcely an atom of the Divine be left and the body grow gaunt and ugly for want of nourishment, yet they would cling to each other.

The summer had ended; we had worked, hoped and were not rewarded by any results from toil. We had heard from the old home once or twice. The nearest postoffice was six miles away. The mail was

brought irregularly on the back of an Indian. When I was sent to get any mail that had come, I went with two or three other girls and it took a whole day. But there was one advantage in that, we had to stop and rest and we were sure to stop at some cabin and thus get acquainted with the people. The first time I met my mother-in-law, was on my first trip to the postoffice. I saw her a good many times after that, for when I was married I lived among my husband's people for twenty-one years and we got pretty well acquainted.

We were less prepared for the second winter. Father and I went over a mile to Lime Lake and brought home on a hand sleigh pine bolts which he split with a fro and made into staves for sap buckets. Our cabin was turned into a cooper shop and only on Sundays the house being specially cleared up had any semblance of a home. By this method we kept track of Sundays. Father made hundreds of buckets to gather the sap and tubs to hold the syrup which was strained through heavy woolen bags to eliminate the lime. Many of the pioneers had only sap troughs made from logs cut in two. He also made an iron pan in which to boil down the sap. These pans had sides of wood and were placed over arches which contained the fire. We made many hundred pounds of fine maple sugar. Food was scarce and the best mother could do was to contrive new methods of preparing the corn which was our only dependence. Mother suffered more than any of as as she was ill and hopeless. Seth worked at Glen Arbor and at long intervals came with tea and pork.

Father took the sugar with an ox team to Glen Arbor where it was shipped to a rich uncle of mother's in Detroit and sold to good advantage. With the money he bought a horse and wagon and many things needed. Our Aunt sent a barrel of clothing and no present, past or future can ever again be so acceptable.

Our sister Sarah who had been left in New York state came in July, and in August another sister was added to our family.

Dr. Willson was our physician coming to us from Kasson township, Leelanau county. He was an excellent doctor and fine scholar teaching school during the winters. He continued this occupation after he became totally blind. He was to send us some medicine and I was sent on horseback to get it. On my return about a mile from home I met a big black bear which frightened me beyond measure. I screamed in my fright when the bear turned, looked at me and scampered off into the woods. I never saw but one after that and he ran one way as fast as I ran the other.

After mother's recovery Sarah went to Frankfort where she secured work and never made her home with us again. Things grew worse and worse and we knew all the privations of direst poverty.

We missed Seth who was at work fifty miles away at a man's full wages, and we also missed the tea and pork he brought on his visits. Mother could only spare one slice of pork for a meal using the drippings to season the water gravy for the potatoes and corn bread. The winter was awful with father sick most of the time and mother and I had to even chop all the wood. After the neighbors found this out they arranged a lug pile in such a way we could manage the logs better. No Christmas was observed.

The spring came and we hoped much from Seth's return with his winter's wages which would add to our comforts. He appeared, a full grown man dressed in a new velvet suit with ruffled white shirt, good shoes, felt hat and not a cent in his pocket. Everything spent for his Manistee finery. We children thought him a fairy prince but mother wept bitterly. Her starvation and suffering had culminated only in disappointment. Seth was now a man and did little for the support of the family. Sarah's few dollars saved from her small wages aided some but all told it was hard to keep body and soul together.

Our sugar was sold in Frankfort and supplied only a few of our many necessities. That summer we found red raspberries and blackberries in abundance. The crops were very poor, a little buckwheat, corn, potatoes and "baggas." We killed our first pig. In our nine years stay on the place we never owned a cow. Someway they never thrived, perhaps they were too human and died of loneliness as well as insufficient food.

At one time a lake captain, who took up land in Platte township, left his cow with us while he was on his summer trips. But though we gave her the best of care she grew thinner and really pined away and died. We could keep a very few chickens, a hog and pigs.

The townships were organized and the political machinery in full running operation when we reached Grand Traverse region. But office timber was scarce in the early day and many times very crude material had to be utilized. The first election of county officers for Benzie occurred on the first Monday of April, 1863.

The choice of a location for a county seat was submitted to a vote of the electors in that early day but it was not an easy matter to settle on a permanent location. Frankfort and Benzonia contested the right of ownership for more than forty years and the county seat went like a will-of-the-wisp backward and forward from one place to another time and again. The newspapers of the early day, *The Banner of Benzonia* and the *Express of Frankfort* in long elaborately wrought columns vented their spleen in vituperation of the successful party. Perhaps the people of Benzonia would be peacefully going about their daily avocation or sleeping quietly in their beds, never guessing anything out of the ordinary when the summons would come for some of them to

appear at the next term of the Circuit Court which would be held at the county seat at Frankfort. Then they would awaken to the fact that the county seat had literally taken legs and walked off—but it did not remain off for long, for the same mode of procedure would be used in reclaiming the stolen property. Finally Frankfort won out and for several years the county seat was fixed at that place, the discarded school building being used as a court house. People seemed afraid to invest money in a county building when the county seat was so insecure and liable to flit at any moment. In 1905, after more than forty years of contention the matter of a permanent location was again submitted to the voters and Honor, a new town on the Platte river near the center of the county secured the coveted prize.

On the township board in Almira, in the early days served two justices of the peace, Jack Burrell and William Rosa who could neither read nor write but each could make his mark. Jack Burrell's wife could read and was a person of some consequence for the township was named for her, and Jack said he got Almira to read for him and he could always compound the law "when Almira read it." But the silence was eternal and the peace almost unbroken and these men could serve as well as men of wider culture.

Levi Bronson was elected justice of the peace one spring. His education was far and away behind the two former justices for Levi did not even know that a man to perform the duties of an office must qualify or take oath of office. The election and qualification were about the only essentials in the early day. Levi did not know the latter and thought that when a man was elected that was an end to the matter. Three months later a couple sought him to perform a marriage ceremony agreeing to pay him three bushels of buckwheat for the service. This amount meant many breakfasts of hot griddle cakes and was not a thing to be despised. Levi was informed that a justice could not marry or perform any duty belonging to the office unless he was a qualified man. When this knowledge dawned upon him he hastened away six miles to find the township clerk and qualify. Imagine his chagrin when he found that he was three months too late and the coveted reward would never fall into his hands. But one thing he had secured that lasted him the rest of his lifetime, which was a title and he was ever afterwards known as the "Buckwheat Justice." Harrison Abbee was the first supervisor in Almira township. I heard a judge say not long ago that it would be worth a man's time to walk a long distance to see that first assessment roll. An old resident in Echo Township, Antrim county told me that he served as supervisor for several years in the early days and that the task of assessment was a very difficult one. The homesteads being government property were not taxable and

the only things a value could be placed upon were chattels and improvements. When there were no chattels and the improvements meant a log hut in the wilderness it was much more difficult to tell what to tax than it is in some of the rich districts of our large cities to tell what not to tax.

The principle thing money was needed for in the early day was for highway purposes. A road to get in and out of the country was the all important problem. Many of the roads were made by voluntary contributions of labor, and much of the tax money was paid to persons who gladly took jobs to develop the highways.

E. M. Hathaway served on one of the early boards as treasurer of the township and to secure himself for the time and trouble of collecting taxes, he placed his commission on the margin of the tax roll and collected it with the other tax. Lige Ransom who was the heaviest taxpayer in the township remonstrated with him for such a procedure telling him it was an irregular way of doing business. But Mr. Hathaway declared that it was very effective and a sure way of receiving renumeration for the labor of collecting. I remember one school inspector who could neither read nor write and one supervisor who served several years and during his administration the books were never balanced. My husband was township clerk for eleven years. The board met with us at the annual settlements and we were in a position to know how the political machinery ran. After several years of inefficient service a class of men with higher ideals and wider culture began flocking into the country and the administration fell into the hands of more competent men.

Denison Holden came into the country with the new influx and people recognized the sterling worth of the man and his superior educational development at a glance. He was elected supervisor and served for many years. From the time the reins fell into his hands things moved on smoothly the books were balanced the highways were improved and more money brought into the treasury. Mr. Holden brought rare qualities of mind and heart into the new country and was an inspiration to to all who came in contact with him. He taught several terms of school in the log schoolhouse now known as the "Abbey" school and many of the young people of the vicinity got a start upward toward a higher life through his teaching and example. He served for several years on the school board of examiners in the county and was county surveyor also. Later he represented his district in the state legislature. He was always a well-to-do man, had fine stock, good buildings, raised good crops and was always ahead of his business urging it along towards success. He was one of the few who knew how to grasp the situation and make the most of it. He came into the woods and bought out

the very small improvement of one of the "fore-runners" and began operations in a thorough systematic manner, lived in the log house a short time then built a frame one, set out an orchard, graced his premises with shade trees—a fine avenue leading from the highway up to the house—and trees were set out all along the roadside by his fence beautifying the place and giving it the appearance of prosperity. His sons are so well known in the State and Prof. P. G. Holden throughout the United States that we need not stop to eulogize them. They belonged to Grand Traverse region, were disciplined by hardships, learned to estimate life at its true value and moved upward accordingly. There are no better men than these three brothers, P. G., E. A., and Bert. Holden. I need not discuss the mother. Most successful men owe more to their mothers influence than to any other thing. When these three men had attained names for themselves—had won the confidence of the people who had trusted them with their public affairs they could look back and say, "Mother kept us always at the books and compelled us to seek the things of greatest good in life." The greatest public benefactor is he who can make two blades of grass grow where only one did. Through P. G. Holden's influence Iowa is turning out bushels of corn to-day where but a short time ago the crop was slowly and steadily declining. There were other men of intrinsic worth in Almira Township, men who did all they could to build up the country and develop high ideals.

A. C. Gray came into the country from New York and decided to remain but did not want a homestead. There was too much at stake in preempting land at first hand. He lived in three different locations or at least on three different pieces of land and found no two alike, and at the end of one and one-half years bought out the improvement of of the "forerunners" who was ready to seek out new fields. This choice proved to be one of the finest pieces of land in the township. Mr. Gray was a worker and developer—a pioneer in every sense of the word —a man who knew the foundation must be well laid if the superstructure was ever to attain beautiful proportions and symmetry. I can not remember him when he was not a member of the schoolboard. He always attended school meetings and township elections and served as treasurer several terms. He was pathmaster in his district for years and devoted much time to the development of the highways. His farm had always a tidy appearance for he cleared his land to the center of the roadbed and seeded it down. He built good fences, kept good stock and had a comfortable living where many starved and could not get on at all. His heroic efforts toward developing Grand Traverse region remain a lasting monument to his memory.

Calvin Linkletter came into the country as one of the earliest arrivals

and started out on foot from Glen Arbor in company with his son Clarence in search of land to settle upon. The public highway was a meager affair—the brush simply cut away—but he followed on for many weary miles and finally settled upon a piece of land in the southern part of Almira Township. Everything was so deceiving in the early days. The soil covered by vegetable mold looked alike everywhere while giant trees grew just as luxuriantly in one section as in another—the only difference being in kind, not in quantity of growth. If a man was unacquainted with the country and taking land for the first time there was no sure hand to go by for it was all fair to the eye.

I read a description of the Benzie County written many years ago by a Benzonia man and he made this statement: "There is not a foot of waste land in Benzie county." I also read an article written by Horace Greeley at the time this region was thrown upon the market through the Homestead Law, stating: "The country is difficult of access, cold and cheerless, soil barren and unproductive and people will do well to consider the other sections before deciding upon Grand Traverse region." Both statements are incorrect. There are thousands of acres of land in this region not at all profitable for general farming purposes and on the other hand we are in one of the richest fruit belts of the United States and the Michigan potato is King. But these things could not be known at first sight. One must select and stand chances.

Mr. Linkletter made a small opening and built a log house; then he rolled the logs together and planted a potato patch right among the logs on that virgin soil. He took his ax and chopped the turf, lifted up the loose soil and placing the potato seed in the opening then turned the turf back into place. That was the only work ever done on that potato patch. The sun was shining all the time and it continued to shine and never a drop of rain fell for four months. The potatoes did not need cultivation there was nothing to cultivate. Clarence Linkletter told me, that by the end of August all the stalks on that patch could have been gathered into a bushel basket. But the last day of August the rain came and continued to come and the potatoes touched by the magic influence of moisture sprang up and grew like "Jack's beanstalk" and in the end of October when they dug them up the yield was far and away above their expectations. When the potatoes were to be stored for the winter they put half in a hole under the log house and dug a pit in the yard, lined it up with hemlock boughs, put the potatoes in and covered them with boughs and earth. The next spring when they opened the pit the potatoes looked as though they had been polished. One thing was assured in their minds, they had found a region where potatoes grew to the highest perfection.

In the autumn Mr. Linkletter brought his family from New York.

They "trekked" over the country from Glen Arbor with the ox team he had brought with other effects. He brought three cows into the country and a young horse. The latter got away from them and ran away into the forest and four months later when the snow was fully two feet deep, he was found at what is now known as Sutton's Bay. Mr. Linkletter brought a quantity of baled hay to feed the young horse the first winter, but he depended on marsh hay and browse for the cattle. Some fortunate settler had sowed "begga" seed and found that one of the very best vegetables to raise on the new land. Others had followed suit and "beggas" could be bought for one dollar a bushel. Mr. Linkletter purchased fifty bushels and had it not been for the "beggas" would have lost his stock as the marsh hay was coarse, wiry and very indigestible. The cattle might have come through on browse alone but not on wild marsh hay. Mr. Linkletter had not been in his new surroundings long before his title was conferred upon him: "Old Man Linkletter" a title which lasted him the rest of his life. He was probably the most excentric man who ever came into the country and the funny stories of his oddities and peculiarities would fill volumes. But he performed one service for the people no other man was in position to do in that early day and he and his ox team were familiar to every man, woman and child for miles over the country. He established a transportation bureau between his home and Traverse City and did the buying and conveying of goods for many of the settlers along the route for several years. The oxen could plow through the snow where a horse would have been no use whatever.

In 1864 a Mr. Beswick built the first sawmill in the interior of Grand Traverse region. It was built on a little stream that emptied into Lake Ann and is known as Ransom Creek. This mill had one muley saw whose running capacity would cut one thousand feet of lumber in a day. In 1866 the mill fell into the hands of the Ransom's, father and son, who built on the same stream in 1869 a gristmill with one run of stones and capacity of grinding five bushels of grain in an hour. Mr. Ransom's mill was kept busy. People came from Glen Arbor, Homestead, Platte, and all over the country.

In this same year the Hannah, Lay Co. built their first gristmill at Traverse City and Mr. Hubbell built one at Benzonia. At Traverse City there was an excellent water power. Mr. Hubbell's mill had an over-shot well and a little shute carried the water over the wheel and the power was the one great difficulty but in time it was overcome and a better mill did service for the people.

Mr. Ransom purchased a tract of pine land that bordered the mill property and after everything was in running order the father returned to the southern part of the State and his son Lige reigned in his stead.

It was some years before any other man set up opposition in the mill business. Lige married a girl from an adjoining township and settled at the mill. It was one mile from his house to the next neighbor on one side and three miles through a dense pine forest on the other. If Mrs. Ransom were not lonely it was because she was too busy with the care of the young family which soon sprang up around her and cooking for the men who worked in the mill. These two mills were a great boon to the settlers for lumber could be obtained for gables and floors for the log houses and corn, wheat, rye and buckwheat could be ground into flour for bread. Sometimes the flour would seem pretty well mixed as all the grains were ground in the one run of stones. But people were fortunate to have a mill in the interior of the region. One thing Mrs. Ransom excelled in was "salt-rising bread." No matter what the flour, her bread was always good.

The first party I ever attended was the first spring that I lived in my new home and there I saw for the first time the youths and maidens who constituted what was called society. They were a good looking lot of youngsters as I remember them, robust and healthy and quite in keeping with the place and surroundings. When these parties were indulged in, they were always a finishing touch to a hard day's work, for anyone who wanted an extra amount of slashing done or logs rolled together would invite the youths to do the work and the maidens to help in the evening's jollification which was sure to last all night, for most of the youngsters came from long distances through the woods so they were obliged to remain all night. They always danced at the parties and sometimes during the evening a youth known by the name of "Big Jack" would entertain the company in his original way. This usually took place at midnight when the company was fatigued and waiting for refreshments to be served. These consisted of dried apple pie and sweet cake not frosted. "Big Jack's" party suit consisted of trousers, flannel shirt, shoes and a strap around his waist to keep his trousers in their proper place. He never wore suspenders which he said interfered with the set of his shirt and did not look well any way. Huge mustache and bushy curly hair. He carried a stick which he called a shillalah and when the time came for him to perform his part in the entertainment he would spring out on the floor, stick in hand his head up, and his shoulders back. Then he would sing some Irish melody in which Tim Finigan or Dennis McCarty played an important part. Perhaps it would be the doings of a wake or the sighs of a love-lorn youth, and in either case at the end of each stanza he would throw the shillalah about in the wildest manner and jig a clog. I recall the chorus of one song beginning with Tim Finigan:

"Whack for the day and dance with your partner,
On the floor your trotters shake,
Isn't it the truth I told you?
Lots of fun at Finigan's wake."

At the conclusion of the first song he met with such an enthusiastic encore that he was sure to favor the company with another. That part of the entertainment over, the supper was eaten, each youth choosing the maiden he liked best to eat from the same plate with him, and many times when seats were scarce the maiden sat on his knee. Much laughing and loud talking would be indulged in during the meal, some crawling across to others to trade pie for cake or offering pie in exchange for the privilege of the first dance of the fair one on the others' knee. When the company was refreshed the dancing would begin. It usually commenced by some youth and maiden taking the floor and dancing a jig until someone taking pity upon them stepped in and cut them out. A youth first then a maiden alternating until everyone was in humor for dancing. Then the cotillion would be called on, and the jollification would continue until morning. Then each youth would go home with the maiden he liked best and the party would be a thing of the past never to be forgotten. For many an emotion was awakened that later was fanned into flame called love and these conditions usually resulted in Hymen's bonds.

I was so tired after the first party I decided never to go again and kept my promise good for a year then was induced to go again and this time a queer thing happened. It was at the end of one of those logrolling days and the woman had had chicken for supper the first chicken that was ever served at a logrolling in this new country. A youth and a maiden had laughingly broken the wishbone and put it over the door and the first maiden to come under the bone was to be his sweetheart and the first youth her beau. This youth played an important part in my life. His people, like mine, had come into the country from the state of New York and had been here four years. There were several sons in the family all unmarried and working at home for their father, who consequently was getting on and had a large clearing and hoped for good things to come. This youth was keeping company with a girl named Polly Fuller and seemed very much enamored of her and my chance to win him seemed small indeed, but I was the first maiden to come under the wishbone. There was much laughing and teasing done but he paid no attention to me, not even once asking me to dance and took the whole thing as a joke. So far as I was concerned, I was a such a mere child that I gave him no further thought at the time. Polly Fuller (my rival) married a man in after years that she met at Frankfort.

These parties continued for three or four years, a dance always at the end of logrolling or timber slashing and some times at holiday time. The young people were very happy at the dances as all young people are, but older people were at work to overthrow the "sin" as they called it and some man stirred up one of those Methodist camp meetings, an old time custom which must not be forgotten.

The camp meeting was held in Almira township on Lake Ann near Lige Ransom's sawmill. Slabs for rude shelter could be had for the asking. The woods were very picturesque at that point, being principally evergreens and the needles made a soft carpet for the feet. Above all was the beautiful lake with its pure shimmering water, just the place for baptizing by immersion, or sprinkling, or pouring if there should be need for such ceremony.

After the arrangements were completed and the time set a little village sprang up as if by magic on the east shore of Lake Ann, like a village one might read about in a fairy tale. The houses were made of slabs with the bark on, a blanket for a door, no windows, the fire for cooking on the outside just to the rear of the tiny building, the evergreen trees with their sweeping branches brushing you as you passed in and out among the streets of the tiny town, the smoke curling upward through the pines and hemlocks, the cheerful aspect of everything, the covered platform for the speakers, the seats in long rows for the listeners presented a harmonious picture. But the object of the gathering was the thing of chief concern to these people who were congregated here at the meeting held in Nature's grand cathedral where her throbbing heartbeats might be felt by those who were initiated into her secrets.

Rev. P. Kenny of Inland and his family were present. Mr. Kenny had a fine voice and his children were all singers by nature. No bird in the forest had a sweeter voice than Will Kenny, and after the meetings people would get him to sit by the smouldering embers of some fire that had been kindled to enliven the scene and sing song after song. The whole Kenny family added to the interest and perhaps their harmonious voices were the influence in a great degree that invoked the invisible forces to center there and bring down the blessings they were seeking.

Mr. Kenny was a real pioneer, who had settled in Inland township and succeeded in building a comfortable home and never left it to seek other fields. His wife was a woman of education and culture and when the schools were established in the country went into different districts teaching and earning some money for the home.

There was a Mr. Whitman from Wexford County present. He was a nephew of the Whitman who saved Oregon to the Union. He had a fine big voice, one that could be sent out over the camping ground and

on into the forest and over the hills beyond the camp ground and at daybreak he would go into the speakers' stand and begin to sing and the people would be awakened and set stirring. Mr. Whitman did not believe in the use of tobacco and he thought a man could not be a real live Christian and indulge in the weed. One song he sang over and over at the camp meeting made some stir among the men who could not see as Mr. Whitman did and showed them that the sin of dancing was not the only thing that shut one out from the Kingdom of Heaven. I remember only one verse of the song:

"Tobacco is a filthy weed,
And from the Devil it did proceed.
It robs men's pockets burns their clothes,
And makes a chimney of their nose."

This song sung in Mr. Whitman's convincing way aroused the people. It would be impossible to recall all who came to the camp meeting. I am sure it was the first revival in Grand Traverse region. They came from miles away to hear the speaking, to listen to the singing and above all to see each other, to visit, to exchange ideas, to learn how each was getting on in the wilderness.

Charles Williams and his family, George Yonkers and his relatives and other men who were granted licenses to preach the gospel throughout the region were present. There was also a presiding elder. It was the first time we had seen one since leaving our old home and he was looked upon as the very representative of the All Father. These men, the elder, the local preacher, the exhorters, and anyone who could talk on any one thing for any length of time took the stand in turn and preached, exhorted and talked. After a day or two vibrations began to radiate, forces began to center, feelings began to manifest and hallelujahs filled the air. This kept up until that emotional intoxication, always present in such gatherings, ran riot and scores of people got the power and shouted or lay prone on the ground. Truly it was a time of refreshing and when that camp meeting broke up there was scarcely an unconverted man or woman for miles around. Regular charges were established and ministers appointed to fill them, salaries fixed and times for holding meetings set and the religious instructions of the people assured.

But all this brought a change in the social life of the community. The dance was a thing of the past and the donation party took its place. At these parties kissing games were indulged in, but they were never looked upon by the older members as being sinful like the dance. Methodism was the predominating religious belief.

George Yonkers was the first regular minister sent upon our charge.

He was a very simple, unpretentious man having but little education or executive ability but he had a firm faith in religion as a power to save and he taught the best he could. His teaching was a simple repetition of the old Bible tales. One Sunday it would be Noah and the Ark, another Elijah and the raven, or Adam and Eve in the garden. He extorted the promise from us one New Year's eve that we would read the Bible through during the year. Ten chapters on Sunday and three every day in the week would finish the entire book. It was many years before the dancing parties were re-established.

The winter I was sixteen years old was the worst winter of my life so far as food and clothing were concerned. If we could get two new print dresses during the year, we thought we were well clothed and one summer mother and I had one pair of shoes between us. It is safe to say they were worn only on rare occasions. The next summer after I was sixteen years old I attended a Sunday school several miles from our house, the first since coming into this new country. There would be the same singing and praying we heard at all the meetings and the teaching consisted of our repeating as many verses from the Bible as we had learned through the week. I have, and have always had a remarkable memory, and that summer I committed the four Gospels to memory and would repeat to the young man who did not teach, just-listened to us recite, as many as two hundred verses at a session. It was the same young man who had put the wishbone over the door. He must have been struck with this peculiar mental power and fell in love with me. I returned the affection and the winter I was seventeen years old, I was married. He owned eighty acres of timber land and so far as finances were concerned, nothing else. But he worked at Glen Arbor most of the time and earned food and clothing and some money. He had no home to take me to and I was to stay on with mother. I was fed and clothed and sometimes my good husband brought clothes for mother too. In May when the little eleven-months-old baby sister died it was buried in a little coffin made by some kind-hearted man, a few neighbors gathered, a prayer was said, a hymn sung, some tears shed and the baby taken two miles away and laid to rest. People had begun to die in this new country and a little cemetery was started and already several graves gave evidence that one thing, the great Inevitable, could not be put off.

The exodus had begun. The first people in a new country seldom or never remain long enough to reap benefit from it and this held true in this new country, and many families were leaving, among the rest, 'Lije and Marthy Johnson. More than a quarter of a century has rolled away since then and no other family has ever tried to live there. The soil was very poor and 'Lije gave it up and went somewhere else.

I lost trace of them years ago. Other people lured there by wealth supposed to be in the standing timber came and in many instances bought out the improvement of the first settler and thus a better class was located on some of the farms bringing with them higher ideals and a touch of the great outside world.

The summer after we were married my husband chopped and cleared about one acre and built a tiny log dwelling on our eighty acres of land. When one and a half years had passed away we went there to live. We were a half mile from water but were on level ground. I was now in my nineteenth year—happy in the love of my husband. I had married the finest youth in the country and our little dwelling was the best furnished for miles around. We had six rush bottom chairs, one walnut table, a cottage bedstead, a cook stove, two trunks, one rocking chair and some dishes, a few simple things to work with and enough bedding for one bed. Everything was new and at that time and in that place it had cost a large sum of money. I shall never forget the anguish I experienced over the first thing broken. We had a large lamp, the bottom of which got loose one day when I was washing it and the bottom fell out and struck the stove and broke all to pieces. I cried all day. There was a woman living a mile from me who listened to all sorrow and gave Christian advice and this being my first loss I went to her. She had lately come into the country and knew nothing of the privations of the people, that would come later. When she saw me she thought some awful calamity had befallen me, and really there had for the nearest lamp was twenty-five miles away. I told her my trouble, and she looked strangely at me and said, "You foolish child! Crying for a broken lamp bottom! You will cry for bigger things some day!" and going to a box she took out a lamp bottom prettier than the one I had broken and putting it into my hands said, "There take that and stop your foolish tears" and then she took some plaster of Paris and told me how to repair the damage done.

The only living things we had on what we termed our farm were a hen and brood of chickens mother had given me, and a pig we had purchased. Because we had these living things I had to stay there and watch and feed them. Hawks abounded and little pigs must be fed if they grow. There is nothing like living on a farm if you are to make a success of farming. Father had made me a very large rain-water tub, it held several barrels and this was the only well we had for several years. It would be filled with snow in the spring and a good tight cover kept the water clean and with the rain water we could catch we were usually supplied. My husband had a neck yoke and buckets and sometimes he carried the water from a little pond a half a mile away. These things seem trivial in the recital, but they were not trivial

matters at that time. When my husband chopped the trees down he left a little clump of maple sapplings at one end and side of our dwelling and this gave the place a picturesque appearance and the very first spring we went there, two robins came and set up housekeeping in the young trees. I fed the birds and watched over their domestic plans and mode of life and we called them "Our Birds." They came the next summer and set up housekeeping in the same trees. But the third spring the robins made some mistake and came north too soon and were frozen to death. One man picked up twenty-seven dead birds around his clearing. A strange thing happened at our place. A robin came and hopped about our door. I threw out some crumbs which he ate but still remained, and I opened the door and it hopped inside and flew up and perched on the end of the cottage bedstead. It sat there watching me with its bright eyes and did not seem to be afraid of me in the least. I reached out my hand and stroked it then took it up and laid it against my cheek. I was young and thoughtless at that time and did not know the birds were freezing and after a time I opened the door and held it in my hand. There was an upturned tree across the road and the robin flew straight over to the upturned sandy roots and went in out of sight. I could see where he went in. The next morning my robin failed to put in an appearance for crumbs. I went over and thrust my hand into the place where he had disappeared and found my pretty red-breasted harbinger of spring dead. I wept bitterly when I remembered that the bird had come to me for shelter and I in my thoughtlessness had let him out. That summer the robins did not build in our trees and we knew our birds were dead.

We planted some potatoes and corn and cleared some land for a wheat field and really thought we were getting along in the world. The following winter was the most terrible winter of my life. The family that lived a quarter of a mile, our nearest neighbors from us, moved to Glen Arbor to get work. They left me a half mile from the nearest people and a strip of woods between—walled me in and them out. I could not see a sign of life now that my neighbor was gone and I was only nineteen years old.

The snow always came early and by Christmas it would be two feet deep. There were no roads and no stirring only on snowshoes. I had a rude pair made from a piece of wood and mother lived two and one-half miles away. Can you imagine the situation? The only book I had was the Bible and a young girl cannot read even that book all the time. I had no work not even rags to sew for carpet against the day I should have an extra room to lay one down. I had no pieces to sew together to make extra quilts. I had nothing to do, nothing to look at, nothing to entertain or amuse myself with and night after

night I lay awake and could not sleep. Day after day I stayed in that dwelling walled in by the trackless forest, the whole world, my world, wrapped in a mantle of impassable snow and more falling all the time. Once a month my husband came home on Saturday and went again on Monday.

I fell ill in February and kept growing worse and worse and finally lay too ill to speak aloud, some cold on my lungs, and my little brother growing alarmed went on the wooden snowshoes across the trackless two and a half miles to fetch mother. When he got home he found that she had been gone several days to care for a sick woman. Father went a mile, got a man to go for mother, and he came to me. I was alone all this time. When he got there the fire was out and I could not speak. I remember he made me comfortable and it was late in the day, he sat Bible in hand reading. I wanted to say something and lay there and tried to say, "Father, father," but the words were not even a whisper. But my mind being so intensely fixed on attracting his attention he turned and came to me. Late after dark the man came with mother. She had walked six miles, most of the way on snowshoes to get to her suffering daughter. Father went home and she remained with me until I was better. My husband came home in March. He had engaged father to make him two hundred sap buckets and now we were busy and happiness would come. Idleness kills more people than hard work ever could. The buckets were drawn on a big hand sleigh and after he had gone over the way several times he could draw a large load. I was never unhappy when he was home and now was busy watching his departure and return and finally the buckets were all drawn home. He had secured a large pan for boiling down the sap and when the time came we made over six hundred pounds of sugar. Father took three hundred pounds to Frankfort and sold it for us, and brought us the money and clothing we needed.

Looking over my life from this distance I set that winter down as the loneliest one of my life. The next winter he took me with him and the next he stayed at home and never left me again.

In 1869, George Aylsworth moved his cord wood enterprise from the Manitou Island and established himself on the mainland at the point now called Empire. This opened a way for work to be obtained nearer than Glen Arbor or Frankfort. The blast furnace at Frankfort used thousands of cords of hard wood in their coal kilns and many men from our section spent a part of the winter working at that point. But it was much more difficult to get to Frankfort in the winter than to any other point where work could be obtained. They usually had to make a wide detour and go by way of Inland Township making the distance nearly forty miles. The snow was almost impassable and many

settlers along the route would not see a traveler only on snowshoes during the entire winter.

No sooner had the country been opened up so that it was possible to get in and out with a wagon and work had been provided so that some money could be obtained, the settlers turned their attention to the founding of schools. The first schoolhouses were rude log huts sometimes right in the woods. The first teachers were often beginners and the instruction of the simplest kind. One teacher taught in Platte Township two summers who did not even know the parts of speech. Another taught in Almira who could carry the pupil through fractions but beyond that she could not go. But all this was a beginning and in a few years the young people from Benzonia College began to take schools and by their higher mental development stimulated many of the young girls of the section to attend the higher school at Benzonia and fit themselves for teaching. In time the schools of Grand Traverse region were noted for their efficient instructors.

It was a happy day when we knew the great outside world was connected with us by a reliable chain, a regular mail route. Sometimes it was difficult to keep the mail moving in the winter time, but men turned out with oxen and horses too and helped open the way. Now when the mail route was established there was always a road of some kind in the winter to Traverse City. Mr. Tweddle of Empire had the contract from the government to carry the mail from Traverse City to Empire for several years. I remember his son, John, now a prosperous lawyer, carried the mail on his shoulders walking on snowshoes one spring when one of these awful winters had blocked all travel for weeks.

Traverse City was beginning to have a great influence in the country for a railroad from the great outside world was gradually coming that way and in December, 1872, reached its destination, bringing a wave of immigration that was to influence the country for a time, in many ways. The coming of the railroad brought great changes to the country. It brought the millmen, speculators and the agents. The millmen planted themselves in any favorable spot, perhaps on some little lake or at the outlet of some winding stream and began converting the magnificent forest into lumber to be shipped to outside markets. This furnished employment to hundreds of men for the great lumber camps were to be established and in time lumbering would be carried on in great proportions. The agents came and played their part. They brought into the country fanning mills, sewing machines and anything they could talk the people into buying on time. It was in this way through their influence that mortgages were attached to the few chattels the settler had succeeded in collecting together. One man established himself in Traverse City and began trading horses. He brought into the country

all sorts of horses in different stages of decrepitude, disease and old age and sold them to the settlers and took mortgages on the land. It would be impossible to tell the number of these poor unfortunate creatures that enriched the soil with their decaying carcasses. The man made his "stake" and is living luxuriantly off the proceeds of his early investment, while the settler either lost his land or is still struggling, for mortgages are immortal.

The fruit tree agent with his dulcet tones, his persuasive smile and his highly colored sample book wandered into every clearing in the region and sold trees and shrubs by the thousands. Men early found that fruits of nearly all varieties grew to perfection here. The rough, hilly country afforded just the right natural environment for things that love to luxuriate and ripen on some sunny hillside. Thousands are covered with grapes and trees that bear heavy burdens of fruit of the finest flavor, richest color and firmest texture.

Speculators came looking up the timber. Thus a large part of the magnificent forest fell into the hands of the men who were destined to play their part in this drama of life. Some of the soil was so poor it would scarcely hold together, and the men laughingly said, "Put a mortgage on it and it will hold together." It produced a wonderful growth of timber which could be turned into valuable lumber in the market. Mr. Dunlop early purchased from the State the only considerable pine land in Almira Township. It was so far from the market that he sold it at an advanced on the original price of one dollar and twenty-five cents an acre to a Mr. Brown who in turn for the same reason and a profit disposed of it to a Mr. Beswick who put in the first mill in the Grand Traverse interior. In 1868, Mr. Ransom and son bought the property at an increased price and each purchaser was satisfied. For years the Ransoms manufactured and sold lumber but the devastation following hasty and extravagant lumbering made the prospect of forest fires a greater foe than distant markets or speculators and so sold the land for $18,000. Its market value in 1907 would readily be $50,000.

C. T. Wright came from Racine, Wisconsin and rented a mill on Otter Creek at Arel in Platte Township. Dr. O'Leary who built the mill was a phrenologist who thought he could tell the kind of a person a man was just by examining the bumps on his head, but finding that a sawmill in a new country could not be operated in that way, he left the country and rented the mill to Mr. Wright who was a college bred man, young, handsome and had some money to invest. He had a forceful character and knew the modern method of getting on in the world. The people quarreled with him and he with the people. He was in ten lawsuits at one time, and the lawyers who had come into the country

seeking a bite from the "big loaf" began to grow sleek and fat. The township took up the quarrel over taxes and not being able to cope with such an antagonist laid down the cudgels and the county entered the fray. After two men had been shot, the deputy sheriff of the county and a doctor who had come into the wilderness hoping to build up a practice there, (Dr. Thurber), C. T. Wright was landed in Jackson prison for life and the people began to breathe freer. When Mr. Wright had served fifteen years Governor Pingree pardoned him. He investigated the causes that led up to the shooting and found that Mr. Wright had been sinned against as well as sinning and that he had suffered enough. The tragedies that grew out of the trouble with Mr. Wright culminated in mob violence led by the county prosecuting attorney. One Indian was faithful to Mr. Wright, and though whipped until the blood covered his body and hanged three times by the mob, refused to testify against Mr. Wright until certain that death would be his portion, and confessed to witnessing the shooting. The tackle used for his execution was left for years in the tree, a grim reminder of the vengeance of the people. The trial cost the county $18,000 beside causing hatred and cruelty that lasted for years.

In an early day some men built a peg factory at what is now Maple City, producing such quantities that the Northern Transportation Company refused to carry only a limited amount which resulted in the peg men being obliged to give up the business the plant of which was converted into the butter bowl factory which has since proved very successful.

Shingle weaving was an extensive occupation and a boon to the settlers as it furnished material for their roofs and needed work in the winter months. Pigeon trapping was a lucrative business for the time and various methods were employed for their capture. A decoy or stool pigeon was often used and after the pigeons had collected around the victim they were easily secured by a net operated on springs. After a while they became aware of their danger and another method was adopted. A bower of boughs was made at their feeding places and a regular pigeon net would be fastened to stakes in the ground. The net would be folded back and a spring pole so set that when the trapper pulled it the whole flock would be covered and captured and marketed at good prices. The nets resemble those used for fishing purposes only longer. They were made of stout seine twine.

In the early days a gang of desperadoes, under the leadership of two lawless characters Jim Decker and Si Marvin operated between Glen Arbor and Manistee making raids on cattle and stock and selling them at any price offered. They were the terror of women and children. They robbed a German by the name of Rohr of one hundred dollars he

had just brought from Milwaukee, beating and torturing both the man and his wife until they gave up their money. The men were never punished.

Many of the early settlers left the country and all was changed. Matt Burnett purchased land from the government, made a large clearing, planted a fine orchard and put up good buildings. After seven years of solitude his wife persuaded him to move, which he did with only an accumulation of six hundred dollars.

Mr. Hoxie mortgaged his land and started a store at Almira. At the end of five years he closed his business and buying a small piece of land again began all over. Two others tried the store and failed and numerous other instances could be cited. When my father had been nine years on his land he gave eighty acres to brother Seth, mortgaged the remaining eighty for two hundred and fifty dollars and left the country in 1876. To my knowledge no one has since occupied his farm.

My brother Seth was married in 1880 and had one son and two daughters. It had been an unusually severe winter the snow lying six feet on the level and all the roads were blocked. Seth started out to hunt a deer. While trying to climb over a fallen tree he dropped his gun which in some way went off sending the charge through his hand. He was miles from home but guided by his compass he made his way to a man who had some medical skill. His rude surgery only made matters worse so my brother went to Traverse City twenty-five miles away where a doctor dressed the wound but used no anesthetics. His children playing on his lap absorbed the poison and all three died with malignant black diphtheria. Although my brother seemed to improve he never recovered and that fall contracted a cold which ended his life after ten days suffering.

Grand Traverse County is recovering from the desolation of denuded forests with just enough material left to feed the demons of forest fires. Its soil has been tried and analyzed and crops and fruits selected to fit. It is surely coming into its own with the promising products of potatoes, vegetables and fruits. Its limestone and marl beds have not yet been brought into market. It is well fitted for the fish industry. The soil causes flowers to flourish and the arbutus of this region is obtained for the markets of distant cities.

Too late to save any of the original forests the great State of Michigan is attempting to aid nature in the restoration of the lost wealth of trees which so often were wasted, not utilized. Here again man thwarts the purpose by his carelessness or greed. I could relate personal incidents of where thoughtless acts started fires which wiped out the work of years and hopes for future sustenance.

Leelanau's German settlement has done much for the country. The

second crop of trees has been harvested in the county but whether wisely or not time will show. Persons searching for homes have traversed the west and south and returned to settle in the Grand Traverse region.

INDIAN AND PIONEER LIFE

BY MISS MINNIE B. WAITE

Tracing the occupancy of Grand Traverse region, we find, in an account of the traditions of the Indians told by Chief Mac-a-de-pe-nassy, who has visited at our house on many occasions, that murder in cold blood among the Indians was rare before they knew the plague of fire-water; the only instance extant in this state being at the Straits of Mackinac. A foolish young Ottawa, while in dispute over his nets, stabbed a Chippewa. The latter tribe was so incensed over the outrage that a bloody war was threatened. After many councils, the Chippewas demanding bloodshed, and the Ottawas desiring compromise, the matter was finally settled by the Ottawas ceding a desirable part of their country to the Chippewas for a vast hunting ground. This seemed to appease the wrath of the Chippewas, and the district now known as our Grand Traverse Region was the tract given by this treaty. All rivers and streams in the Lower Peninsula, in which to trap beaver, mink, otter, and muskrat, were also ceded.

A noted Chippewa Chief, We-we-gen-deby, was the first settler in this tract; this was about 250 years ago. One day as he was roaming the forests of the newly acquired hunting grounds he discovered a shining copper kettle nearly imbedded in the roots of a tree. It had a bright spot on the bottom as though it had never been used, and was so large that a whole deer or bear could be cooked in it. The Chief gazed in awe upon it as direct from some mighty Manitou, and gathered his people to the place where it was discovered, in this way founding the first settlement. This manitou-au-kick, or god-kettle, as it was called, was kept as a sacred relic by the tribe and was securely hidden in a little-frequented part of the forest where it remained, being brought forth only for sacred feasts, as it was supposed to have been made by some deity who presided over this particular region. The kettle was of peculiar build, having neither rim or bail, showing that it was not of Indian manufacture and dated back to some pre-historic race. When the Indians of this region became civilized they began using this manitou-au-kick more commonly, the awe surrounding it having somewhat lessened, it was used for boiling maple sugar. A rim and bail

were added in 1840 at the Government blacksmith shop at Old Mission, now a pretty summer resort about eighteen miles from here[1] on the peninsula. My father remembers seeing this magic kettle in his boyhood days at Old Mission.

In the County of Emmet was a small tribe known as the Prairie or Mush-co-desh Indians. They were of Algonquin stock, were peaceable and never were known to go on the war-path. The Ottawas were friends of this tribe, in fact they called themselves brothers, but through the love of war the Ottawas came to be condemned by this little tribe. The noted Ottawa Chief, Saw-ge-maw, when on one of his western war trips met with great disaster; many of his warriors were killed, and on returning home they approached a Mush-co-desh village in a canoe. Saw-ge-maw said to his few remaining warriors, "Let us take our sad news to our relatives, the Mush-co-desh." So, as they approached the shore they began an unearthly wailing or dirge of the warriors. When the Mush-co-desh heard it, instead of joining in sympathy, they thought it a good time to show the Ottawas how they regarded their marauding expeditions, so they rolled up ashes in leaves and threw at the grief-stricken Ottawas. The most terrible battle ever fought in this region was the outcome. Tradition says that this was the greatest slaughter or massacre that the Ottawas ever committed. The place where the doomed village stood is now known by an opening in the dense forest near Cross Village. The result of this battle was almost the extinction of the Mush-co-desh, thirty or fifty thousand in number, and a firmer hold by the Ottawas on the region. There soon came to be permanent settlements at Cross Village, Middle Village and Harbor Springs, all within sixty-five miles of Traverse City; besides wigwams singly and in groups, scattered at intervals all along the shore. Old orchards and gardens are still in existence on the peninsula in our bay, also at the little resort, Omena, twenty-five miles from here, at Norwood and Leland, about the same distance. Fruit trees of this early planting are now found in the young forests, relics of a race that is disappearing.

The Indian built his gardens on the high lands back of his village and raised corn, pumpkins, beans and potatoes. Some wild fruits were cultivated and the apple seed he obtained from the Jesuits. Some of these trees I have seen are sturdy old landmarks, though their fruit-bearing days are over.

The quaint villages were made up of dwellings of various sizes and shapes; the most substantial consisting of a frame of cedar poles covered with cedar bark. Some of these were fifty or sixty feet long, and places for three fires. Then there were the lighter dwellings consisting of frames of poles covered with mats, some cone-shaped and some convex

[1] Traverse City.

at the top. The mats were made ten to twelve feet long, of long slender leaves of the cat-tail flag. They were often used as traveling tents, being light and convenient to carry in expeditions. In the woods, even in Winter the Indians sometimes lived in temporary wigwams of evergreen boughs. The houses were windowless, the fire being built on the ground in the center, furnishing light and warmth. If the lodge was long, these fires were built in rows, holes in the roof serving as a chimney. A raised platform covered with elaborately colored woven mats along the sides of the room, was used as a seat during the day and a sleeping place at night. Some of these mats were beautifully ornamented in colors and were made of rushes from shallow lakes, woven together with twine made from the bark of the slippery-elm or basswood and were about six to eight feet long by four feet wide.

Though the Red Man hunted at all times, winter was the season best adapted to the pursuit; then a greater part of the population left the villages and scattered through the dense forests along our chains of lakes, embarking in canoes. Several families had their winter camping grounds on Boardman Lake, within the present limits of Traverse City.

The women remained here while the hunters went into the forest solitudes bringing back the spoils of the chase several times during the winter. The hunting camps were always on the banks of river or lake.

While her brave was in the depths of the forest and the cold wind shrieked through the fir trees, the busy squaw wove the rush and corn husk mats for her home. She tanned the deerskins and shaped them into clothing for her family; she cured the soft rich furs for rugs and wraps, plaited splint baskets and rolled the wild hemp on her thigh and twisted it into twine for fish nets. She dressed the game and smoked the venison her Indian Brave brought back to the lodge, and she carried her papoose on her back wherever she went. It was considered a disgrace for the Indian to perform menial labor. The wife was expected to do all that was necessary for his comfort and pleasure, leaving him free to hunt and fish and battle with his enemies.

There were many trails throughout the dense forest in this section, in fact, those were the only roads in the early days. I have heard pioneers tell of the time when, to follow one of these trails, they threw themselves from one side of the horse to the other to escape the rough bark of the trees, so winding were they. It is said that they were marked by bending down the branches of the young trees and tying them with hemp cord until the trees grew in this contorted fashion. The southern tribes are said to trace their trails by the heavy vines which they weave into the forms of serpents. On this street,[2] almost across from the Methodist Church is one of these contorted trees, and

[2] A picture of one of these trail trees, sent by the Traverse City Woman's Club, hangs in the museum of the society.

further up the street is another that marked a trail to Grand Rapids. There was also a prominent trail along the river bank, just back of this church which followed the river and then struck off into the dense forest.

When the white man first visited the Indians in their winter homes, they were surprised at their social customs. They were fond of visiting, and it was the aim of each family to excel the others in spreading the finest feasts. If one brave was more successful than his neighbor in bringing home game, or fish, he prepared a feast to which everyone in the village was invited, the meal was prolonged with cheerful conversation and stories of personal adventure; the women listened but took no part. After the feast they went to their lodges leaving the men to finish with a quiet smoke.

Often as the kettle boiled over the cheerful fire, wild stories were told of necromancy and witchcraft, men transformed to beasts and beasts to men, of malignant sorceresses dwelling among the lonely isles of spell-bound lakes, and evil manitous lurking in the woods. To the Indian all nature was instinct with deity; the sun was a god and the moon was a goddess. Conflicting powers of good and evil ruled the universe. Our Bible story of the ark is among their traditions, the ark being a huge canoe.

Sometimes in the evenings about the fire, weird dances would be indulged in; medicine dances, fire dances, corn dances accompanied by frightful noises and beating on bark and skin drums. One of their spring feasts and merrymakings was called the Sweetwater dance, held in the maple grove in the Spring before the trees were tapped for sap. It was a religious as well as social festival. Prayer was offered for an abundant flow of sap and success in gathering and boiling it. The Indians were very fond of maple sugar, and made quite an industry of preparing it.

I shall have little time to dwell upon the language of the Ottawas and Chippewas. It is simple, having few forms; instead of many words, prefixes and suffixes are used, making the words appear long and the language complicated. Some words are used as adjectives as well as adverbs, such as "mino," good, right or well.

As a child I remember our Indians always with a blanketed head and moccasined feet, with their bags of basswood bark fibre strapped across the forehead, selling baskets and speaking not a word of English. Now they come dressed as the white men bringing their baskets to the merchants and speaking good English. One misses the picturesqueness of the old ways, but the advance is not only in dress, it is in the mind as well and means enlightenment.

PRESENTATION OF CHAIRS USED BY GOVERNOR AND JUDGES OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

BY E. J. WRIGHT[1]

Soon after the Masonic bodies of this city occupied the new Masonic Temple, our attention was called by an old member to four chairs which had for years been in the old lodge rooms and which, as he understood it, had been placed in the rooms of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society for preservation. As a member of the Association I went to the rooms of the Society with this Brother and he identified the four chairs referred to. The custodian, Mrs. Ferrey, objected strenuously to their removal, claiming that they had given by the Lodge to the State. These conflicting views led to further examination and I learned that the chairs had been the property of the senior Masonic Lodge here, Lansing Lodge No. 33 F. & A. M., and that they were placed in the care of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society by a most esteemed Past Master of the Lodge, Brother George H. Greene,[2] who was Worshipful Master during 1871-1874, and at the time of the deposit of the chairs as before stated was Secretary of Lansing Lodge and also of the Pioneer and Historical Society. Seeking to get some authoritative data, I addressed an inquiry to the senior living Past Master of Lansing Lodge 33, Brother Nelson B. Jones, then and now of Detroit, formerly of this city and Worshipful Master of Lansing Lodge 33 in 1865 and 1866, and received the following reply:

Detroit, Mich., June 3, 1905.

E. J. Wright, Esq., Lansing, Mich.:

Dear Sir and Brother:—Yours of the 27th ult. at hand, making inquiry in regard to the chairs once belonging to Lansing Lodge No. 33, which you inform me are now in the Historical Society room. In reply would advise as follows:

These chairs have a very precious history and memory. They were purchased by Brother Peck and myself direct from the State of Michigan, and presented to Lansing Lodge No. 33 after the completion of the new Capitol. These chairs were used by the Governor and Territorial Judges of the Northwestern Territory, and when Michigan began its separate existence in 1805 these chairs were sent to Michigan, and

[1]Presented at annual meeting, June, 1909.

[2]See sketch and portrait, Vol. V, pp. 19-20, and Memorial, Vol. XXIX, p. 477, this series.

continued to be used by the Governor and Judges. The large chair was subsequently used as a Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives when Michigan was admitted into the Union in 1836, or soon afterward, and so continued to be used until the new Capitol was completed and the old furniture was sold. These chairs possessed such intrinsic value to my mind as mementoes and relics, that I conceived the idea of purchasing them for Lansing Lodge No. 33, and Brother Peck and myself bought them, and they became the property of the Lodge. I was interested to learn that these old relics were still in existence, and where they will be preserved. I think the chairs were originally used in Virginia and were sent to the Territory of the Northwest from that State.

It was my privilege to stand by the old Speaker's chair in the old House of Representatives in 1850 and 1851 as a messenger boy in the House of Representatives in those years. Afterwards from 1861-1871 as Clerk of the House of Representatives, the old "Speaker's" chair was still in use, and I learned to love it, and my memory reverts to it with the belief that it has been the sitting place of some of the best and truest men Michigan has ever entrusted with power.

I am glad to furnish this information, which I give from memory, but I think it is correct.

Fraternally yours,
N. B. JONES.

On receipt of the above letter I made an examination of the records of Lansing Lodge No. 33 to ascertain, if possible, the conditions on which the chairs were deposited with the Pioneer and Historical Society. Under date of February 24, 1896, I found the following record:

"George H. Greene offered the following resolution: Whereas, The three chairs belonging to this lodge used by the Secretary, Treasurer, and Tyler, and the big chair in the Council room, are valuable only as historical relics, they being the chairs used by the Governor and Judges of Michigan in Territorial days, when that body was the executive, legislative and judicial departments combined in one; and Whereas, We believe these chairs should be taken better care of than being put to such common use as we are doing and have been for years, therefore

> "Resolved: That said chairs be and hereby are presented by this lodge to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, a society organized twenty-two (22) years ago for the express purpose of gathering and preserving anything and everything pertaining to the history of the State, and which already has the big desk used at the same time by the same body, and which should with the chairs be preserved together."

Under date of March 23, I found the following record:

"Moved and supported that the resolution of Brother George H. Greene relative to the four lodge chairs be adopted. Motion prevailed."

Further research disclosed on page sixteen of the minutes of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society in 1896, (Vol. XXVII) a brief reference to the donation of the chairs. It was then determined between the representatives of Lansing Lodge 33, F. & A. M., and of the Society that the plates which had been placed upon the chairs, indicating in part their history, should be supplemented by plates reciting the presentation of the chairs by the first Masonic Lodge instituted in this county. This has been done, and in order that the record may be complete it is my privilege at this time to confirm, in the name of Worshipful Master John H. Hawks and the 575 members of Lansing Lodge No. 33, F. & A. M., the gift of these valuable historic relics to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

The Brother Peck referred to in the letter of Past Master Nelson B. Jones was George W. Peck, Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1847, Secretary of the State, 1848-1850, Representative in the 34th Congress from the Fourth Congressional District 1855-1856, which District then comprised the Counties of Oakland, Macomb, St. Clair, Sanilac, Huron, Lapeer, Ingham, Genesee, Saginaw, Shiawassee, Tuscola, Midland, Schoolcraft, Ontonagon, Mackinaw, Houghton and Chippewa, and all unorganized counties not included in the Third District, the northern counties of which were Mason and Lake. Territorially, Congressman Peck represented more than four-fifths of the State. He was Worshipful Master of Lansing Lodge No. 33 in 1849, 1850, 1858, 1859, 1861 and 1862, and was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the State of Michigan in 1854 and 1855.

AMUSEMENTS IN DETROIT IN COLONIAL DAYS[1]

BY CLARENCE M. BURTON

On the 24th day of July in the year 1701, there landed on the shore of the Detroit River, a company of soldiers and artisans, under the command of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. This company consisted of fifty soldiers and fifty civilians comprising all the trades useful for a frontier settlement. Cadillac, the commandant, had been commissioned by the French Government to locate a fort and village on the Detroit

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1909.

River at such a point as would command the water-way from Erie in the Great Lakes beyond, and he had chosen this as the spot for such a fort. From his starting point at Montreal, he had been accompanied by a guard of one hundred Algonquin Indians, and as the forces neared the final stopping place, the number of Indians increased until a small army of them drew their light canoes upon the sandy beach and gave their assistance to the founding of a great city.

On the progress up the Ottawa River from Montreal to Lake Nipissing, and thence across that lake to its outlet, French River, and down that river and through the Georgian Bay to the final destination, troubles and disagreements arose among the soldiers and colonists, and some of them were on the point of deserting or returning to their homes. It was rumored among them that Cadillac would never pay them for their services; that he would not permit them to return to Montreal, or bring their families to Detroit. So a hundred rumors of the hardships that must sooner or later overtake them, were passed around the camp to discourage their further progress or to prompt them to turn back before their work was accomplished.

Before anything was done on the shores of the Detroit River, Cadillac called all of his people together, immediately upon their landing, and talked to them about these rumors of disaffection. He had been told that the leader and originator of these troubles was the Jesuit priest, Vaillant,[2] who had been permitted, contrary to the wishes of Cadillac, to go with him to Montreal. He knew that this priest had been disappointed in not having the exclusive charge of the religious affairs of the company, for he had been allowed to come to Detroit only for the purpose of founding a mission among the Indians, while a Recollet priest, Nicolas Constantin de l'Halle,[3] was selected as almoner to the settlement. When Cadillac made known to his people his knowledge of their discontent, and asked them for the causes of it, Vaillant, who was present, found that his schemes had been discovered, and he immediately started for the woods to escape the wrath of the commandant and the people. He proceeded at once to Mackinac and never afterwards appeared at Detroit.

No Jesuit priest ever officiated at the place until within very recent times.

The foundation for the Church of Ste. Anne was begun on the day of the first landing, and we may well believe that the chanting of church services was started at once, and has been continued without interruption since, for even during the trying times of 1763, when the place was besieged by Pontiac, religious services were punctually attended to.

[2]See Vol. XXXIII, this series.
[3]See Vol. XXXIII, p. 246, this series.

The early French and Canadian colonists were mostly uneducated farmers, voyageurs and coureurs de bois, who sought the great west because it gave them opportunities for employment with some hope of bettering their condition in life. The commandant was obliged to make a report of the transactions of the place sufficient to keep his superiors informed as to the situation of affairs, but farther then these official reports, we have very little information regarding the daily life of the people. They wrote no letters to friends or relatives to tell them about the new country they had chosen for their homes. An occasional quarrel between parties reached the court at Quebec, but very little information can be derived from that source. The church records are very full and complete, but they are of such a nature that they give little information of the daily life of the community. The first Church of Ste. Anne that had been erected in 1701 was destroyed by fire in 1703, and with it the church record for the two years was consumed. This record contained the entry of the birth of a child to the commandant and his wife, the first white child born in Detroit, or probably west of Montreal. There can be little doubt that the birth of this child was the occasion of great and prolonged hilarity on the part of the entire community, for not only was it the first birth, but it was the birth of a child to the first and most important family in the settlement. From this time forward there are entries of marriages, births and deaths, each an occasion for mirth or sorrow, and the French people then, as now, permitted no occasion for mirth to escape them unnoticed.

The newcomers brought guns and gun flints, powder and ball for hunting. In modern times, by custom brought down from the far away pioneer life, the one most skillful in using his gun at the annual tournaments is awarded a prize for his ability. That this custom prevailed as far back as the beginning of our history, there can be little doubt, and at such trials of skill we may well assume that they engaged in all sorts of athletic sports, as running, wrestling, rowing, bowling and arrow shooting. The flint arrow heads that we sometimes, even now, find in the fields around the city, were quite difficult to make, and we cannot believe that the Indians used them on ordinary occasions. These arrows were reserved for special occasions, such as shooting to show their skill, where the arrow could be found and returned to the sender. A bird on the wing could be killed or wounded with such an arrow, but there would be more difficulty in killing, or even seriously wounding an animal of any considerable size.

Twice during the first eleven years of Detroit's history, the place was besieged by the Indians, once in 1705, and again in 1712, and on both occasions the savages sought to destroy the village by shooting arrows carrying balls of fire on the unprotected roofs of the houses. Both efforts

failed because of the prompt action of the citizens and garrison in extinguishing the flames and in unroofing the houses. At the outset, the Indians did not have guns or powder. When they obtained guns, as they did within a few years, they were entirely dependent upon the French for powder and they could not conduct a war of any considerable length without the assistance of the French or Canadians. They became skillful marksmen, both with gun and bow, but no more skillful than the French.

The white and red natives mixed together as one people. They sometimes intermarried, but aside from this, the early white men who were trappers, hunters and traders, in the woods, lived with the savages on terms of perfect equality and their traits and habits of life became similar. The athletic sports were common to all natives, but there were some sports more peculiarly Indian in their character, such as rowing, swimming, and arrow shooting. Then there was lacrosse, a game at first peculiarly Indian, but which was soon adopted by the white men. They had dances of various forms suited to various occasions, such as war dances, medicine dances and dances at funerals. In their camps in the woods, to pass away the long evenings, the men had stag dances, such as, in more modern times, were indulged in by the woodsmen in the lumber camps.

The Canadian boatmen were noted for their boat songs, and the long pulls through the placid waters of Lake Nipissing and the Georgian Bay were enlivened by the chorus of voices that kept time to the strokes of their oars and paddles.

> "Faintly as tolls the evening chime,
> Our voices keep tune, and our ears keep time,
> Soon as the woods on the shore look dim,
> We'll sing at St. Ann's our parting hymn,
> Row, brothers, row! the stream runs fast,
> The rapids are near, and the daylight's past!"
>
> —*Moore's Canadian Boat Song.*

One hundred voices, rising and falling in unison, as they passed through the various rivers and lakes from Montreal to Detroit, gave notice to the savages that the march of civilization had begun. This crude music was a dreadful warning to them, if they had but understood it, that the ownership of the woods and streams, and control of the wilderness was about to pass into other hands, but they did not comprehend. They welcomed the new-comers to a home, a settlement, a new colony in the west.

The soldiers who came with Cadillac were Frenchmen who had entered the army in France and were therefore familiar with the soldiers' life

in the old country. This life was not one of seclusion, or of toil only, but was interspersed with all the hilarity and joy making that could be obtained in such a situation and in such a life. They undoubtedly played all the games that were common in the day, such as quoits, bowling in the narrow streets of the village, card playing and other similar indoor amusements in inclement weather.

The houses of the first comers were very small and very crude. They were built of small logs set on end and driven into the ground far enough to make them stand firmly upright, and extending above the ground only six or seven feet, high enough to stand in. They were covered with skins, or with split rails, and then with grass or straw. The uprights were placed as closely together as possible and the interstices filled with clay or mud. They were seldom more than from twelve to eighteen feet in width and of about the same depth. There were no floors, except the earth beaten hard by many footsteps. No glass windows were in the place. The window openings were covered with the skin of some animal. This was translucent on most occasions, but the skin would thicken with age and exposure, and it was frequently necessary to scrape thinner or stretch it more in order to admit any light. The only large buildings in the place were the warehouse and church, and here all of the assemblies were held for entertainments. During the year 1701 there were no white women in the place, but the next year came Madam Cadillac, and with her came Madam Tonty, wife of Captain Alphonse de Tonty, and their children, and servants. From this time on, the wives of the former residents began to arrive, so that a full and complete community was soon here. There were many Indians, for Cadillac says that he fed six thousand mouths during the winter of 1701-2 and there were men, women, boys, girls, servants, and all that goes to make up a colony. They all attended church on Sunday and holy days, and as there were soon two or three hundred people, it will be seen that it was necessary to have a large building for church purposes.

The warehouse, also, was very large, for it contained not only all the food, utensils, clothing and other things brought up annually for the citizens and the savages, but also all the peltries and things that were collected to be sent down to Montreal in exchange. It was likely in this building that their indoor dances were held. They planted a May pole each year before the door of the commandant, and that occasion was also accompanied with dancing, but the kind of music they had is not mentioned.

The soldiers did not act as soldiers in garrison, but as citizens. They were each allowed a small tract of land outside the village enclosure which they cultivated as gardens. Some of these patches along the east line of Randolph street can be readily traced, though more than

two hundred years have passed since their original survey. Hunting and trapping, considered as amusements or pastimes with us, were the means of gaining a living in the time of the original colonists, so that they can scarcely be claimed in this list. Probably every man and boy in the settlement had his old flint lock blunderbuss, capable of making a telling effect at short distance. The owner was skilled in its use and seldom missed his mark. One of the chief employments in the village was the gunsmith, or armorer. Every youth, as well as every man, was skilled in the making of traps for catching wild animals of all kinds whose fur was good. Care was taken not to catch or kill out of season, for the woods were depleted rapidly enough without killing when the fur was worthless. There were no buffalo (or bison) in the immediate neighborhood of Detroit, but when the whites first settled here there was an abundance of deer, elk, bear, fox and smaller animals.

Everyone fished when fish were in season, which was most of the year. The fish were eaten fresh and none were salted down or exported. The rivers and lakes were so full of fish that none could be sold, either here or at Montreal or Quebec, and it was useless to undertake to export or to preserve them. The fishing was by line and spear only. The Indians made spearheads of flint, shaped something like the arrow head, but larger and much heavier. Even as late as the coming of the Americans in 1796, it was reported that the French people had no seines, though there was abundance of use for them. After Cadillac left Detroit in 1711, an inventory was taken of the personal property owned by him, and in this list was an item for "1,050 large fishing hooks, barbed," thus showing the general use of this instrument in the colony.

The great number of flint arrowheads and spears found in and around the village indicate the methods used by the savages in killing game and fish before the distribution of firearms and gun-powder among them. A large stock of gun flints and a supply of English muskets and French muskets was carried by the commandant in his storehouse.

A great quantity of goods was sent up to Detroit annually for sale or distribution among the Indians, and in this supply are to be found some things evidently intended for their amusement. In one place we find "one hundred small trumpets," possibly to permit the youthful Indian to blow on and make himself heard, as do the white youths of today. These trumpets may also have been used in sleighing or coasting parties on the ice and snow, or perhaps as signals in the woods, though the Indian whoop is generally supposed to have been sufficient for the latter purpose. As there was a drum in the settlement, these trumpets may have been used in connection with it to raise a crowd.

The invoice included thirty-six pounds of medium-size black glass beads, seventy-six and three-fourths pounds of large black beads, eight

and three-fourths pounds of large green beads, streaked, thirty-three pounds of beads in strings of all colors. Evidently most of these articles were intended for sale to the Indians, as ornaments, for a piece of gay-colored cloth with a string of colored beads, would set off the dusky maiden to advantage, and make her the belle of the camp. The beads were the only form of glass present in these early times. There were no glass windows or mirrors for many years. An item of thirteen dozen small tin mirrors indicates an article used by both whites and Indians in making their toilets and in shaving, if the men of that day shaved at all. In the entire list there is nothing found to correspond with the modern razor, but in the list of property belonging to the Delisle family is included "one fine razor." Knives they had, shoemakers' knives, Flemish knives, woodcutters' knives, Siamese knives, large carving knives and other knives in abundance, but mention is made of only one razor. Some of the presents to the Indians show their propensity for display, such as "a fine shirt with ruffles" and a "red coat ornamented with imitation gold lace." Smoking was a pastime enjoyed by both French and Indians. Tobacco was either raised here or brought here by the Indians from the warmer territory to the south of Lake Erie. A kind of Indian tobacco was made from the bark of the willow tree. Quantities of tobacco were used and there were many pipes or calumets in the storehouse. Some of them were common, every-day affairs and some were elaborate and expensive. Some were simply called "calumets" while others were put down as "large calumets of red stone, with their stems and plumes and stands to hold them." The large ones might have been used at the great council fires where the Indian treaties were discussed and arrived at.

Boats for use on the rivers and lakes could not be considered as instruments for amusement as at the present day, but as objects of necessity, for the only road in summer for all to travel was the water way, and the only vehicle, the canoe. These boats were made of the bark of trees, birch bark being preferable, or, for the larger boats, trunks of trees dug out or burned by slow fire. Great care had to be taken in all cases to see the work was perfect, for a boat which leaked was a great annoyance.

In later years one of the great pastimes in the winter was racing on the ice, but not at this early time. The Indians had no horses in this part of the country. If there were any wild horses they were far to the south and west, and were at that time unknown in the vicinity of Detroit.

Cadillac brought three horses to Detroit, but two of them died shortly after their arrival, and the only horse in the settlement in 1711 was the third animal and was called "Colon." All of the work necessary

to be done by animals was performed by this horse and four oxen, also owned by Cadillac, and a few other oxen owned by some of the colonists.

In the immediate neighborhood of the village were several quite steep hills that might be utilized in the winter for coasting purposes, and perhaps Colon was employed to draw the coasters' sleds on the river ice, or up these hills or on the commons where the underbrush was cleared. There were no roads and very few smooth places fit for sleigh riding. This horse was occasionally used for horseback riding, as there were two pairs of old rowels mentioned, useless for any other purpose than to urge on this solitary steed. There were several carts or wagons, but all hand-made and heavily built for carrying merchandise, not people. There were some other domestic animals, for notice is made that the hogs and cattle were placed on Ile Ste. Magdelaine,[4] the original French name for Belle Isle, for safe keeping. The island, however, took the name of Ile au Cochons (Hog Island) during Cadillac's time.

Perhaps the use of brandy, or eau-de-vie, as it was then called, could not be considered as an amusement, but it was an indulgence granted to the Canadians and French with only such restraints as they voluntarily threw around it. Its use was forbidden to the Indians. That is, efforts were continually being made by the priests and the government to prohibit the use by the savages, and Cadillac was inclined to carry out this restraint, but he said at the time, that the use of a small quantity of brandy with every meal of fish was a necessity for the white man, and so the stuff was included in the soldiers' rations. Cadillac considered himself above the common run of his colonists, and did not associate with them as with equals. He made grants to members of his own family of large tracts of land on the Detroit River, thousands of acres in extent, supposing that they would ultimately become seigneurs, or landed proprietors, living off the rents paid by their tenants for these lands. For himself, he desired the income of the village proper and the adjacent lands, with the title of Baron or Marquis of Detroit. He was disappointed in not obtaining this concession. He imposed a tax or annual rental, payable to himself, on every piece of land he granted to the settlers. There were a few of his companions with whom he was on familiar terms, as with the priests, Captain Tonty[5] and the Lieutenants, Chacornac[6] and Dugue.[7] Their amusements were somewhat different from those indulged in by the "common herd" and we find in Cadillac's home "eighteen swords with handles," probably used for fencing. He was well educated and familiar with the dramatic writings of

[4]See Vol. XVIII, p. 646-8, also Index, this series.

[5]Captain Alphonse de Tonty, a younger brother of Henry de Tonty, who later became commandant at Detroit.

[6]See Vol. XXXIII, this series, appendix.

[7]Dugue, a lieutenant on half pay, highly esteemed by Cadillac.

his country, but it cannot be determined that any theatre or work of that character was undertaken at Detroit, though there are several references in his letters to the drama. He proposed to found a school or college, at Detroit, to instruct his colonists and the Indians there assembled. He proposed to establish a hospital to be placed under the charge of the Hospitallers, a religious order of nuns, and he further asked permission to form the Indians in military companies and regiments, officered partly by themselves and in part by French soldiers. All of these proposals, so far in advance of his time, were frowned upon by the French government, and his requests were denied. There was one system adopted by him that outlasted his command and which continued in force some years. When he first came to Detroit, he supposed the entire trade of the place belonged to him, but the Company of the Colony of Canada soon laid claim to it, and a lawsuit followed, which continued for some time, and finally resulted in his favor. After this final determination, he annually sold to all of his people who desired, the right to sell goods to the Indians. These goods all came at one time in the fall of the year, and upon their arrival nearly every house in the village was filled with the new goods placed on exhibition and sale, to induce the Indians to exchange their furs for trinkets and cloths. This was a sort of annual fair that lasted three or four days at a time. At such times there collected at the place all the Indians in the neighborhood, and there were thousands of them, and a general good time was held as long as the fair lasted. The fair was abandoned in the time of the command of Tonty, who died in office in Detroit in 1727, for he sold the right of trading to some Montreal merchants and they would not permit local dealers to share in the trade. A great noise was made about the discontinuance of the fair and it may have been revived in later years.

In 1710, Cadillac was appointed governor of Louisiana, but did not leave Detroit for his new post until the following year. His immediate successor was Charles Regnault, Sieur Dubuisson, but he only retained the position a few months pending the arrival of De la Forest.

During the first years of the settlement, the citizens were afraid of the Indians. Indeed, during the entire time of French, English and American occupation as late as 1832, when the Black Hawk War took place, the people living in the village were afraid of the uprising of the natives. The early French, however, became so accustomed to them, and to their ways of living, and so intimate with their home life, that they had considerable confidence in them. A very quiet and uneventful life they led for many years, though the troubles with the Indians in the early times, and the quarrels between the commandants and their Montreal creditors disturbed business to such an extent, that many of the

people moved back to the eastern settlements, and the village decreased in size.

The grants of farm lands that had been made by Cadillac in 1707 and 1708 were annulled by the government, and the titles all reverted to the King in 1716. This discouraged the farmers, for they could not make improvements and build houses upon insecure titles, but in later years, new grants were made to actual settlers. Then began the revival. The farmers raised sufficient to maintain the settlements, but nothing was shipped down to Montreal. The traders purchased goods from below, and sold them for furs, the chief commodity of exchange for a long time, but the orchards of apples yielded a larger supply of fruit than could be used at home, and cider began to be exported.

In 1734, the Royal Notary, Navarre, came here to reside. He was next in importance to the commandant, and his coming gave new life to the society of the settlement.

The second generation was now in control of affairs, and the number of young people in the village was greatly increased. With the years, the villagers had increased their worldly goods. They had horses and saddles, and a few French carts. A road was made along the river bank. Their houses were better constructed, and they lived better, and more independent. Most of the farmers lived on their farms part of the time, but retired to the village if the Indians threatened to trouble them. There was a garrison maintained at the post composed of people who were half soldiers and half artisans, for the soldier's pay was very small, and he eked out a subsistence by working at some trade, or as a gardener. Even in Cadillac's time there were musicians in the garrison, for we have an account of the trial and the execution of a drummer in Cadillac's company, before they came to Detroit. Some of the older citizens of today remember at the dances in their childhood, one of the instruments used was a Jewsharp. This instrument is no longer used for such purposes, but when it commenced to be employed is not recorded. In the absence of a better musical instrument, the flying feet might keep time to cleverly manipulated bone clappers.

St. Saveur was the drummer of the garrison in 1748, and in addition to his duties of furnishing music to the townspeople, he announced the public meetings, public auction sales, and other public events, by beating his drum in the principal streets of the village. This duty of giving public notices was also sometimes performed by a public bell ringer. Notices of importance were given by this bell ringer proceeding through all the streets of the village calling out his news or notice. A written notice was also posted on the church door, though it is very probable that only a few citizens could either read or write.

There is mention in the early church records of Jean Baptiste

Roucoux, first chanter and teacher in the Christian school, and in the public library in Detroit is an old account book, kept about the year 1750, which contains a piece of music evidently written about that date by Roucoux, or by Etienne Dubois, for use in the church service. Dubois performed the dual services of chanter and sexton.

It was in the Fall of 1760 that the English troops, under Major Robert Rogers,[8] took possession of the fort and village. What a change this must have been, and how excited the people were. The little community that had existed so completely within itself for nearly sixty years that it had scarcely known what was going on in the great world without, was, in a day, without the firing of a gun, with but the parley of a few hours, converted from the quiet French community into a hustling English settlement. For sixty years Detroit's closest neighbors were Mackinac, Vincennes and Kaskaskia. She was at peace with the world, for she was unknown to the world. Now all was changed—and changed almost without warning. Armed troops marched into the settlement and took control of the village. Sentinels were posted at night to watch for foes, where no one had thought of watching before. Sentinels were marching all day and all night along the banquette of the palisade. The Indian trade was no longer carried on by the French people, for the new traders—the English, Irish and Scotch—had usurped the business and the former citizens were driven to their farms for a living.

It was not long, however, before a better feeling came between the Canadians and the English. The young and unmarried girls and women of the post soon became acquainted with the young soldiers in the garrison, and they were willing instructors and scholars in learning, each the language of the other. Every effort was made to conciliate the conquered Canadians, to make them feel at home with the master nation.

The next year after the conquest (1761) Sir William Johnson paid a visit to Detroit, and his coming was followed by a period of entertainments that lasted until he left the settlement. Each day was filled with the work of seeing the French people and getting acquainted with them, and in meeting the Indians and talking to them, purchasing their friendship, which lasted only as long as they could see the benefit of the purchase price. Johnson kept a journal[9] of his trip and we find this entry under the date of Sunday, September 6th: "A very fine morning. This day I am to dine with Captain Campbell, who is also to give the ladies a ball that I may see them. They assembled at 8 o'clock at night to the number of about twenty. I opened the ball with Madamoiselle Curie—a fine girl. We danced until 5 o'clock the next morning." He

[8]Robert Rogers. See letters on French and Indian War and English Conquest of Canada, Vol. XIX, this series.

[9]This journal is published in the second volume of Stone's *Life of Sir William Johnson*, p. 429.

had the name of the young lady wrong, but it was quite as near as he could be expected to get the peculiar French name "Cuillerier." This was Angelique Cuillerier, daughter of Antoine Cuillerier *dit* Beaubien. The baronet remained some time in the place, and was the subject of repeated entertainments. He writes that he took a ride before dinner towards Lake St. Clair. "The road runs along the river side which is thickly settled nine miles." "The French gentlemen and the two priests who dined with us got very merry. Invited them all to a ball tomorrow night, which I am to give to the ladies." Here again he met the same young lady—evidently by appointment. He writes: "In the evening the ladies and gentlemen all assembled at my quarters, danced the whole night until seven o'clock in the morning, when all parted very much pleased and happy. Promised to write to Madamoiselle Curie as soon as possible, my sentiments; there never was so brilliant an assembly here before."

A strenuous life Sir William led in these few weeks in Detroit, but a more strenuous time he would have led upon his return to his old home if his Indian wife (or housekeeper, as he calls her in his will), Molly Brant, had known of his doings at Detroit. It was well for her peace of mind, and well for his personal safety, that she was kept in ignorance, for it is said that she had an ungovernable temper and was a terror when her will was crossed. She was a sister of Joseph Brant, the great Iroquois chief, and was the mother of ten children by Sir William Johnson. Angelique, the little French girl who, with her pretty face, her jet-black hair, her bright eyes, her winning ways and her broken English, had won the heart of the baronet, was not left long to pine for his absence. James Sterling, a young Scotchman, who had come with the garrison and who was the storekeeper in the post, soon became the instructor of the French damoiselle in the English language, while he received instructions in French from her. In 1763 when Pontiac was conspiring to surprise and murder the garrison, Angelique learned of his plans, and told her lover, who, in turn, informed Major Gladwin, and the surprise, so cleverly planned, was prevented and the garrison saved. Sterling and Angelique were married shortly after this, and although they remained many years in Detroit, they were the steadfast friends of the Colonies during the Revolutionary War. Both husband and wife suffered for our cause, and were driven from their Detroit home, never to return.

The news of peace between France and England, of 1763, was brought to Detroit in a very peculiar way. The village was besieged by the Indian Pontiac and his Hurons. So closely were the English confined within the palisades of the village, that they did not dare open the gates or go beyond the portals. George McDougall, who had ventured to

go to Pontiac, upon his assurances of personal protection, was a prisoner among the Indians. A letter was brought from Niagara to Major Gladwin, who was in command at Detroit, notifying him of the conclusion of peace between England and France. The bearer of this letter was killed by the Indians, and the note taken from him and given to Pontiac. The latter called upon McDougall to read it, and Pierre Chene Labutte interpreted it to the Indians. McDougall succeeded in keeping the paper, and on the night of June 2, 1763, he let another white prisoner take the letter, and run with it from the Indian encampment to the Fort. This messenger arrived entirely naked, bearing only the very welcome message of peace, at three o'clock in the morning. Upon being admitted to the Fort, his message was received and read, and the account states that upon the following evening there was an instrumental concert to celebrate the arrival of the welcome news. Just a month later McDougall managed to escape from the Indians, and ran into the fort in much the same manner as the messenger who had escaped.

Until the coming of the English in 1760, the affairs of the village were mostly managed by the commandant, but Englishmen had little idea of vesting authority in a single individual. They wanted to be governed by the laws, not by individuals. They wanted trial by jury, not the will of the commandant. For the first few years they had enough to occupy their attention in maintaining a semblance of friendship with the Canadians and Indians, but occasionally some other trouble arose that they had to attend to.

The place was in the Indian country, and was not subject to the laws of England except as the people applied these laws. Criminals from other places fled to Detroit to escape punishment. Several crimes of magnitude were committed at Mackinac and Detroit, and some executions for murder and stealing took place here. A man named Schindler was accused of selling base metal for silver, and was tried before the local justice and was acquitted by a jury chosen to try him, but the English governor, Hamilton, was so impressed with the man's guilt, that he ordered him drummed out of the settlement. There was, at that time, a quarrel between the governor and the lieutenant who was in command of the garrison, and the latter would not permit the drummer to beat his drum while passing through the citadel where the soldiers were.

At the public execution or hanging of a man convicted of murder, the band of musicians from the garrison surrounded the scaffold and played airs suitable to such a solemn occasion.

During the Revolutionary War, there were parties of Indians and white men constantly going from Detroit to seek out the settlements on the borders of the colonies, destroying the houses and making pris-

oners of and murdering the inhabitants. It is not recorded that any instruments of music were taken on these incursions, for their success depended upon their stealth, and a noise might betray their coming and prevent that unforseen attack that they were desiring. The Indian war-whoop was practiced by both whites and reds, for signals as they required. The scalping of Indians by white men was quite as common as the scalping of the whites by the Indians.

Major DePeyster, who was in command in Detroit during a part of this war, writes May 26, 1780: "Everything is quiet here except the constant noise of the war drum. All the seigneures are arrived at the instance of the Shawnese and Delawares. More Indians from all quarters than ever before known, and not a drop of rum."

DePeyster was something of a poet and several short poems of his relate to his life at Mackinac, Detroit and Niagara. One poem is devoted to carioling or racing on the ice on the River Rouge. Everyone who had a horse was present. The festivities of the occasion were under the management of Guillaume LaMothe, a Frenchman who was an officer in the Indian department. A feast followed the race, which was enjoyed by the officers and their wives and guests. Much drinking was indulged in, and the party was hilarious. The poet, with unusual poet's license, had the wild bears and deer come from the woods and watch the pleasure seekers at their camp:

"The goblet goes round, while sweet echo's repeating,
The words which have passed through fair lady's lips;
Wild deer (with projected long ears) leave off eating,
And bears sit attentive, erect on their hips."

"The fort gun proclaims when 'tis time for returning,
Our pacers all eager at home to be fed;
We leave all the fragments, and wood clove for burning,
For those who may drive up sweet River Red."

DePeyster, although the military commandant, was in truth, the civil commandant as well, for the lieutenant-governor, Hamilton,[10] the civil governor, was a prisoner of war at Williamsburg, Virginia, when DePeyster came to Detroit. Hamilton had been governor of Detroit for some three years, when, in the fall of 1778, he concluded to go to Vincennes to drive the rebels from the Ohio country. He utterly failed of his purpose, and was captured by General George Rogers Clark in the early part of 1779. The French inhabitants of Detroit were never cordially friendly to the British and when the news of the capture of Hamilton reached the place, the French were so elated that they held a

[10]See Vol. IX, p. 489, this series.

three days' feast of rejoicing and building of bonfires to show their pleasure. This was the report made at the time, though it can probably be taken *cum grano salis.*

We have not sufficient data to tell just when William Forsyth came to Detroit, but we find him at an early date keeping a tavern or place of entertainment on Ste. Anne street in the old village. He owned a lot adjoining the citadel, on which he had erected a bowling alley and pleasure resort. Probably the building also had a billiard table, for we know there were such tables in the country. The lot was wanted by the government to extend its barracks, and Forsyth was compelled to move out, and petitioned Governor Haldimand for damages for the loss of his property. As the bowling alley was a desirable adjunct to the pleasure resorts of the place, it was opened in another locality.

When the war of the Revolution came to a close, it was agreed that Detroit should become a part of the United States, and should be vacated by British soldiers. But Great Britain thought that if she could hold on a few years, the States would quarrel among themselves, and she could repossess herself of the country because of their contentions. She was fooled in this, but nevertheless managed to retain possession of Detroit until 1796. In the meantime, the place was governed by the law-makers of Canada, as if it belonged to that dominion. In 1791, Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and in the fall of 1792, there was held in Detroit an election for members of the Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada. This parliament was divided into two houses, the upper, called the Council, the members of which were appointed, and the lower, the Assembly, the members of which were elected. In the upper house, there was one member from Detroit, Alexander Grant, known also as Commodore Grant, for he had charge of the entire navy on Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, during the Revolution.

The members elected to the lower house were William Macomb, uncle of our General Alexander Macomb, and David William Smith, who lived at Niagara. Smith attempted, at first, to gain his election as representing the county of Essex, but at this election he was defeated by François Baby. This election took place August 20, 1792, and after his defeat his friends put him up for election in the County of Kent, which included the village of Detroit. The election was held August 28, 1792, and here he was successful. The letters I have from him were written before either election took place, and were indited upon the supposition, or expectation, that he would win at the Essex election. As this was the first and only election to parliament ever had at Detroit, the description Mr. Smith gives of what he expects will take place is quite interesting: "Perhaps I should have done better to have set up

for one of the seats in Detroit, as I hear only of Mr. Macomb who is to be proposed; but I did not then know they would be entitled to vote; besides were I thrown out on the 20th, I might have a chance on the 28th. The French people can easily walk to the hustings, but my gentry will require some conveyance; if boats are necessary, you can hire them, and they must not want beef or rum, let them have plenty—and in case of success, I leave it to you which you think will be best for my friends, a public dinner and the ladies a dance, either now or when I go up. If you think the moment the best time you will throw open Forsyth's tavern and call for the best he can supply. I trust you will feel very young on the occasion, in the dance, and I wish that Leith and you would push about the bottle to the promotion of the settlements on the Detroit. The more broken heads and bloody noses there are, the more election like, and in case of success (damn that if) let the white ribbon favors be plentifully distributed to the old, the young, the gay, the lame, the cripple and the blind. Half a score cord of wood piled hollow, with tar barrel in the middle, on the common, some powder and plenty of rum. I am sure you will preside over and do everything that is needful. As far as my circumstances will admit there must be no want, and I am sure you will have everything handsome and plentiful. Elliot, I am sure, will give you a large red flag to be hoisted on a pole near the bon-fire, and some blue colored tape may be sewed in large letters, 'ESSEX.'

"Thus talked the woman to herself when she carried her eggs on her head to the market. She set them, she hatched them, she sold them for a crown apiece, and then down she fell, eggs and all." At another time he writes: "Have proper booths erected for my friends at the hustings; employ Forsyth to make a large plumb cake, with plenty of fruit, &c., and be sure let the wine be good and plenty. Let the peasants have a fiddle, some beverage and beef."

Jean Baptiste Beaubien, one of the founders of Chicago, and a noted fiddler at every dance in the early years of that village, was born in Detroit, September 5, 1787. He was a cousin of Angelique Cuillerier.

The change of government finally came in 1796, when the English left and the Americans came in. It was not an unexpected change, and yet it made such an impression on the Canadian citizens who left the place rather than submit to the American rule, that they gave it the name of the "Exodus," a name by which it is familiarly known among their descendants even today. The new-comers were from New York and New England stock, and they brought with them some new ideas, amusements and holidays. Perhaps Christmas and the king's birthday were observed by the older residents, but now came the Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving Day, with its pumpkin pies, cider, and doughnuts. If

the roasting of new corn and potatoes was unknown in Detroit before this era, it certainly was not afterwards. Stoves were not invented in time to be of general use in Detroit until as late, or even later, than the Exodus. The family baking was not done at home, but at the public bakehouse, but every girl and boy was so familiar with the fireplace and uncovered fire, that the roasting of corn and potatoes was no great novelty, though it was always a pleasure.

Then what of the husking bee, and the privilege of the fortunate finder of the red ear of corn, who was permitted to kiss the girl of his choice—if he could catch her. Did that come from New England, or was it indigenous to the soil that could yield a corn crop? The hunting of nuts in the fall by groups of children or of grown folks could not have originated at that time, though it was doubtless engaged in, as it had been for a century before. Of wild grapes and berries of all varieties there was an abundance, and it did not need much of an education to instruct the young folks in the idea of having a crowd to do berrying and enjoy the fun, and every day was a picnic.

There were probably few, if any, two-story buildings in the vicinity of Detroit before 1796, but after that date they began to increase in numbers, and on the occasion of the erection of each new building there was the raising bee of neighbors accompanying the work with a boiled dinner for the crowd, and perhaps something a little stronger than water in the way of beverage.

There was a harpsichord in the settlement some years prior to the opening of the new century. Just when this musical instrument was brought to Detroit is uncertain, but it was there long before the year 1799, for at that date it was represented to be in a dilapidated condition. It was the property of Dr. William Harpfy. Harpfy was a surgeon in the British garrison, and when the Exodus took place in 1796, he was moved to the new establishment at Malden, and he took his harpsichord with him. Among his most intimate friends at Detroit were John Askin and Commodore Alexander Grant. Grant had been commodore of the lakes during the Revolution and was, in 1792, appointed one of the members of the executive council for Upper Canada —a life position. John Askin was an extensive trader at Detroit, and brother-in-law of Grant. Grant lived at Grosse Pointe and there had a castle well filled with young lady daughters. There were ten in all, of whom nine grew to womanhood, Therese (Mrs. Wright), Nellie, Archange (married Thomas Dickson), Phillis (married Alexander Duff), Isabella (married Mr. Gilkison), Nancy (married George Jacob), Elizabeth (married James Woods), Mary Julia (married Mr. Milles), and Jean Cameron (married William Richardson). The absence of any of the ten from the family circle could hardly be noticed, for the

deficiency was filled by the cousins, daughters of John Askin. Of these cousins, frequent visitors at the Grant castle, there were Adelaide Askin (afterwards the wife of Elijah Brush); Therese, who married Colonel Thomas McKee; Ellen, the wife of Richard Pattinson, and Archange, who became Mrs. Meredith, and removed to England with her husband, who was an officer in the British forces.

The first record we have of this harpsichord is contained in a letter from Dr. Harpfy to his friend John Askin. Harpfy was somewhat eccentric and quite voluble in his letter writting. This letter is dated October 17, 1799, and after dilating on various other matters, he turns his attention to the subject of music, and says "Curse the music. I wish it was sold. I care not for what, as all my wants and wishes to attain are not worth the pains or trouble to my friends. You will favor me if it could be in any way disposed of." It seems that the subject of the sale of this instrument had been talked over on some previous occasion between Askin and Harpfy, for the latter again writes: "In looking over your letter of the 14th, I thank you for your very great kindness in regard to the harpsichord—but I am told it is a mere wreck—therefore, as I have mentioned before, I wish it sold." What more proper place for such a piece of furniture than the Castle of Commodore Grant, where it could receive the attention of so many young ladies. Harpfy and Askin concluded that the castle was in need of just such an article, and one day, when one of the commodore's boats was at Malden, they slipped the instrument aboard and it was soon landed at Grosse Pointe. Then came the fun. It was so old and dilapidated that it was useless and in the way. No one wanted it. Only the old friendship existing between Grant and Harpfy prevented the former from casting the musical instrument into "outer darkness." Grant complained to the doctor and asked him to take the piece away from his home. Harpfy had occasion to visit Sandwich and wanted to cross the river and see Askin in Detroit, but the ferry was not running very regularly, and the doctor was not feeling very well—he had been sick and was now slowly recovering. Instead of visiting Askin, he wrote him a long letter on various matters, and as a postscript, touched on the subject of the instrument: "October 28th, 9 o'clock at night. I really am sorry that the harpsichord was put in Mr. Grant's boat, for he talks about it—Gods, how he talks about it." The joke had been carried too far and Grant would not overlook it, or allow it to proceed further. The instrument must be removed, and that at once. So Askin sent for it, and had it taken to one of his storehouses in the village, where it was taken care of. Askin lived on the front of his farm, not far from the intersection of Atwater and Randolph streets. Atwater street was the only highway to the country on the east side,

and the well-to-do class of citizens lived in the neighborhood. Here Askin owned several buildings, and, besides, he had several houses and buildings in the village proper. The last we hear of the instrument that came so near being an instrument of discord, is a note in a letter from Dr. Harpfy to Mr. Askin, dated November 5, 1799, where he writes, "I thank you for your care of the harpsichord. I wish it could be sold."

In 1799 there was an election held in Detroit for members of the Legislature, that met at Chillicothe, and Solomon Sibley, then a young attorney at Detroit, was one of the candidates. Voting then was not by secret ballot, as now, but every one gave the name of his candidate as he came up to vote. The voter's name was taken down, and his qualifications for suffrage were also frequently indicated. At the election referred to, some opponent of Judge Sibley kept such a record of the persons who voted for him and from this list I have taken a few names of persons whose descendants are still here.

Antoine Dequindre, who was, at that time, the owner of the farm extending along the westerly line of Dequindre street, is thus mentioned, "Has given his creditors all he has; the farm on which he lives is the property of his wife."

Christian Clemens, the founder and owner of Mount Clemens, "Has no property known."

Ezra F. Freeman, then one of the principal lawyers in the place, "Has no property in the country."

James Henry, an uncle of the late D. Farrand Henry. He was, at the time of his death, one of the wealthy citizens of the place, "Lives at Grosse Isle. Lately liberated from the Indians; lives on the estates of the late Macomb."

Elijah Brush, the founder of the Brush family, and the owner of the Brush farm, "Lately arrived; has no property known."

Sibley was elected over James May, and served in the legislature with Jacob Visger and Charles François Chabert de Joncaire.

This brings us to the beginning of the second century of the life of our city. Its population had increased from the one hundred who came at the start to some eighteen hundred who lived in the place, and along the shore line on both sides of the river. Now we are well on in the third century of our existence.

We look back upon these happy days and sigh as we remember that the simple life—the simple pleasures—and the simple folks of this long ago, are no longer with us, and cannot be found in the tumult of our great city.

HYDE FAMILY[1]

BY MRS. HARRIET HYDE WELLS

Moses Hyde and Sarah Dana were married in Ashford, Connecticut, Dec. 6, 1787. They settled at Lebanon, his birthplace, but subsequently moved to Middleburg, N. Y., where he purchased a large tract of land. After having erected buildings and made extensive improvements, a prior claim was put in to the land all through that district, an old land grant that had been overlooked. The claimant offered to sell the land over again, but at such exorbitant prices that most of the settlers preferred to abandon the situation. Among them was Mr. Hyde, who took his family to Livonia, in western New York, in 1812.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Hyde came of distinguished ancestry, tracing many lines back to the early colonists who came over to escape the persecutions under Archbishop Laud.[2] Mr. Hyde was one of eight brothers five of whom were in active service as officers in the Revolution, as was also the husband of his only sister. One brother died on the awful "Jersey" prison ship.

Mrs. Hyde was the daughter of Anderson Dana, who was killed while leading in the defense of Wyoming. Her mother escaped with her six children and they walked all the way, over three hundred miles, back to their old home in Ashford. Sarah was then fourteen years old. There are still two of her grandchildren living who remember hearing her tell the pitiful story of that journey. She lived to be ninety-three. Her mother was a Huntington, a cousin of Samuel Huntington, signer of the Declaration of Independence. Her oldest brother was the grandfather of Charles A. Dana.

Moses Hyde and Sarah Dana had four children, Lewis, Melissa, Milton and Fanny, all of whom married and all but one emigrated to Michigan. Milton in 1829, Lewis in 1832 and Fanny in 1835. Melissa remained with her parents. She married William Sprague and her descendants still live in and around the old home in western New York.

Lewis married Lucy Hatch of New Lisbon, N. Y., and when they came to Michigan they had six children. They joined Milton in Auburn, Oakland county and remained there a year, then Mr. Hyde took up eighty acres of land from the government in Southfield, same county; built a comfortable log house and moved his family there. The next year a log school house was built and Mr. Hyde was the first

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June 3, 1909.

[2]William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He was impeached by Parliament and executed Jan. 10, 1644, aged seventy-two.

teacher, his six children attending. Those children are scattered far and wide. One died in Minnesota and one in Virginia. The only one left lives near old Sonoma, California, aged eighty-eight years, still hale and hearty, managing his ranch of 640 acres entirely himself. His six children live in or near San Francisco. Only one grandson of Lewis Hyde lives near the old home in Southfield. He served in the war of 1812 and died in 1838.

Fannie married Warren Kneeland and moved to Southfield, Michigan, in 1835, then to Howell, Michigan, in 1840, where Mr. Kneeland bought a large tract of land and died in 1848, leaving a widow and seven children. The two oldest sons, Clinton and Dana, not yet twenty-one years old, carried on the farm, cleared it of a mortgage, took care of the mother and assisted the younger children as long as they needed help.

All married except Dana, who never separated from his brother, and all continued to live in Michigan. The youngest daughter, Clara, married Miner J. Harley, and still lives at Oak Grove, near Howell, the only one left of the family of seven.

Milton Hyde was born at Middleburg, N. Y., May 21, 1797 and married Hariette A. Edson, of Aurelius, N. Y., January 3, 1821. She was born at Randolph, Vermont, April 13, 1797, daughter of Col. Josiah Edson, a soldier of the Revolution. She was a lineal descendant of Samuel Edson, one of the "Original Proprietors" of Bridgewater, Mass., who built the first mill at that place and of Thomas Joy[3] who built the first State House in Boston, and John Alden, and several other prominent men who came from England between 1620 and 1640.

They took up their residence at Geneseo, N. Y., but soon removed to Livonia, and in August, 1829, they emigrated to Michigan with a family of six children, the oldest barely seven years old, the youngest twin girls of eight months. They traveled to Rochester, twenty-five miles, in wagons with household furniture and provisions, then by Erie Canal to Buffalo and through Lake Erie and Detroit River on the steamer "Superior,"[3] the second passenger steamer on that lake, to Detroit, then in wagons to Auburn,[4] Oakland county, twenty-five miles, the whole journey occupying eight days, three of which were spent on Lake Erie and two between Detroit and Auburn where there was much corduroy road. There was at that time a prospect that the State prison would be built at Auburn and that the projected railroad would pass through there, and quite a number of well-to-do settlers were attracted there. It was a decided rival to Pontiac, three miles distant,

[3]See this series, Vol. XVII, p. 158, revised edition.

[4]The village of Auburn got its name from Aaron Webster who named it after Auburn, N. Y. The first settlement was made in 1821. In 1880-1881 a postoffice called Amy was established at Auburn and from that time on it appears in the *Gazetteer of Michigan* as Amy.

but Jackson got the prison and Pontiac the railroad and Auburn never grew any more for fifty years and not much ever. It was surrounded by fine farms and was always a pleasant place to live. Mr. Hyde purchased a farm just on the edge of the village. He soon became a leader in village affairs and was as long as he lived there justice of the peace, the highest office in the town. He was also director of all educational and most of the religious matters of the village. He and his wife were Presbyterians with somewhat of the old Puritan spirit. He was always known as "Squire Hyde."

Mrs. Hyde bore her part in this new-world life with great ability, and unfailing patience and cheerfulness. She learned to card the wool, spin the yarn, color and weave it into pretty stripes and plaids for her children's clothes, and to cut and make them as well as clothes for her husband and boys, besides all the cares and work of such a household. She was a fearless woman, going about nights after her own little ones were in bed, looking after the sick poor, carrying a torch through the woods to frighten any wolves that might be prowling about. She was a woman of splendid physique, perfect health, strong character and varied ability.

Auburn in 1830 was a very pretty little village. There was the village green surrounded by very attractive houses. One street, the only one of any length, passed through the middle of it. There was a very good tavern, which is still standing and seems as good as ever; a small Baptist Church which burned soon after the Hydes settled there and no other was built there for fifty years, when the Methodists built one. There was a blacksmith's shop and one or two general stores. In those days farmer's sons generally learned some trade that they might be able to help themselves. Lewis Hyde learned the mason's trade and Milton the carpenter's, and their services were in so much demand in their new home, that they were kept pretty busy between their farms and their trades. One of Milton's first pieces of work was a schoolhouse, quite a pretentious one. He bought the land and with such help as he could get, put up a two-story building, finishing off only the first floor in the old fashioned district school manner, with desks next to the walls on a raised platform of one step, benches in front facing a big box stove in the middle of the room around which were low benches with no backs, for the little children. A desk which also served for a pulpit was at one end, the wide door at the other, a vestibule ran across the front ample for stairs to lead to the upper story, as soon as that story should be needed. In 1902, after a railroad was built through Auburn and the name changed to Amy, the village took on a little boom, and a few new houses were built and the "Academy" modernized and completed, having stood all those seventy years just as Mr. Hyde left it, serving

for church as well, whenever any itinerant minister came to give them a service. Mr. Hyde's home was generally the home for all such ministers, and a Sunday School was held every Sunday afternoon. A sawmill and a gristmill were also built, run by the water of the Clinton river which passes through the village. Then little Auburn's growth ceased, indeed she soon began to lose ground. N. P. Stewart moved away with his general store, other enterprises followed until it seemed that Auburn would become a veritable "Deserted Village." But the real farmers were well suited generally, and the descendants of many of those early settlers are still there. Milton Hyde remained on the farm fourteen years. Five more children were born in Auburn. One died in infancy and ten lived to grow up, six girls and four boys. Mr. Hyde sold the farm to Warren Dunning, whose sons still live there. Mr. Hyde then bought the sawmill in the village and undertook to maunfacture furniture as his third son William had a decided genius for mechanics. The oldest, Edson, was all for books and study, but his father could only give him such education as the village school afforded, which was good as far as it went. So when quite young he entered the Stewart store. Soon afterwards he went to Pontiac, and from there to the surveyor-general's office in Detroit. He married Margaret Hunt, niece of Hon. James B. Hunt, member of Congress from that district. They lived in Detroit until his health failed and he was advised to go to Lake Superior. There he obtained the position of purchasing and supply agent of the Cliff Mine at Eagle River, and died in 1860, aged only thirty-eight years. His beautiful widow still lives with their only child, in Port Huron, the wife of H. G. Barnum, president of the First National Exchange Bank.

Adeline married Orlando B. Clark, of Green Oak, Mich., where they lived for some years then moved to Iowa, and in 1859 went in emigrant wagons to California, being eighteen weeks making the journey. Adeline kept a journal which reads like a romance as it was a time of turbulence with Indians and they had many adventures. They settled near Sacramento, with two sons, ten and twelve years old. During their stay of three years there a little daughter was born. When she was ten months old they decided to return to Iowa, and the baby girl died on the way and was buried near Salt Lake City. They came by stage and Mrs. Clark carried the little dead form for many hours not letting anyone know she was dead for fear she would be compelled to stop and bury her by the wayside. Some years later they went overland by wagon to Oregon, where both died. The oldest son died; the other lives in Oregon, but neither ever married.

George studied medicine, but he was restless, unstable, longed to travel and see the world and finally went west. He wrote home for

awhile from one place or another and finally went to Montana and was never heard of again. His young wife died three years after he left, and his three little girls were brought up by his relatives and all still live in Michigan.

After the oldest three children were married, Mr. Hyde decided to move to Grand Rapids in 1849, which he did by sleighs across country which took several days and was a most notable event in the lives of the little ones which they love to talk about yet. William soon found a place in a machine shop and became an expert. He married twice. On August 22, 1893 he was accidentally killed while at work. Three children survive him. His only daughter is an expert stenographer in the Bureau of Pensions, Washington, D. C.; his two sons still live in Grand Rapids.

Mary Sophia and Sarah Marie were the twin babies. In 1852 Mary Sophia married George W. Yale, a nephew of the inventor of the famous Yale lock and other devices. They soon settled on a farm just out of Grand Rapids, where he made a great success with small fruits and early vegetables. They had five children. The only daughter and two sons died on the farm. Mr. and Mrs. Yale moved back to their first home in Grand Rapids. The oldest son, Charles, died soon after, leaving a young widow and three little boys. Mr. Yale died in 1890, and the only remaining son moved with his wife to Washington and settled at Billingham. Mrs. Yale spent most of her time after that with her youngest sister at Grosse Ile, Mich., where she died, September, 1908.

Sarah Marie married William Ives of Detroit, on April 12, 1853. He was a surveyor and worked many years under government contracts. It was his compass that first indicated the presence of iron ore[5] in the Lake Superior country. He also was sent to Oregon in 1851 to run the base line of that State and the Willamette meridian from the base line to Puget Sound. He returned to Michigan in 1853, married and settled on a beautiful farm on Grosse Ile, in Detroit River, where he died after a short illness, in 1874. Mrs. Ives died very suddenly, 1864, leaving four little girls.

Mr. Hyde died June, 1866, and in August of that year Mr. Ives married Lydia. She had two daughters. After Mr. Ives death she sold the farm and moved to Detroit. Lydia died in 1896, and Mrs. Hyde died August, 1879, aged eighty-two years.

Harriette was twelve years old when the family moved to Grand Rapids. She went to Detroit and took up music. She taught school and music and finally went to Port Huron, where she met and within

[5]Iron ore. In 1846 William A. Burt found a low ridge of iron in townships 41 and 42 between ranges 29 and 30—a mass of very pure iron. See *Lake Superior Geological Report by Foster and Whitney*, Part II, p. 31, note.

a year married Frederick L. Wells, whose parents came to Michigan when he was a baby. His father early engaged in the lumber business, and associated his son with him. His life deserves a chapter by itself, he is so identified with the growth and activities of that city and district, but it is well written up in "The History of Michigan," and "The History of St. Clair County,"[6] so I will not repeat it.

He built a beautiful home and he and wife passed forty-four happy years together. They had no children but lent a helping hand to the orphans related to them.

Mr. Wells died very suddenly, May, 1904. Mrs. Wells sold the large home and with a niece made her home in Detroit.

Charles Milton, like Edson, was very ambitious to learn. After finishing his school course he secured a position in a book store, when typhoid fever overtook him and he died, aged sixteen years.

Julia Josephine, the youngest of this family of eleven went to visit her sister on Grosse Ile and there met and married Edward L. Keith, a young man who had a beautiful home across the Island; their married life was short, Mr. Keith living less than eight years, leaving her with a farm and three small children. Her children grew up, good and helpful. The daughter married and still lives with her mother, with her two children. The boys both went west. It was in this home that the mother, and sister, Mary Yale, died. Harriette and Julia are now the only ones left of this family of eleven.

If Auburn was but a little village there was plenty of social activity. There seemed to be many large families in and near there, many of whom have helped to make the history of Michigan. The late H. C. Parke,[7] founder of "Parke, Davis and Co.," Hon. Jay A. Hubbell,[8] a member of Congress from Houghton, McConnells, Bacons and so many others. Where are they all?

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[6]See *History of St. Clair Co.*, p. 601.

[7]Hervey Coke Parke, president of the Parke, Davis and Co., inc., was born at Bloomfield, Oakland County, Michigan, December 13, 1827, son of Ezra Smith Parke, M. D., and Rhoda Sperry. He received his education in Oakland county schools and in Buffalo, N. Y. He taught school and clerked in different stores until 1861, when he became a member of a retail hardware business in Hancock, Mich. In 1865 he moved to Detroit and in 1866 became junior member of the firm Duffield and Conant, in the manufacture of pharmaceuticals; the firm name then changed to Duffield, Parke and Co. In 1870 he started the Parke, Davis & Co. business which is known all over the world. Mr. Parke was married twice; in 1860 to Frances A. Hunt, daughter of the late Hon. James B. Hunt, M. C. She died in 1867, leaving him five children, three of whom survive. In 1872 he married Mary M. Mead of Detroit, daughter of James E. Mead, and they have four children: Hervey Coke, Jr., Lyman M., Ira Sperry and Marie Louise. He died at La Mesa, Cal., Feb. 8, 1899, and was buried in Detroit, Feb. 15th of that year. *Landmarks of Detroit*, by Ross and Catlin.

[8]Jay A. Hubbell was born at Avon, Mich., Sept. 15, 1829, son of Samuel S. Hubbell, one of the earliest settlers of Oakland Co., located there in 1820. He was elected in 1783 to the House of Representatives from the ninth district and served until 1881. He died in 1900. *Who's Who in America.*

How differently the young people of sixty years ago amused themselves from those of today. They generally began by doing something useful and ended with a frolic, quilting parties, paring bees. "Will" Hyde invented a paring machine which he used to place across a tub and sitting astride, pared apples as fast as a goodly company could quarter, core and string. At nine o'clock work stopped, (they began at seven), light refreshments were served, generally doughnuts and cider, then the games began. Dancing was left to the "Balls" which were always in the "Tavern," where there was a fine ballroom and good music and more dress than at the home frolics. There were sleigh rides to Ball Mountain, Pontiac, Rochester, Birmingham and to private houses in the country around, like the Trowbridge's and Satterlee's in Troy. There were singing and spelling schools, and of course tea parties, etc.

Another source of entertainment was the itinerant method. One never knew when to expect the travelers, so they were a continual surprise, except the ministers, who generally gave some notice that they might be sure of a congregation. Doctors also rode from house to house, selling salves, ointments, pills and various other drugs, and not infrequently prescribing with excellent success. Mrs. Hyde had more than one occasion to be thankful for such timely help, and there are still in the family, most valuable recipes, obtained in that way. Peddlers afforded the most amusement. They brought good things in great variety and saved many a trip to the village. It was a great accommodation and they made money. I know of one wealthy merchant today who began by carrying a few trifles in a small bundle and gradually advanced to a tin trunk, then two tin trunks, strapped over his shoulders. It was not very long before he had a cart which he drew or pushed and so on until he had a fine wagon full of compartments and conveniences and a pair of horses and was dressed fine. As well as dressmakers there were women tailors and milliners, who went from house to house giving great help to the busy housemothers. There was one shoemaker who used to go about with his bench and tools, and made whatever shoes were needed. Of course all of them boarded wherever they worked, the peddlers staying wherever night overtook them paying well out of their wares. They would also take orders for anything out of their line that they could carry.

Auburn was not without its eccentric characters, of whom I will mention a few. One always known as "Jimmy Hazen" had been an itinerant minister in the State of New York, having a circuit which took him to certain places about once a month. He was well educated and evidently had been a man of good parts. At one of his stopping places he met and became engaged to a young lady. The time was set

for the marriage and the last time he was to go before that event he took his wedding suit and left it. But he never wore it. When he appeared to claim his bride, she had married another man, who had not only stolen his bride, but his clothes. The blow evidently unbalanced his mind, for he never preached any more, but wandered around from place to place. He could never give a very clear account of those years. He had some means and when about forty, he arrived at Auburn, bought a few acres of land, built a two-roomed house and bought some cattle, sheep and chickens. He was taciturn, very unsociable, seemed to not want to make friends, but Mrs. Hyde finally, through many little unobtrusive kindnesses (he lived near the Hyde home) won his confidence and so his story came out. But the way he lived, no one could help him—just a "bunk" for a bed and buffalo skin for covering, and under and around were chickens, lambs and every thing that needed special care. Every creature about the place knew him and loved him. His way of assembling them was most peculiar. When he wanted his sheep he would go out and sing "The White Pilgrim" and every sheep would hasten to him. When he took them to the river to wash them, he would pass down through the village with his buffalo skin around his shoulders (he always wore it, winter and summer) singing "The White Pilgrim" and his sheep following him, and back the same way. To call his cattle he sang another hymn, I can't remember what, but the cattle responded as readily as the sheep and neither ever came to the tune meant for the other. He rarely went into any house but the Hydes', and not often there. We left him there when we left Auburn and I don't remember what became of him.

Another "eccentric" was "Sam Mills," not a bad looking young man, nor a bad match for any not very ambitious girl, and he wanted to marry. So when he selected a girl whom he would like to honor he would watch for her to appear in a new calico dress. Then he would go and have a suit made off the same piece. It soon came to be known what that meant, and afforded much amusement to many, and of course annoyance to the girl selected. But he succeeded finally, and the other girls were all glad when he did. It was very comical though to see a man with a pink or blue calico suit of coat, pants and vest.

Another queer fellow always wore a round hat with a striped ribbon round the crown, tied behind in a small bowknot, and streamers about a yard long hanging down the back. He had studied law and was a very bright man with a wonderful memory. He could repeat any thing after hearing it once, even a long sermon, or a poem, essay or lecture. He was tried many times but never failed. What upset his life and made it so queer and apparently of no use to any one, no one ever knew. He drifted away after awhile.

SAMPLERS THAT I HAVE READ ABOUT, SEEN AND OWNED[1]

BY FLORENCE S. BABBITT

The collection of samplers and specimens of pictorial embroidery exhibited here is not only representative of the skilled work of children who have passed beyond the age of great grandparents and are now dead, (for nearly all of them were made more than a century ago), but there is a peculiar beauty about the design and coloring. Many are unique specimens, pronounced by experts who have seen them, worthy of a place in any art or historical museum in the country. These samplers, taken from treasured stores in the possession of the old families, are held precious as heirlooms to be handed down as evidences of work done by the youngsters who lived three and four generations ago, and these prized articles should be placed where the public may examine them at any time.

THE OBJECT OF SAMPLERS

The child of a hundred years ago was expected to devote at least one year to sewing fanciful designs on canvas, and this sort of work usually antedated the simplest mental studies of "Reading, 'Riting and 'Rithmetic," known as the "Three R's" of the public school curriculum. This accounts for so many of them bearing the information that the maker was but eight or nine years of age when it was completed on such a date, all of which formed part of the design. Even boys worked them. It was much in the nature of a kindergarten, inculcating perseverance and painstaking, and it is a fact that few of them exhibited a single false stitch. The embroidering of the alphabet a number of times, first capitals, as in illuminated texts, and then in "lower case," furnished the first lesson in reading at one and the same time—thus we had a single lesson serving to instruct in sewing, reading, as well as a moral lesson. Having become proficient to that extent the child proceeded to apply his or her knowledge by embroidering a verse and extending skill finally to the fancy stitchwork of a picture. These verses were of a nature to inspire noble sentiments and were mainly in the line with the idea "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth."

The fanciful patterns in which the alphabets were worked, served in latter life as samples for the housewife. Usually what a child produces in a kindergarten is discarded as soon as the child passes beyond that interesting stage when these things clutter the home of every wife

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June 3, 1909.

and mother who is not one of those who saves them in a treasure bag, to be stored away as souvenirs of childhood. Therefore in olden times, the girl on leaving school had on hand something which was to prove useful to her all through life. Whenever she desired a pattern to guide her in the embroibery of her fair linen she consulted her sampler hanging on the wall, and selected from the several types of alphabets the pattern which she preferred.

Those who took kindly to samplers, when at school, easily fell into the way when older grown of embroidering the more elaborate sampler, styled picture embroidery. In order to make it characteristically individual these usually took the form of a representation of the family homestead, or else memorialized a departed member of the family by showing his or her name worked in black silk upon a more or less elaborate monument of any color. Many scenes conjured from the Bible were worked. This one described is the most wonderful one I ever saw, embroidered on a canvas fifteen inches square, decorated with trees growing with wonderful symmetrical effect, and Adam and Eve appear much concerned beneath the shade of a central one, for a mammoth serpent is seen descending. Possibly this snake is twenty feet long, because while the tip of its tail is poking out from the topmost branch, it is able to extend from the base in the direction of poor little Eve, who seems startled to be offered a fruit as large as her head, held in the jaws of the benevolent reptile. About their loins is seen a fig leaf surcingle. Two angels are hovering about the trees, interested witnesses of what Eve is likely to decide. This verse follows:

"Upon a tree divinely fair
Grew the forbidden food;
Our mother took the poison there
And tainted all the blood."

The largest and handsomest sampler exhibited here was worked in 1829 by Sophia Beckwith. Besides the usual alphabets, numerals and her name, a schoolhouse named Poplar Grove, with many poplar, elm, and maple trees surrounding it, forms the bottom panel. Sophia Beckwith Worthington lived to be ninety years old, and was the author of many children's books. Her last entitled "Under the Apple Trees," was published in 1885 by Hunt & Eaton. This sampler is in fine condition.

A sampler in the collection of Margaret R. Kearsley is made on handmade linen; alphabet in capital letters, and repeated twice in lower case, each alphabet in different colors. The alphabet is followed by Roman numerals from one to twenty, and the maker's name, which is Martha Elizabeth Door, agen seven years. Beneath this information

is a picture in cross-stitch, showing two little girls in bright colored costumes, standing in front of a beehive. A background of green trees and bright colored flowers completes the picture.

The Kimmell sampler exhibited here shows the usual alphabet, after which appears her name, Susana Kimmell, her work done in 1800.

One with a religious tendency has this verse:

"Jesus permit thy gracious name to stand,
As the fair effort of an infant's hand,
And while her fingers o'er the canvas move
Engage her tender heart to seek thy love."

This pathetic verse is on a sampler in the Florence S. Babbitt collection at the State Normal School, Ypsilanti:

"This work in hand my friends may have,
When I am dead and in my grave."

One from the Nancy Babbitt Collection has the following verse on the oldest sampler:

"See how the lilies flourish white and fair
See how the ravens fed from heaven are,
Then ne'er distrust thy God for cloth and bread,
While lilies flourish and the raven fed.
—Jemima Carter, 1767."

On my Mother's Sampler and following her name, Nancy Jacques Lewis, worked in the 10th year of her age, 1832, appears this verse:

"On books, or work, or healthful play,
Let my first years be passed,
That I may give for every day
Some good account at last."

A sampler owned in my family is embroidered in memory of my great grandmother's sister and brother, who died in the early part of 1800, Lydia Stanton Rood, Asher Stanton Rood. The following appears below the names on the monument:

"In words of silk I here enroll
The names of those I love;
May we be found in Jesus fold,
In that bright world above."

List of Samplers presented by Florence S. Babbitt to the Michigan State Pioneer Society.

One sampler, finished September 30th, 1820, marked "Jane Caverhill, born October 30, 1808."

One sampler eight inches wide by fifteen long, marked "E. C." in bottom panel.

One sampler, eight by ten inches, marked "Sarah M. Queen's work, done in her 12th year."

One sampler, fifteen by twelve inches, marked "Wrought by Alice Ann Secomb Kingston."

Samplers Loaned to the Michigan Pioneer Society's Meeting, June, 1909—M. B. Ferrey Collection:

"Though in thy cheek be blended
The rose and lily's bloom
Death eer the day is ended
May call thee to thy tomb.

"Give not a sign of sadness
To joys that could not last
Prepare to live in gladness
When all these scenes are past."

Elizabeth Lee, Jan. 28, 1838. E. A. Taylor, Teacher.

"To you dear parents I return
My thanks for all your love,
Then may my heart with ardor burn
To him who reigns above.

"And to our God my pray'rs shall rise,
For blessings on our way;
Until with you I mount the skies
To realms of endless day."

Isabella McDonald, aged 12 years, 1829, Philadelphia.

Mrs. M. H. Bennett, Collector, Novi, Mich.

Lovinia M. Sprague, Sampler marked July 8, in the 12th year of her age. Lovinia M. Burnett, 1808.

Mrs. Martha Garner, Collector:

"'Tis education forms the common mind."

Martha Armstrong, born July the 17th, 1830, aged 18 years, 1848.

Mrs. Emma Many loans one containing the following verse:

"Infants whose different destinies
Are woven with threads of different size,
Break your first silence in his praise."

—Cornelia Many, aged 10, 1827.

Mrs. H. C. Brucker loans one made in 1848, marked Adaliza Dodge.

Miss Florence Mann loans one marked as follows:

"Cast but a smile on this my mean endeavor,
I have tried to mend and be obedient ever."

"Ann Overton ended this sampler May the 11th, 1812."

Eighteen inches square, Sarah Cornwell sampler wrought in the ninth year of her age while under the instruction of H. L. Cobb, Palmyra, N. Y. Aug. 19th, 1840. Dogs, birds, trees, flowers the schoolhouse and trees embroidered in silk.

THE PURITAN BLOOD OF MICHIGAN

BY W. V. SMITH[1]

Present conditions, events of recent occurrence, have often a plain connection with events of a much earlier period, the relationship being that of cause and effect, and to trace this relationship, and keep alive in the memory of to-day our due obligation to the activities of other and earlier pioneers, is the pleasant and proper province of a society like this.

That the migration which caused the wonderful growth of our State from the time of its birth as a state up to the period of the Civil War, less than thirty years later, had behind it some cogent cause other than mere wanderlust, must be apparent. Born as a State in 1837, on a census which it is said on good authority had to be grossly padded to make out the requisite sixty thousand inhabitants, so great had been its growth that in the period of the Civil War from '61 to '65, it showed its remarkable resources in its best product by sending into the field fifty-eight military organizations comprising over eighty-nine thousand soldiers; and the homogeneity of its population is evidenced by the fact that no internal sectionalism, no party division, no race prejudice, no draft riots, showed any marked opposition to this contribution to the common cause of the North in its struggle for human liberty.

It is the purpose of this address to call attention briefly to some of those things which, as it seems to me, are of interest as having been of great influence in this growth of Michigan during this period, through

[1]Read at the midwinter meeting, Flint, January, 1910.

the influx of immigrants, and which, to a large extent, has molded the ideas and ideals of the people of the Peninsula State. The Puritan occupancy of New England is one of the most remarkable things of modern history and not the least remarkable characteristic of these people was the increase of its population from the fecundity of the people, which made it a teeming hive, from which went out an immense immigration to the other portions of the Union following generally along lines of latitude. Among this people a dozen or more children to the family was the common, not the exceptional occurrence. This increase augmented by immigration of co-religionists from England, found room for its overflow by spreading along the coast peopling Rhode Island and Connecticut and those parts of New Hampshire and Maine that were approximate to the ocean. The interior formed for a long time an uninhabited hinterland, dangerous, because of French occupation of Canada, and from the fact that any outpost attempted to be established within it was subject to the frightful visitation of the savages from the North, incited and aided by the French, as was the case of Deerfield in the time of Queen Anne's War. These conditions continued down to the time of the French-Indian War. During this war the British in carrying on their various expeditions against the French, and in maintaining their garrisons along their northern frontier, recruited many soldiers along the New England coast and these men, serving in the interior and marching through this heretofore uninhabited region, became acquainted with its resources and, after the close of the war, when French domination in Canada ceased and danger from Indian depredations stopped with that domination, these men were the leaders of a tide of migration from all along maritime New England toward the interior which soon spread over western Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and the interior. The Dutch of New York, less prolific than the Puritans, had expanded by following up the Hudson and out into the valley of the Mohawk and here in the westernmost county of the province of New York, named Tryon County, had established those settlements which then formed the frontier against the territory of the Five Nations. I might say here, parenthetically, that there was never any Six-Nations[2] of the Iroquois properly speaking.

[2]The Five Nations were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. They encouraged other nations to incorporate with them and when they had subdued a people they adopted them into their nation. The Tuscaroras after their war with the Indians of the Carolinas fled to the Five Nations for protection in 1713 or 1714 and were incorporated, thus making Six Nations. Schoolcraft in *Notes on the Iroquois*, says that the traditions of the Tuscaroras affirm that they were descendants of the original family of Iroquois who traveled southward, part of them crossing the Mississippi. He further says that they had no independent claim to territory after they had leagued themselves to the Iroquois Confederacy, but were merely living there as guests, "although the Confederacy had admitted them as an integral number" and called themselves the Six Nations instead of the Five Nations.

These were the conditions existing at the time of the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, and the border warfare of that struggle had its principal scenes in the valley of the Mohawk and along the frontier of Northern Pennsylvania. At the close of that war the British abandoned their Indian allies in New York and left them to make such a peace as they ccould negotiate, which resulted in treaties opening up for settlement the western end of what is now the State of New York, but after the settlement as between the United States Government and the Indians, another contest remained to be settled. Massachusetts claimed this new region because James I, of pious memory, had in 1620 granted to the Plymouth Colony a strip of territory several degrees wide along the Atlantic seaboard and extending westward to the Pacific. This plainly included the territory of western New York. New York claimed it because Charles I, in 1663, had granted to the Duke of York lands along the Hudson from Canada to the sea and running westward indefinitely and this also plainly included the disputed territory. The contention came down to this: James, with royal generosity, gave away to the Plymouth Colony something that did not and never had belonged to him, and the Colony's rights had passed to the State of Massachusetts. Charles, with royal prodigality, had given to his brother, the Duke of York, what his father, forty years earlier, had given away to some one else, and New York had acquired the rights of the Duke of York. Both states gave up to the United States Government all of the disputed section west of a line drawn south from the west end of Lake Ontario, but this cession left about nineteen thousand square miles to quarrel over. A most proper and fitting termination of such a quarrel where it is plain neither party had any claim well founded in equity, was to compromise,[3] which was done by a division giving to New York the governmental control, or sovereignty, of this territory and to Massachusetts the pre-emption rights, that is, the ownership of the land. Massachusetts became a landowner over a great portion of the territory of the State of New York and soon sold these lands amounting to about six million acres, to two New Englanders, Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, who in reality represented a syndicate of capitalists, and from them Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, purchased about a million and a quarter acres.

These various transactions had occupied some years and in the meantime the French incited by the successful issue of the Revolution in America, had begun an agitation for popular liberty and this agitation had grown into revolution. Amsterdam, then the financial center of the World, was near the scene of its activities. Holland had been the battle ground of Europe. Governmental protection as a sanction

[3]This compromise was brought about by a convention of commissioners held at Hartford, Conn., Dec. 16, 1786.

for the stability of property rights was becoming a thing of uncertainty and shrewd financiers of Amsterdam, foreseeing the hazard to European investments and the unstability of European governments, sought safety by transferring a portion at least of their fortunes to America. One of the results was the formation of the Holland Land Company composed of Wilhelm Wulink, Nicholas Van Strophorst, Pieter Van Eegen, Hendrick Vallenhoven and Rutger Schemmelpenninct and this Company purchased of Robert Morris, directly or indirectly, his holdings in western New York, then amounting to something like three and a third million acres. The title deeds, by which this transfer was consummated, were almost cotemporaneous with the success of the army of the Revolution at the decisive battle of Valmy.

The next decade saw a portion of these immense tracts of land surveyed and some of them opened for settlement and by the first decade of the nineteenth century, land booming, which by the way is no thing of recent days, was carried on in an extensive way throughout the New England States. The Holland Land Company and other similar companies, offered as inducements for the settlement of their new territory, which at that time was generally referred to as the Genesee Country, a long period of credit and easy terms of payments. The result was that tide of migration from out of New England from the beginning of the last century into western New York where farms were to be had at the price of two and a quarter dollars per acre on ten years terms, with no interest to be charged for the first three years. No cash payment was required at the time that the articles, as the contracts were then invariably called, were executed. People who could not obtain title to lands elsewhere, took advantage of these liberal terms relying with pioneer hopefulness on the promises of the future.

Another potent cause for an outflowing of immigrants from New England was found in climatic conditions in the interior into which the tide of migration had poured after the French and Indian War. The summer of 1816 was known throughout New England as a cold summer. In Vermont, New Hampshire, interior Maine and western Massachusetts killing frosts occurred during every summer month and many a settler being discouraged by this condition, looked toward the Genesee Country of New York and this Genesee Country became, within a short time, Newer New England.

The Holland Land Company had established land offices at Batavia, Mayville and Ellicottsville.[4] Their holdings had been organized as a county under the name of Genesee and Genesee County superseded the term "Genesee Country." At the end of the first quarter of last century

[4]Ellicottsville was named from Joseph Ellicot, the first land agent who resurveyed the Holland Purchase. It was located as the county seat of Cattaraugus county in 1808. *Gazetteer of New York*, 1860.

their lands were well settled but the average settler had paid little, often nothing upon his contract. The hardships of pioneer life, the maintenance of the large families on the meagre products of the soil, which products were almost entirely unsaleable for cash, had brought the natural results; they had pursued the phantom of hope expecting that the deficiency of the then present, would be supplied by the future which was not the case.

The policy of the company was to allow the utmost leniency to these settlers and those conditions might have continued indefinitely for land was being cleared and fenced and although the interest had accumulated often to the extent of doubling the original indebtedness, still the increased value furnished increased security had it not been for angry words hastily spoken in the little village of Ellicottsville where was the office of the land company. These angry words were passed between the agent of the land company, who was the big man of the place, and a rising politician by the name of Stewart. From these words began the enmity bitter and unrelenting, and a few years later, when Stewart, through his political activity, had secured a seat in the senate of the State, he found occasion to strike at his enemy, the land agent, by striking at the company which he represented, and a bill aimed at it became a law which taxed land contracts held by non-residents to the amount of any unpaid balance. The burden thus placed upon the Holland Land Company and other proprietary companies similarly affected, necessitated a radical change of policy. If these companies were to be taxed upon the unpaid balances, it followed, as a matter of business providence that they should reduce these balances by collecting in the same. Notices were given to delinquents requiring payment of long due indebtedness and delinquents in many communities amounted to everybody. Payment in many instances was impossible and the spirit of resentment at this change of policy on the part of the settlers in some cases resulted in acts of violence.[5]

In the meantime, Michigan had become a State, Congress had passed laws granting land warrants to the survivors of the Revolutionary War or their widows, and these warrants entitled the holder, or his assignee, to locate anywhere on the public domain one hundred and sixty acres of land. As the recipients of these warrants were necessarily advanced in years, few of them ever used the warrants for personal location and these warrants could be purchased for a very small consideration.

[5]In 1835 the Holland Land Co. sold their outstanding contracts and unsold lands to Trumbull, Cary & Co., of Batavia; the new proprietors impsode such conditions upon the extension of contracts that the settlers rose *en masse* and demolished the land office at Mayville, Feb. 6, 1836, burning the records in the public highway. The new company demanded compound interest on all sums due and an increase of one-third upon all extensions of contracts. In 1838 the interests of the company were transferred to Duer, Morrison and Seward and the troubles were satisfactorily settled. *Gazetteer of New York*, 1860, pp. 210 and 322.

Homestead laws soon followed. The thousand of settlers of western New York, threatened with eviction in case of failure to pay a debt which, from former leniency had never seemed serious, turned their eyes toward Michigan which was then well known by report and especially by a popular song which began to be heard in every home.

It was easy to get to Buffalo and from Buffalo to Detroit. The lake navigation supplied the cheapest of transportation and thousands of heads of families sold for such sums as they could obtain to their wealthier neighbor the old home or, in many instances, abandoned the contract and sought a new home in the Peninsular State.[6] This element made southern Michigan a third New England and to-day this newest New England is more exclusively of the blood of the Puritans, more representative of the ideas and ideals of the Puritians themselves than Massachusetts, than Rhode Island, than Connecticut, or any of the so called New England States of this present time.

To summarize; these migrations were first from the teeming New England coast settlements after the French and Indian War, into interior New England; second, after the War of the Revolution, a flood of migration from all of New England to the Genesee Country of western New York which covered the periods from the beginning of the last decade of the eighteenth, up to and including the first three decades of the nineteenth century and, third, a migration from New York and New England generally to the State of Michigan, the flood tide of which was the first ten years after the formation of Michigan as a State and which was due to a considerable extent, indirectly at least, to the hasty quarrel to which I have referred.

Mr. W. F. Baxter, now a resident of Detroit but formerly of Lenawee County, tells me that he copied census of 1870 for certain towns of Lenawee County and that from actual computation made by him it was found that three-fourths of the enumerated inhabitants of those townships were either born in New York or were the children of parents born in that State and I apprehend that this condition characterizes a large number of localities throughout the southern part of the State of Michigan. In the name of this, our County, we have adopted the name of the old "Genesee County."

Especially in the history of the jurisprudence of Michigan is this influence from the older jurisprudence of New England and New York, and also in the personnel of our early courts, apparent. Six of the

[6]As early as 1833 there are in the papers of Detroit notices of the numbers of people who leave Buffalo and land in Detroit. From May 1st to the 7th of that year, seven boats arrived. They left Buffalo with 2,610 passengers and landed 1,350 of them in Detroit. On May 22nd, out of the 2,025 passengers leaving Buffalo 1,275 landed at Detroit. On May 29th, the Courier states, "The last six steamers left Buffalo with 2,080 passengers and landed 1,200 at Detroit, or 200 per day." See *The Detroit Courier*, 1833.

ten territorial judges of Michigan were New Englanders. The first chief justice of our Supreme Court was a New Yorker. The Big Four,[7] as the four great judges of Michigan, measured by the influence of their learning and official service on the bench of our highest court, are known to the profession, were every one of them New Yorkers, two of them from the Genesee Country of post revolutionary days. The two chancellors of our early chancery court were one from New England, one from New York. Our probate law was adopted almost in its entirety from Massachusetts, our real estate law from New York. The practice of our law court from the justice court to the supreme court, was taken almost in its entirety from that of the State of New York. And similar instances might be cited almost unlimited to show how the Michigan of to-day is no more nor less than the New England of the early day transplanted to newer and more fertile soil.

Subsequent immigration to the United States coming largely from the foreign countries, finding our State already occupied, went out beyond and peopled the more western States giving the distinctive German element to Wisconsin, the Scandanavian element to Minnesota, and leaving Michigan the last State which may be called essentially the newest New England in the sisterhood of States.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLY DAYS[1]

BY DAVID M. RICHARDS

My earliest recollections run back to the thirties. At that time what now comprises Genesee County was then almost an entire wilderness. There was but one road in the county of any importance, known as the Saginaw turnpike and along this road the early settlers clustered. They soon began to recede following the marks made on the blazed trees by the surveyors. Land at that time could be purchased for a dollar and a quarter an acre. The early settlers would soon roll up the body of a log house with a stick chimney in one end, covered with a shake roof. The family would frequently move in before the floors could be laid. The fireplace was made large and from it ran out a large hearth made of clay well pounded down. Their utensils for cooking were very simple. There was a lug pole in the stick chimney from which was suspended a trammel that was so arranged that it could

[7]James Valentine Campbell, Thomas McIntyre Cooley, Isaac P. Christiancy, Benjamin E. Graves.

[1]Read at midwinter meeting, January, 1910.

be raised or lowered at will. A frying pan with a handle about four feet long, bake kettle and tin reflector, were the principal cooking utensils. When a meal was to be prepared coals would be drawn from the fireplace and the tea or coffee pot would be set on these coals to draw. The meat would be placed in the frying pan while the handle would rest on the back of the chair so that the meat could be drawn from the fire and turned without suffering from the heat. Stoves at that time were almost unknown.

The implements of husbandry were very simple and generally consisted of a wooden beamed plow and a harrow made from the forks of a tree faced on one side. At this time there were no roads, no schools nor churches. The last were soon organized, schoolhouses were built, frequently of logs rolled up covered with bark with a stick chimney in one end. The seats would be made of basswood logs split and nicely faced and wooden pins placed in for legs. These houses were also used for public worship and sometimes our elections were held in them. The early pioneers were very religious and industrious people and as a rule very poor. They struggled hard to give their children the rudiments of an education. They soon made little clearings and began to raise some products which sold readily to newcomers who always brought a little money with them. At that time there were no railroads in Michigan and when navigation closed there was no intercourse with the outside world till navigation opened in the spring. In some respects this country was a poor man's paradise. He could in a few days roll up a log cabin where he could reside without paying rent and fuel was abundant. The woods furnished ample pasture for his stock and his pigs would come home in the fall fit for the knife fatted upon the shack which our forest furnished in abundance. Postage at that time was twenty-five cents each on letters and these would often lie in the office for weeks before those to whom they were addressed could pay the postage, saving penny by penny. How anxious the daughter or son would be to hear from the old home but the postage must be paid before the coveted letter could be secured. At that time there were but few families who took a newspaper.

The land was bought up by speculators, much of it was returned for taxes and bid in by the state. These tax titles were sometimes bought up by the old pioneer who would improve the property. After the price of these lands began to rise land sharks would travel all over the United States and Canada to find the original owner and would purchase the property for a song and then bring suit to oust those holding under tax titles. They generally would get something for their improvements. Many times the earnings of a lifetime would almost fade away. A few kept up their taxes and the monies turned in for the highway fund

would be returned to the township. These monies were laid out in the improvement of the roads. Jobs would be taken at low rates and the little money they received from that source helped them out of many tight places. As the country began to open up asheries started up which would buy the field ashes of those clearing land. Wild fruit was in abundance, blackberries, whortleberries, plums and strawberries all of the finest quality. The forests were well stocked with game. Deer were almost as plentiful as sheep to-day. Wild turkeys were almost a pest. They were large noble birds fully equal to the domestic variety. The wolves would gather in the swamps, one pack answering another, it was astonishing the noise a pack would make. They would sometimes venture out and slay a few sheep and calves for the farmer.

At this period times were flush and speculators bought up large tracts of land from the government, which took its pay in the paper currency of the day. Banks had sprung up all over the country issuing currency whose circulation was illy secured. Failures were numerous which brought distress to the people. At this time Gen. Jackson issued his famous "Specie Circular."[2] He saw that the government was being robbed of its land and being paid off in worthless currency. This circular brought all speculation to a close. Immigration ceased. What little currency the pioneer had was soon exhausted and what few products he could place on the market were not in demand.

In those days anything was fashionable that was comfortable. People at that time manufactured their own clothing largely from the wool and flax grown on their own farms. The footwear was made up by itinerant shoemakers who went from house to house, each family buying a small stock of leather. This was called "whipping the cat." Their sugar was made from the maple tree. To buy sugar at that time would be looked upon as gross extravagance. In 1840 the first presidential election was held in the state and excitement was high. The adherents of Harrison met at Whigville and built a miniature log cabin out of small poles mounted it on an ox cart which next day was drawn to Flint, a distance of six miles, by twelve yoke of oxen, and loud huzzas for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." In 1842 the night before the Fourth of July, Genesee County was visited with a heavy frost. The next morning the ground was white with frost as any December morning. This was followed by what was known as the hard winter. In that year timothy hay never headed out, corn was frozen down to the ground and wheat never filled. The outlook ahead was poor and Genesee County as yet was almost a forest. The old pioneers were fruitful in expedients. Some went to the pine woods and secured pine bolts from which they

[2]President Jackson's "Specie Circular" of July 11, 1836, directed all public officers to receive and pay out coin only. As banks were issuing their own specie (paper money) this put business at a standstill and a panic followed in 1837.

manufactured shingles, the bolts being taken into the house and manufactured. These found a ready sale south of us. Others would go into the forests and fell heavy elm trees which they would reduce to ashes from which they made "black salts" for which there was a good demand. That fall about the tenth of November snow fell to the depth of two feet or more, which remained on the ground until January. At that time we had a thaw which entirely removed the snow; then it fell again to the depth of two feet or more and remained on the ground until the first of April. People went to town meeting in sleighs. Snow began to melt town meeting day. The ground was not frozen and grass had grown all winter under the snow. Much stock perished for lack of food. The cattle were largely carried through on browse but the snow was so deep that it was difficult for the cattle to wade through it. Hogs burrowed in it and lived on acorns all winter, the forest protecting them from the fierce blizzards that passed over the country. At this time products were low and there was little demand for what the farmer had to sell. Money was frequently loaned at three per cent a month and none could be procured less than ten per cent a year. About this time parties came here and established agencies to loan money. They would allow about two hundred dollars on eighty acres of land. Thirty dollars would be taken out of it for the loan and ten per cent interest was charged upon the whole. The mortgage would include an attorney fee of fifty dollars. The mortgage to run two years. If they could not pay when due it could be extended by paying twelve and a half per cent interest annually. If not the mortgage was foreclosed and the attorney fees charged. These mortgages had a firm grip upon the old pioneer with but little prospect of being relieved.

In about 1854 the Russian War broke out and British gold poured into this country for supplies. Prices appreciated and many of these debts were discharged. The old log house began to disappear and in its place fine farm houses were erected. Times were good for two or three years, when the panic of 1857 overtook us. Banks failed and their bills were generally about twenty-five cents below par. There was a general stagnation in business and the money loaner again began to fasten his grip upon the borrower. Things ran along in the same channel till the breaking out of the Civil War. Then the demand for farm produce was so great, coupled with the inflation of the currency, that it brought fancy prices which enabled the old pioneer to free himself from the grasp of the money-lender, when a new era opened up to us. I can hardly conceive how people did business in those days. Coin was scarce and the currency of the day could not be depended upon. Merchants owing debts east would have to pay heavy per cent for eastern bills to discharge their liabilities and the circulation of the home banks

would not be taken far from home. With all these reverses of the old pioneer he still forged ahead and we of to-day can hardly realize the trials that beset him. Look upon the country as it was seventy years ago when the hand of man had scarcely touched it and to-day with its fine farms, flourishing villages and cities with large manufacturing interests, fine schoolhouses and elegant churches. We are amazed at the changes time has wrought.

EIGHTY YEARS IN MICHIGAN

BY P. S. RICHARDS[1]

My father was one of the advanced pioneers of the country, and cleared and put in fair cultivation two new farms in the state of New York, and four in Michigan, and died at the early age of fifty three years. In the spring of 1826 he and his family left the state of New York on the first vessel that left Buffalo. All went well until we got opposite the coast of Ashtabula in Ohio when a storm arose, and Capt. Gillet[2] being an old sailor, concluded to cast anchor, which we continued for twenty-four hours. Capt. Gillet said that he had sailed the lakes for twenty years and it was the heaviest storm he had ever encountered. Several times we gave up in despair, but God ruled the storm and we were saved, and after seven days arrived at Detroit.

After securing a house for the family for a short time, father went into the wilderness to locate some government land, which he did in the Township of Superior, Washtenaw County, four miles north of Ypsilanti. The next move was to get onto the land, and to go by land through a low heavy timbered country was not advisable, so they hired some men with a scow, [a water craft twelve feet wide and about twenty-five feet long,] and on this they put their goods and family and went down Detroit River eighteen miles and four miles along the western

[1]Read by Dr. Gertrude Bangs at annual meeting, 1910.

[2]Captain Reynolds Gillet was born in Lynn, Conn., in 1797, his brother Shadrick in 1801. Reynolds early became a sailor and in 1820 had risen to the rank of captain of the schooner Red Jacket. In 1824 he owned the schooner Superior. During this time he must have been living in Detroit as his young wife Mary died there August 30, 1826, aged twenty-six. He was prominent in local politics and interested in lake commerce. In 1837 he owned the steamboats Detroit and General Brady and the schooner Mary Elizabeth. He was a member of the Convention of Assent which met at Ann Arbor, Dec. 1, 1836, was elected county treasurer and served two years from 1840-1843, was appointed deputy United States marshal for Michigan district. His home was on the northwest corner of Congress and Cass streets. Here he died Jan. 7, 1850, aged fifty-three years. His second wife was Charlotte Mack of Chautauqua Co., N. Y. She died Dec. 29, 1873. They had five children, William I., John R., Mary, Pauline and Charlotte. *Buffalo Hist. Soc. Publ., V*, p. 301; *Detroit News-Tribune, Jan. 12, 1896, The Gillett Family.*

shore of Lake Erie when they came to the mouth of Huron River. After seven days on this river they arrived at Rawsonville, the current being too strong to go any further; every night they would go ashore and camp, generally among the Indians who received them cordially and who would bring them provisions.

After arriving at Rawsonville, the next thing was to get on the land so they hired a man with a yoke of oxen. They cut down a crotched tree, cut off the branches the proper length and bored holes in the branches and put stakes in them and poles across, put their goods thereon and hitched the oxen to it. They had to hew off the butt end of the tree to get it in the ox ring, which was about eight or ten inches in diameter, then they drew it to the land that was to be our home, a distance of nine miles, the family going on foot.

The next was to build a log house, and they cut some small logs and put up a house, thirteen by seventeen, and finished it without putting a nail in it. This may seem strange to the present generation, but "poverty which is the mother of invention" and Yankee ingenuity will accomplish wonders. When they wanted to use a nail they would bore a hole and drive in a pin.

It was so late before they got their house so that they could get into it, that they could only get a little of the wood chopped off to get some seeds in the ground. They would cut down the timber, pile and burn the brush and plant their potatoes and sow some turnips where the brush was burned, but my! how those turnips did grow, they were monstrous, and the potatoes were not far behind them.

The inhabitants, though few in number, were very patriotic and concluded to have a Fourth of July celebration at Ypsilanti, which consisted of a few log houses, not a frame house there. There was on the west side of Huron River quite a large Indian orchard and in that orchard was camped about five hundred Indians and among the exercises of the day they had a war dance. They picked out fifty young warriors, dressed and painted them in regular war costume and they danced for two hours while my father drummed.

As time passed on, emigration came in quite rapidly and we soon had quite a settlement. About two years after we came here there was quite an excitement in our neighborhood over a bear that went into a neighbor's hog pen and carried off a hog. Excitement ran high and men turned out far and near and all met at our house. There were many good marksmen and many were the boasts that they would capture the bear. It was agreed that no one should fire off a gun unless he saw the bear.

My father was not much of a hunter and I don't know as he ever owned a rifle but he had a shot gun that would carry a ball quite well, so

he loaded his gun and started off with his little dog Trip following him. He went one and one-half miles north-west and all of a sudden the dog started a vigorous barking and father stopped and saw a bear sitting on her haunches chattering at the dog. Father took aim at her heart and fired; the bear made two heavy leaps and fell dead. The report of the gun soon brought the crowd together and after looking her over they concluded she would weigh nine hundred pounds. While they were looking her over father started to get his team and soon came with his oxen and sled. He had one of those old fashioned sleds about ten feet long. When they got her loaded on the sled, her head laid over the roll touching the ground and her hind feet dragged on the ground back of the hind beam. He drew it home and they skinned it and had bear beef about the neighborhood for a long time.

There were a great many Indians about here and we soon got acquainted with them and learned to talk with them. One of them came quite often, generally about noon. One day he came in and as he stood with his back to the fire looking on the table he saw father take and eat a pickled pepper and he wanted one. As father was always generous he picked the best on the dish and gave it to him. He ate it and when he drew in his breath such groaning you don't often hear. "Oh die, die" he exclaimed and then he wanted some water and they gave him some and then it was "die, die more." He soon left and that was the last we heard of him.

After living here four years, father sold out and bought some wild land two miles east of Ypsilanti village. Here he commenced in the virgin soil and soon had land in a fair state of cultivation. Nothing worthy of note occurred until the fall of 1832, after the close of the Black Hawk war. One day I was looking to the west and I saw ten or fifteen men coming and one in their midst about head and shoulders above the average of them. I soon learned that it was the celebrated Indian Chief Black Hawk, whom they had captured in the west near the Mississippi. Not wishing to harm him, they brought him to Detroit, then to New York and on to Washington to see the big guns there, and he said "white man too much for Indian" so they sent him home.

In the fall of 1832 the Territorial Government of Michigan caused the survey of the Detroit and Grand Rapids turnpike and in the spring of 1833 father sold again and purchased 240 acres of government land on the line of this road. During the summer he put up a log house and plowed some land for wheat and cut some marsh hay, and the last of August he started for his new home with two yoke of oxen and wagon, a horse and wagon, and my sister, thirteen years old, to do the cooking and myself for her company and two young men to help him with his work. On the way he took a heavy cold and when he got there he turned

out his teams and went to bed. For three weeks he was unconscious of his situation and when he was able to know we were in almost a starving condition. What to do we did not know as not anything could be bought here and after a consultation father and mother concluded the only thing they could do was to send me back to the old home to get what I could in a bag. So I saddled my horse and started. I was only nine years old. I had to go twenty-five miles and an almost dense wilderness before me with no road, only a few marked trees and a few wagon tracks for a distance of about seventeen miles before I came to a traveled road. I went through, got my bag filled and the next day returned without any accident.

It was several weeks before father could do much work and he did not get any wheat sowed. It was late before he got his house fixed for winter. But time passed on, emigration came flowing in and on the 25th of November he hung out a sign for a hotel. Here it was that I became acquainted with many of the early inhabitants of Livingston County; among the names I remember were Kinsley S. Bingham and Joseph Lovee of Green Oak and S. B. Noble of Brighton, also Mr. Evert Woodruff who came into the township of Brighton in the spring of 1833 and owned a mill between Kensington and Brighton, and F. J. B. Crane, who built the first frame house in Howell; also the Thompson family who built the first mill in Howell and Amos Adams, a surveyor by profession, and family; William McPherson, the Scotch blacksmith and many others whose names I do not remember. In the winter of 1836-7 the Legislature of Michigan passed a banking law[3] so easy for people to start a bank that the State was soon flooded with bank paper and money became so plenty that property rose to enormous prices and many good, honest farmers were influenced to take bank stock, among them my father. He took five shares in the Kensington Bank and mortgaged forty acres of his farm as security. The bank failed and it was reported that the stockholders were holden for the whole outstanding circulation. They were badly scared and many of them sold their farms and moved to other parts of the country. If they had stayed on their farms they would not have been injured for the whole concern was pronounced unconstitutional. Thus went the Wild Cat Banking Law. When the excitement of the Wild Cat Banking Law had passed and the money business had found a solid basis there was a great reaction in business and prices dropped almost out of sight (except merchandise). Immigration ceased to flow in and labor dropped to a mere pittance. You could hire good help for $8.00 and $10.00 per

[3] This was a bill to organize and regulate banking associations and was passed with the approval of the governor March 15, 1837. See Vol. II, p. 111, this series paper by Gov. Felch.

month. Wheat fell from $2.00 a bushel to three shillings in one year and pork from $9.00 to $1.50 per hundred lbs., and prices were slow to rise. I have drawn flour from Michigan Center to Detroit a distance of seventy-five miles for twenty cents a barrel and cut and split rails for fifty cents a hundred and as late as 1846 I cut four foot wood for twenty-five cents a cord. In the spring of 1838 my father sold again and bought another piece of new land in the Township of Leoni, Jackson County, where he toiled and labored for seven years and was gathered to the reward of his labors.

I have said considerable of the doings of my father and I would be very ungrateful if I did not say something in honor of my mother. She was my father's equal in every respect; in energy, ambition and perseverence. We children were destitute of foot-wear and my mother took some wool of Lewis Cass, who was governor of Michigan Territory for eighteen years, and carded, spun and knit one-half, for the other half, which she knit into stockings, the first we had in Michigan. Mother was a woman of great ambition and besides doing her own work she did considerable for others and in 1835 she wove over 700 yards of woolen cloth for her neighbors. She lived to a good old age, eighty-eight years.

As for myself, I have but little to say though I have seen considerable of pioneer life. I have heard the wolves snarl and growl on our door steps. I have seen a great deal of sickness, whole families lying prostrate on beds of disease, and have helped to bury the dead, when two of us carried a coffin a mile, dug a grave and buried the body.

One of the hardships of the young was going to school. In all new places it takes several years to get school districts organized and school-houses built, but for present purposes they would have a bee and put up a log house, put on a roof, chink it on the inside and mud it on the outside, put in windows on each side and one end, lay a floor of some rough boards and put a door in one corner and the house was ready. The furniture consisted of a row of boards for writing tables on each side and one end, some slabs for benches and at one end the fire-place, with a wooden shovel in one corner and six or eight blue beech whips in the other corner. I have been to school in just such a house and the children came three and four miles to attend it. The last term of school I ever attended I walked four miles morning and night.

In the spring of 1856 I purchased 196 acres of heavy timber land in Cohoctah and built a good log house. In the spring of 1860 I moved on to it and have made a good improvement on it. Twenty-three years ago I gave it up to my son to work and he has built him a good house, but I dwell in my old log house where I expect to live until I am called to a better mansion above.

HISTORY OF FORT MALDEN OR FORT AMHERSTBURG

BY FRANCIS CLEARY[1]

INTRODUCTORY

A paper on the history of Fort Malden would hardly be complete without a short account of the place where it was originally built. Amherstburg has been called a town for more than a hundred years and is therefore nearly as old as the original fort. It is today and has been for many years a unique town in some respects, the situation is beautiful overlooking the entrance to the Detroit River and affording its inhabitants a daily panorama during the season of navigation on account of the immense numbers of freighters, passenger boats and vessels of every description passing its doors. The name of the town is decidedly English whilst in another respect it is characteristic of a town in the Province of Quebec. It has a considerable French population and the streets are narrow like those in lower Quebec. As showing the military spirit which must have prevailed when the town was laid out and testifying the loyalty of its inhabitants, the streets running parallel to the river are named Dalhousie, Ramsay, Bathhurst, Apsley, Seymour, King, George, Brock, Kempt and Wolfe, while those running from the river are Richmond, Murray, Gore, Sherbrooke and Simcoe. After the evacuation of Detroit in 1796 many of the British, civil and military, removed to Amherstburg. On April 7th, 1817, a Provincial Statute was passed, entitled "An Act to establish a Police in the Towns of York, Sandwich, and Amherstburg." On 16th March, 1831, another Act was passed "An act to establish a Market and to establish Wharfage Fees in the Town of Amherstburg." In 1850 it was described in part as follows, "There are six churches, one steam saw and two steam gristmills, carding and woolen factory, soap and candle factory, two asheries, two breweries, two tanneries and a foundry, has a Collector of Customs and Inspector of flour and pork, a market place and town hall. It contains 1,000 inhabitants, has a weekly newspaper and a daily post."

The Amherstburg of to-day is an up-to-date town. It was incorporated January 7th, 1878 and now has a population of about 3,500. It contains a fine town hall and Customs House, is provided with waterworks, electric lights and well paved streets.

On the 24th of August, 1908, Earl Grey, Governor General of Canada, visited Amherstburg and was shown the remains of the Fort Malden.

[1]Read at the midwinter meeting, Flint, 1910, by Francis Cleary, Windsor, Ont.

As is well known he has evinced great interest in the preservation and restoration of the historical landmarks of this country and on that occasion he expressed a hope that something would be done in that respect for Fort Malden. Some years after the fort ceased to be occupied by the military, the buildings thereon were used as a lunatic asylum and continued to be so used from 1859 to 1872, when the inmates were removed to the present lunatic asylum at London, Ont.

Many of Amherstburg's population are mariners and a few are masters and mates of the large freighters which pass so constantly by its doors. The Detroit River is the greatest commercial artery on the earth. Its tonnage of merchandise is almost double that of London and New York combined. In 1907 the net tons of merchandise carried was 67,292,504. Call an average carload thirty tons and a train twenty-five such loads this amount of tonnage would require 89,723 such trains to handle it, and these trains would extend in line 18,711 miles. The Thames River at London and the New York Harbor are the greatest commercial waterways on earth next to the Detroit River, but their united tonnage in and out must be doubled to match that which passed over this great link between the lakes. During the season of navigation of 1907, say April to December, 275 days, 23,701 boats went up and down the river, more than eighty-six every twenty-four hours for the whole period. That is an average of 3.58 per hour night and day. In August, 1907, 3,710 vessels passed the river, up and down, five per hour, one every twelve minutes. May 1st, 1907, the "W. G. Kerr" of the Western Transport Company of Tonawanda cleared from Duluth with the largest grain cargo ever carried by a vessel on the Great Lakes, it consisting of 440,000 bushels of wheat or 13,200 tons. The "Kerr" is 605 feet in length and brought this cargo to Buffalo. How many cars would it take to transport this cargo? say wheat is sixty pounds to the bushel, it would equal 26,400,000 lbs. An ordinary railway car carries thirty tons or 60,000 pounds, this would give 440 cars, each car is say forty feet long or eleven trains: 440 cars by forty feet equals 17,600 feet plus 880 feet for space between cars, this equals 18,480 feet which divided by 5,280 feet in a mile makes three and a half miles.

Before leaving Amherstburg let me say something about the great work going on in the immediate vicinity namely "The Livingstone Channel, Detroit River." For more than a third of a century the United States Government has been striving to provide a channel in the lower Detroit River that would prove equal to the constantly increasing demands of marine interests on the Great Lakes. The conquest of the Lime Kiln Crossing some fourteen miles below Detroit and the most troublesome spot on the inland seas has kept government engineers busy for years. Now the most perplexing problem of removing this

hindrance is well along toward a solution. The change is being brought about through one of the most remarkable engineering feats on record which involves nothing less than the construction of the greatest cofferdam the world has ever known, the pumping out of an area of more than a mile in length and about one-third of a mile in width, and cutting "in the dry" from the limestone rock forming the river bottom a course 300 feet in width and a mile in length that will, when completed accommodate the largest vessels on the Great Lakes. The present is the first undertaking in the lower Detroit River where American money has been spent in American waters. Work has been in progress for thirty-four years lying wholly within Canadian waters. In 1874 there was a depth of twelve and a half feet to fifteen feet of water over the Lime-Kiln Crossing that formed a barrier between the lower and upper lakes; the depth of water has now been increased at this crossing to twenty-one feet and is still inadequate. The United States Government decided lately to end the trouble and provide a new channel to the west of the present one which would be sufficient for all time, giving a course for downward boats and permitting up-bound crafts to use the present one.

"Using Stoney Island as a starting point the contractors began constructing the largest cofferdam ever undertaken, an area of 2,800 feet in length and with an average width of 1,600 feet was enclosed by wall some forty feet through at the base reaching two feet above the surface of the river. Two twelve-inch centrifugal pumps, each with a capacity of 6,000,000 gals. of water every twenty-four hours, and a battery of fifty air lifts with a combined capacity of 50,000,000 gals. of water daily were started and the float inside the cofferdam began to recede and within ten days 130 acres of river bed was exposed so completely that it was possible to walk dry shod over the entire area. For a distance of approximately one mile it will be necessary to hew a course 300 feet wide with an average depth through the solid rock of nineteen feet, this will cost $1,000,000 alone when the last of the rock has been removed a task that will require two years of working day and night, the end walls will be cut away and the water let into the channel the side walls of the cofferdam being left intact as a guide for vessel men. The new channel named after William Livingstone, President of the Lake Carriers' Association, will be some fourteen miles in length and will cost when completed $2,000,000. It will give a course with an average depth of twenty-two feet from mean level."

NOTE.—Extract from *"The Technical World" Magazine,* April, 1909, by Len G. Shaw.

The townships of Anderson and Malden embrace the Southwest por-

tion of the county of Essex, an area of about seventy-five miles square, forming a parallelogram something over six miles across (west to east), and approaching twelve miles from north to south. The northern and eastern boundaries are the townships of Sandwich and Colchester, on the southern and western limits, are the waters of Lake Erie and the River Detroit. The original French settlement on the Canadian side of the river extended southward to the neighborhood of the river Canard. When the British Government made a treaty with the Indians of western Canada in 1780, it was stipulated that several defined tracts should be reserved in perpetuity for their use, one so reserved being a strip lying south of the River Canard extending along the Detroit River front six miles, and inland to the distance of about seven. This was the origin of the old Indian reserve now constituting the township of Anderson. Sometime previous to these events a number of United Empire Loyalists, ex-members of Butler's regiment of "Rangers" formed a settlement in the vicinity of the present town of Amherstburg. Among the settlers were the Caldwells'[2] Elliotts,[3] Gordons, McGregors, and two men who had served the King for some years. These were Capt. Mills, R. N. and Major Reynolds. A son of the latter was the first councillor for the district. Mr. Francis Caldwell, returned by the country to the 12th Canadian Parliament in 1834 was a son of Col. Caldwell one of the pioneers of Malden. Captain Caldwell had command of the company of "Butler's Rangers" in the war of 1812. Another prominent member of the band of settlers was the "Renegade" Simon Girty.[4] This man was born in Perry County, Pennsylvania, in January, 1744. He was taken away by the Senecas who adopted him and gave him the name of Katepacomen. In 1764 at the close of the Pontiac war he was delivered over to the whites by the tribe which had adopted him. Afterwards he settled near Pittsburg. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war he was an officer of the militia stationed at Fort Pitt, but in 1777 he deserted to the British. He was present at the defeat of Gen. St. Clair in 1791, but in 1795 when Gen. Anthony Wayne defeated the Indians in the northwest he removed to Canada and settled on the Detroit River. Two incidents in connection with his career show the character of the man; one was, saving the life of Simon Kenton in 1778. Kenton was a scout in Col. Bowman's expedition against the Indians on the Miami. He endeavored to steal some horses from the Indians and was captured. They determined he should die. Girty was present when Kenton was brought in and asked his name. On learning it he found that they had been old friends, in fact boon companions.

[2]See note in Vol. XVI, this series, p. 115, second edition.
[3]See note in Vol. XVI, this series, pp. 175, 702, second edition.
[4]See Life of Girty, Vol. VII, this series, pp. 123-129.

Girty begged for the life of his friend. A long debate ensued but in the end Girty's request was granted. The other act displays the fiendish part of his character. Girty in company with the Wyandotte and Shawnee Indians had so harrassed the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia that in 1782 a force of volunteers under command of Col. William Crawford was sent against them. They fought a battle with the savages and subsequently Crawford was taken captive. On 11th of June preparations were made for burning him. He was stripped naked and beaten with clubs. With his hands firmly tied behind his back, he was fastened to a stake. The pile was fired. Girty took no part in this proceeding but sat quietly on his horse at a long distance, observing them with malignant satisfaction. For more than two hours did the gallant soldier survive at that flame-girded stake and during the latter half of that time he was put to every torture which savage ingenuity could devise, and hellish vengeance execute. In the extremity of his agony he caught the eye of Girty, and he is reported to have exclaimed, "Girty, Girty, shoot me through the heart. Do not refuse me. Quick, quick." And it is said the monster merely replied "Don't you see I have no gun, Colonel?" Then burst into a loud laugh and turned away. Crawford said no more, in a little while the vital spark had fled.

The tract of land in Malden on which Girty settled at the close of the war was a grant from the British Government. It consisted of 160 acres. He remained in possession of this property until his death which occurred in 1815 or 1816[5] and was buried on his own farm. In 1838 the land was purchased by the Mickle family. Girty's grave was found to be in a neglected condition, the fence had nearly all rotted away and the grave was covered with weeds. During the war of 1812, Girty, who was then over sixty years of age, was frequently in Amherstburg, and it is said that he was a friend of Tecumseh. Some of his descendants attained prominence in municipal politics in the country and others are scattered over the United States and Canada.

FORT MALDEN OR AMHERSTBURG

At last Canadians are awakening to the importance and necessity of making an effort to preserve and restore the historical battlefields and other landmarks of this country. This is seen in the great interest shown in the recent proposal of his Excellency, Earl Grey, for the conversion into a park and the restoration of the battlefields of the Plains of Abraham and of St. Foye at Quebec. It is an opportune time to draw the attention of the Government and of others in the immediate localities to do something to reclaim and preserve the old forts and his-

[5]Girty died Feb. 18, 1818. See Butterfield's *History of the Girtys*, p. 322.

torical landmarks of lesser note in other parts of our country. These are rapidly passing away and their preservation would do much to strengthen the "tie that binds," and make those of the present day feel proud of their ancestors, and to respect and honor the men who in 1812 and again in 1838-1839 helped to defend this country, and handed down to us the glorious heritage which we now possess.

In the early history of Upper Canada this western peninsula, the county of Essex, came into notice on account of the stirring events which took place on its border, second only to those on the Niagara frontier. Fort Amherstburg or Fort Malden, the name under which it became better known, deserves the attention of the Government and of those interested in the reclamation of historical landmarks.

For the following account of this Fort I am indebted to extracts taken from "Early Amherstburg" published in January, 1902, by Mr. C. C. James, Deputy Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, and "Fort Malden" by Rev. Thomas Nattress, B. A. of Amherstburg, published two years later. Mr. James says, he found that Fort Malden did not exist in the early days but that Fort Amherstburg did. He found that three different forts had been constructed or partly constructed at Amherstburg, at different times, and that the first was officially known as Fort Amherstburg, the second was known both as Fort Amherstburg and Fort Malden, and that the third, constructed subsequently to 1837, bore the name of Fort Malden.

The war of American Independence was brought to a close in 1783,—Oswego, Niagara, and Detroit remained as British posts until their evacuation in 1796. Detroit being transferred in July of that year. The late Judge Woods[6] of Chatham in referring to this event in *"Harrison Hall and its Associations"* says this may be called the "Exodus Act" as it provides for the departure of British authority from Detroit to Sandwich "and that from the passing of the said act (3d June, 1796) the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the Western District, shall be held in the Parish of Assumption (afterwards called Sandwich) in such place as may be now found most convenient to the Magistrates of said district on the second Tuesday in the months of July, October, January, and April, until such time as it shall seem expedient to the Justices or a majority of them to remove and hold the same nearer the island called Isle of Bois Blanc, being near the entrance of Detroit River." The last court of the Quarter Sessions held in Detroit was in January, 1796, and the removal to Sandwich took place that summer. After this date no doubt many of those stationed at Detroit, officers and men removed to Sandwich and Amherstburg.

[6]Robert Stuart Woods, judge of Kent county.

On June 7th, 1784,[7] the Huron and Ottawa Indians who claimed ownership or proprietary rights in the country surrounding Detroit, gave by treaty, a tract of land seven miles square at the mouth of the Detroit River to the following British officers or fighters who had been associated with them in the recent war: Alexander McKee, William Caldwell, Charles McCormack, Robin Eurphleet,[8] (Surphlet) Anthony St. Martin, Matthew Elliott, Henry Bird, Thomas McKee and Simon Girty. Henry Bird was given the northern section. This would be in the northern part of the township of Malden and would contain what is now the northern part of Amherstburg. In 1784 the settlement of Malden Township first began. In July of that year, Lieut. Gov. Hay, of Detroit, wrote to Gov. Haldimand as follows: "Several have built and improved lands who have no other pretensions than the Indians consent to possession. Capts. Bird and Caldwell are of the number, at a place they have called Fredericksburg."[9]

On August 14th, 1784, Gov. Haldimand wrote to Lieut. Gov. Hay that Col. Caldwell of Col. Butlers' late corps had applied to him for sanction to settle on the land, that he could not confirm the grant, but that they should "carry on their improvements until the land could be laid out and granted according to the King's instructions." Mr. McKee was to be directed to get the Indians to make over the land to the King, but that "two thousand yards from the center would be reserved on all sides for the purpose of establishing a fort." Here as Mr. James says, we have the first suggestion of the future Fort Amherstburg, and the promise of the town.

On 28th of August, 1788, Lord Dorchester who had succeeded Haldimand in the governorship in 1786, wrote to Major Matthews to encourage settlement on the east side of the river Detroit, but that no lots must be settled upon before purchase for the Crown from the Indians "also to report the progress made by some Loyalists in their settlement on a spot proposed for this class of men on the east side of the Detroit River, and to state his ideas fully of what may be done for its further encouragement as well as for establishing a Military post at that quarter."

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[7]There was a grant of this same land made by the Indians, Oct. 16, 1783, to Jacob Schiefflin. The Indians never held to it and Schiefflin had to give up his claim after a great struggle. See *Ontario Historical Society*, Vol. VI, p. 11. For papers relating to the grant of June 7, 1784, see Vol. XXIV, this series, pp. 14-15, and Vol. XXV, same series.

[8]This may be Robert Surphlet, a cousin of Alexander McKee's. He is frequently mentioned in this series. See *Olden Times, by Craig*, Vol. II, p. 486.

[9]This letter is printed in Vol. XI, p. 432, of this series.

In 1790 Major Matthews[10] wrote from Plymouth Barracks giving a summary of his investigation in 1788. He stated that he went from Quebec to Detroit in 1787 with instructions from Lord Dorchester. He said "should this post (meaning Detroit), be given up and another taken the most convenient place will be at the entrance of the river, upon a point at present occupied by some officers and men who served the war as Rangers with the Indians. The channel for ship runs between this point and Isle Aux Bois Blanc which should also be fortified, the distance from each to midchannel, about 200 yards. There is a fine settlement running 20 miles from this point on the north side to the Lake." Here in 1788 is the reference to the future post at Amherstburg. The settlement on the north side of Lake Erie refers to what was known as the "two connected townships" (Colchester and Gosfield).

The District of Hesse in the west had been set apart by proclamation July 24, 1788, and early in 1789 the governor was authorized by council to appoint a Land Board and the following were appointed as the first members in 1789; Farnham Close, Esq., Major of the 65th regiment of Foot, or the officer commanding at Detroit, William Dummer Powell, Esq.; M. Duperon Baby, Esq.; Alexander McKee, Esq.; William Robertson; Alexander Grant, Esq., and Adhemar St. Martin.

One of the first duties then put upon this board was to lay out a township to be called Georgetown, but still there was delay. On

[10]Major Matthews wrote to Gen. Haldimand from Detroit, Aug. 3, 1787: "It will concern you, sir. to hear that your good intentions have been frustrated & your orders not attended to by the late Govr. Hay, respecting the settlement at the Mouth of the River which was given for that purpose by the Indians to Mr. McKee & other officers who served with them & for which you gave Capt. Caldwell Tools & it is true he did not prevent the *officers* from settling on the *Land* but he put so many others who were not intended by the Indians or officers, that the Rangers were excluded & of all the men who were brought by Caldwell for that purpose, there is not a man yet settled, the ground indeed is too little to contain many, and Caldwell foreseeing that obtained a grant adjoining to it, six leagues upon the Lake this he gave me upon behalf of Government, and I went down lately to survey & lay it out—but was driven home by bad weather & want of Provisions before I had got half thro' with it—as soon as I dismiss this vessel I shall return & finish it I have got together about 60 fine fellows whom I shall place on it before I go down In the event of giving up this Post very advantageous may be taken at the mouth of the River & on an opposite Island, between which ships must pass in a channel about 400 yards a mile above a fine situation for a Town with as much Timber as can be wanted, and an excellent stone quarry upon the Spot—here also may be a battery to command the Upper part of the Channel where any craft so small as to pass round the Isle au bois blanc, above mentioned must fall into to get up. I have in writing and shall upon my return to Quebec report on this and all matters relating to the Settlement and it is because I know that you were particularly anxious for the advancement of it, that I have taken the liberty to be so tedious upon it." *Canadian Archives, Series B.* 76, p. 286.

August 22nd, 1789, the Land Board reported to Lord Dorchester, that Mr. McNiff the surveyor had not yet arrived, that none of the lands had been purchased from the Indians for the Crown, and that the Indians had some years before granted these lands to private individuals. Sept. 2nd, 1789, Lord Dorchester instructed the board to receive applications from the occupants for grants, etc., and also to have Mr. McKee obtain from the Indians all the land west of Niagara for settlement, the section to include all lands held by private individuals from the Indians by private sale, and shortly after the board reported that all the land was claimed, and asked for power to settle the claims.

May 19, 1790,[11] the Indians (Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatomies and Hurons) ceded to the Crown all the land from the Chaudiere or Catfish Creek[12] on the East to the Detroit River on the West and from the Thames to Chenail Ecarte on the north to Lake Erie, including the grant of 1784, before referred to, but reserving a tract seven miles square north of the 1784 grant and also a small tract at the Huron Church (Sandwich). May 3d, 1791, Surveyor McNiff reported that two or three families live continuously on their land east of the river (Caldwell, Elliott, Lamotte, etc.,) but many more resort there in the summer to raise corn and beans. He recommended that the Indians be removed to some other reserve, suggests at Chenail Ecarte, says all the land is settled from the reserve north to Peach Island[13] in Lake St. Clair.

The first legislature of Upper Canada was called to meet at Newark (Niagara), on September 17th, 1792, and on January 8th, 1793, the executive council resolved that a township to be called Malden be laid out at the mouth of the Detroit River, thus we see that Fredericksburg gave place to Georgetown and this in turn to Malden.

On the 8th January, 1793, it was resolved that Col. Alex McKee, Capts. Elliott and Caldwell be the patentees of the above mentioned township and the persons who have settled under the authority of the late Gov. Hay. It was further resolved that the land lying between Captain Bird's lot and the Indian land, be reserved for the Government. We now come to the year, 1796. In the Crown Lands Department at Toronto is to be found the original plan of the township of Malden. It gives the subdivision into lots, and each lot carries the name of the original grantee. It bears the name of A. Iredell, Deputy Surveyor of the Western District, and is dated Detroit, 17th April, 1796. The lots on the river number from the north to the south, nineteen in all, the last ending at the marsh that fronted on Lake Erie.

[11]For a map showing this purchase, see this series, Vol. XXV, facing p. 104.

[12]This is also called the Kettle or the au Chaudiere. See *Ontario Bureau of Archives, Report for 1907*, p. 81.

[13]Early corruption of the French name Peche Island.

The following statement may be given of a few of the Patents for these lots with the date and to whom issued:

Lots 1 and 2, David Cowan, east part 100 acres, July 2, 1807.

Lot 3, William Caldwell, all 187 acres, April 13, 1810.

Water lot 2, William Caldwell, 1 acre, August 20, 1810..

Lot 4, Alexander McKee, all, February 28, 1797.

Lot 5, Matthew Elliott, all 200 acres, February 28, 1797.

Lot 9, Archange McIntosh, ½ 187 acres, November 25, 1803.

Lot 11, Simon Girty, all 164 acres, March 6, 1798.

Lot 14, Hon. James Baby, all 180 acres, July 30, 1799.

Lot 15 and 16, Thomas McKee, all 325 acres, June 30, 1801.

All the above names of owners of full lots are on the Iredell Map of 1796, except that on the latter lot 1 is left vacant and Capt. Bird's name appears on lot 2. In the Crown Lands Record the lot to the north of lot 1, taken from the Indians reserve is known as lot A. By agreement between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, Detroit was to be evacuated in this year—hence the necessity arose of at once making provision for the troops on the east side of the river and of having an arsenal or depot for stores—a town and fort were necessary. Lot 1 was vacant, reserved by the Crown and to it was added Capt. Bird's lot No. 2, which was appropriated by the Crown.

The following letter now becomes important; it was written a few weeks after the troops left Detroit.

Detroit River, September 8th, 1796.

Capt. William Mayne, Queens Rangers, commanding on the Detroit River, opposite the Island of Bois Blanc, to the Military Secretary, Quebec:

Suggest the gunpowder be placed on the Dunmore, soon expected to lay up there, pending the erection of temporary magazine "I have reason to fear that the merchants who have already erected buildings on the ground within the line of defense of the Post under my command will not be easily reconciled to the sentiments of the Commander-in-chief on that subject. They have not merely built temporary sheds, some of their buildings are valuable, and have cost to the amount of many hundred pounds authorized in these their proceedings by Colonel England, who hitherto commanded this district, at the same time they were to hold the lots on limited terms."

He then states that there is no vacant ground in the vicinity of the garrison; Col. McKee, Capt. Caldwell and Capt. Elliott claimed the lots to the south, on the north is the vacant land of the Indian Reserve, to the rear the land beyond the 1,000 yards reserved, is a perfect swamp.

[14]"I now enclose for the Commander in Chiefs Inspection, a plan of a Town laid out by Colonel Caldwell on his own land, who could sell his lots to much better advantage to British subjects wishing to leave the territory of the United States, did he conceive the same would meet with the approbation of His Excellency." A reproduction of the plan accompanies the letter showing a town laid out in lots with streets at right angles, with a vacant square in the centre; this projected town would be in what is now the southern part of Amherstburg. The Bird lot had first been taken over by the government and a garrison established there with the intention of erecting the fort.

Thus we see that in the summer of 1796, the plans are set in motion through the military department for the starting of a town and post opposite Bois Blanc. On January 10, 1797,[15] an advertisement was put up at His Majesty's Post, calling for men with teams, oxen, carts, trucks, etc. This was to complete the work begun in 1796.[16] Early in 1797, the creation of the post begins in earnest. Up to February 2nd no special name had been given. On February 9th, 1797,[17] appears a requisition for stores for Indian presents for "Fort Amherstburg." Here for the first time the name occurs in an official document, and it no doubt came from the military department at Quebec.

In the Crown Lands Department at Toronto is an old plan[18] showing what was to be included that year in the government reservation. It is a copy made by William Chewett from the earlier plan of Iredell.

On this plan it would appear that lot No. 3 (Caldwell's) was not required for the first town plat of Amherstburg belongs to lot No. 2 the original Bird lot. Lot No. 1 was left vacant in the original division of the land among the first settlers. The lot to the north of that unnumbered, was acquired from the Indians, as it on several plans is marked a well defined "Old Indian Entrenchment."

Mr. James also gives a copy of an old plan of 1828, showing the location of Amherstburg in reference to the Military Reserve. The town appears therein occupying part of lot 2 with a line separating it (marked Richmond street and still so named) from the Military Reserve.

In the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections appear letters dated from Fort Amherstburg in June, July and August, 1797. In volume XXV, p. 236, appears the following "Capt. Forbes of the R. Artillery who was on duty at Fort Amherstburg residing in one of

[14]Quotation "I now enclose for," etc., from letter of *William Mayne, Captain of Queen's Rangers at the Mouth of the Detroit River, to Capt. James Green, dated September 8, 1796.* See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 402-3, this series.

[15]This advertisement is printed in Vol. XII, p. 252, this series.

[16]For papers on the early building of Amherstburg, see Vol. XII, pp. 203-254, Vol. XXIII.

[17]This requisition for stores is printed in Vol. XII, pp. 256-259.

[18]See Vol. XXXIII, facing p. 403, this series.

the houses built by Capt. Bird from July, 1797 to August, 1799. In the same volume, p. 235, is a sketch map of Fort Amherstburg, town of Malden, etc., showing Indian council House, commissioners house, dockyards, etc., taken from the Colonial office Records and the following memorandum "Capt. Birds lot was repossessed by government in 1796, since which time Fort Amherstburg has been constructed, the town of Malden built, a dock yard and other buildings previous to the year 1796."

It would appear from these documents that the fort was from the first known as "Fort Amherstburg" and that by some at least the group of houses outside the fort to the south was for a time called by some Malden, the same name as the township. But there was no Fort Malden in those days.

In the volume already referred to facing page 235, there is a sketch, taken from the Colonial Office Records showing the fort as a five-sided enclosure, the northern most angle in a direct line east of the north end of Bois Blanc, the southernmost corner about opposite the middle of the island and the little town of Malden extending south to the Caldwell lot just opposite the southern limit of Bois Blanc Island.

Mr. James continues as follows:

We pass on now to the war of 1812-14. Barclay sailed from Amherstburg with six vessels on September 9th, 1813, and on the following day his fleet met Capt. Perry with his fleet of nine vessels. We all know the result of that naval engagement.

On Sept. 23, 1813, Col. Proctor[19] then in command of the troops at Amherstburg, decided contrary to the advice of Tecumseh to abandon the fort. Under his orders the fort and public store houses were burned by the soldiers and shortly after the retreat began Gen. Harrison with the United States troops followed and the disastrous battle of the Thames took place resulting in the death of Tecumseh.

Major Richardson the author of the *"War of 1812" "Wacousta"* and etc., and who was captured at Moravian Town at the battle of the Thames, speaks of Amherstburg, never of Malden. Lossing the American author in his well-known *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812* refers to Fort Malden and gives a map of the Detroit River showing Amherstburg town and Fort Malden. Lossing says "The Army entered Amherstburg with the band playing 'Yankee Doodle,' the loyal inhabitants had fled with the army. The ruins of Fort Malden the dock yard and the public stores were sending up huge volumes of smoke." He also says that there were two block houses on the mainland in 1813, one near the fort and one near Salmon's Hotel. Several Kentucky volunteers were taken prisoners by the Indians at the Battle of the

[19]See sketch in Vol. XXXVI, p. 255, this series.

River Raisin. One of them, Elias Darnel[20] who served under Gen. Winchester, published in 1854 a journal of the campaign from which the following extract may be made.

"As he took me near Fort Malden, I took a good view of it as I could while I passed it. It stands about thirty yards from the river bank, I judged it to be seventy or eighty yards square; the wall appeared to be built of timber and clay. The side, from the river, was not walled, but had double pickets and was entrenched round, about four feet deep; and in the entrenchment was the second row of pickets."

Richardson after describing the historic meeting of Procter and Tecumseh, says on page 121:

"It having been resolved to move without loss of time, the troops were immediately employed in razing the fortifications, and committing such stores as it was found impossible to remove to the flames kindled in the various public buildings; and the posts of Detroit and Amherstburg for some days previous to our departure presented a scene of cruel desolation."

We now call another witness, an expert witness, a contemporary record that should settle the question if any doubt remains. In 1799, David William Smith, Surveyor General of Upper Canada prepared and published at the request of the Lieut. Gov. Simcoe, a Gazetteer of the Province. On page 49 we find the following, "Amherstburg, the military post and garrison now building at the mouth of Detroit River, in the township of Malden." In 1813, a second edition was published, revised by Francis Gore, Lieutenant Governor. In this Amherstburg is described as a post and garrison and there is no mention of Malden as either Fort or town. Thus we see officially, the settlement was known as Amherstburg from 1797 down to 1813.

In further confirmation of these facts so ably set out by Mr. James I may be permitted here to mention another fact which came to my knowledge during the practice of my profession at Windsor. Many years ago I had occasion to search the title to lot No. 11, First street, or lot No. 3 on Dalhousie street in the town of Amherstburg. This lot fronts what is still known as Dalhousie street, the main street in the town and on the south east corner of said street and Gore street, and about 667 yards from the remains of the old fort. I found that this lot or rather a portion of it was conveyed by deed dated July, 22, 1799, by Richard Pattinson & Co. of Sandwich, merchants to Robert Innes & Co., also of Sandwich, merchants, and is described as "the undivided half of that certain messuage, etc., and situate and being in the town near the Garrison of Amherstburg, and containing 30 feet

[20]On p. 86 of the same journal, Darnel says, "Malden, or Amherstburg, is situated on the east side of Detroit River, near its junction with Lake Erie, and contains about one hundred houses, mostly frame."

in front by 120 feet in depth, with the dwelling house and stable erected thereon." In the deed which follows this dated 23d Sept., 1808, from Robert Innes to William Duff, the same lot is described as "on the garrison ground Amherstburg." The consideration being £362, 10s. 0.

Mr. James cites various authorities to show that Amherstburg was occupied by United States troops from about September 27th, 1813, to July 1st, 1815, when the renewal of peace placed it in the hands of the British.

Lieutenant J. E. Portlock of the Royal Engineers in the report of the Post of Amherstburg prepared in 1826, thus describes it. "The fort is square, consisting of three bastions and one semi-bastion and in its present form was constructed by Americans. The original works which had progressed very slowly and stood unfinished at the approach of the enemy during the last war were (as far as it was practicable to do so) destroyed by the British troops prior to their retreat from the western frontier. The Americans had advanced but a little way towards the completion of the present fort."

It would appear from further extracts that the fort even after its reoccupation by the British was allowed to decay and Mr. James comes to the conclusion that the Fort Amherstburg reconstructed by the Americans in 1813 was not exactly on the same lines as that begun in 1797, and destroyed by the British in 1813, and that by 1826 the second fort had fallen into decay. He further states that it must have been at some date subsequent to this report of inspection that the fort was reconstructed and renamed for this third fort appears to have received an official naming as Fort Malden, one authority says the rebuilding took place in 1839.

In the Crown Lands Department is a sketch entitled "*The Survey of Reserves taken by Lieut. De Moleyns, Royal Engineer and copied November, 1852, by Capt. Moore.*" On this plan Fort Malden appears as a four-sided enclosure the southern wall or face of which is in a line with the northern end of Bois Blanc. The commanding officers' quarters, Fort Supanto's quarters and commissariat premises all lie outside of the fort between it and the town of Amherstburg. The land to the east of the Sandwich road is laid out in lots for the pensioners and a sample pensioner's house is sketched. The old Indian entrenchment is marked on the river bank to the north. Richmond street is marked as the northern limits of the town and the open space around the fort north of the town and between the Sandwich road and the river is marked "Enrolled Pensioners' Grazing Ground," and this plan comes down to the recollection of many of the older residents of Amherstburg.

The Rev. Thomas Nattress in his pamphlet before referred to gives

short accounts of the important events which took place on this western frontier and the part taken in its defense by the military and militia in charge of Fort Malden during the wars of 1812-1813, and again in 1837-1838. He says at the breaking out of the war of 1812, Fort Malden was garrisoned by 200 of the 41st, fifty of the Newfoundland Company and 300 of the Militia with the detachment of Royal Artillery being 600 men in all.* Col. St. George was in command of Fort Malden when on July 12th, 1812, Gen. Hull crossed from Detroit to the town of Sandwich at the head of 2,500[21] regulars of the American army. A few days later an ineffectual attempt was made under Col. Cass to take the river Canard bridge five miles above Amherstburg, Fort Malden, of course, being the objective point. Maneuvering and skirmishing continued until the arrival of Col. Procter at Fort Malden, on August 5th. On his arrival he affected a counter movement by sending a detachment across the river intercepting the supplies in transport from Ohio for the American forces at Detroit, that necessitated the return of Hull's large force from Sandwich to Detroit. Gen. Brock arrived at Fort Malden on August 13th, from York and next morning met the Indians in council. Tecumseh urged an immediate attack upon Detroit and Brock at once took up the march. The small American force at Sandwich recrossed the river on his approach and by the following day he had planted a battery opposite Fort Detroit and shortly after followed Hull's surrender of his post and all his troops and stores. Procter assumed command at Detroit and in a series of engagements in which the Essex militia took part achieved some important results at various points on the Raisin and the Maumee against the forces of the American General, Harrison. He was finally repulsed by Harrison in his attack on Fort Meigs and met with an almost chrushing defeat on August 2nd, 1813, at Fort Stephenson upon which he immediately retreated to Fort Malden to recruit his army.

The result of the attempted capture of Amherstburg by the insurgent leader Sutherland with the so-called "Patriots" and their defeat and capture with the schooner Anne on the 9th of January, 1838, is well known.

Troops from Fort Malden again on the 24th February, 1838, defeated an attempted invasion when an expedition led by one McLeod crossed from Michigan and took possession of what has since been known as Fighting Island, a Canadian Island in the Detroit River about halfway between Windsor and Amherstburg. On that occasion Major Townshend with a detachment of the 32nd regiment from Fort Malden arrived

*See Kingsford.

[21]In Hull's *Memoirs of the Campaigns of 1812*, p. 57, he states that the number of soldiers which he took to Sandwich with him was less than a thousand.

upon the scene in the night and at daybreak Capt. Glasgow of the artillery corps drove the enemy from their lodgment.

Other attempts to invade this part of Canada and in which troops from Fort Malden displayed a conspicuous part in defending the country need only be mentioned, as the engagement on Pelee Island in March, 1838, and the last one, viz., the attack upon Windsor, December 4th, 1838. Mr. Nattress says that during this rebellion Fort Malden was garrisoned by a detachment of the 24th Battalion, another of the 32nd, the 34th regiment under Col. Eyre, a battery of artillery and as many of the Essex militia as the exigencies of the situation demanded. The latter were when embodied with the garrison in essential particulars considered on the same footing with the regular troops. Last of all came three companies of the Royal Canadians. These were transferred in 1851 after which date no regular garrison was stationed at the fort. The detachment of the 34th regiment which had been stationed at Halifax did not reach Amherstburg till the early part of 1838, and subsequently the bastions at the fort were rebuilt and the fortifications got in good repair. The defense of the fort in 1838, consisted of ten twenty-four pounders, six six-pounders, three brass field pieces, six mortar guns and a number of rocket tubes, besides the full complement of small arms. There is at the present time (1904) plainly visible the well defined outline of a mortar-bed in the only remaining trench, the one on the north side of the works. Another of the mortar batteries was immediately in the rear of where the last of the old flagstaff still stands on the rear of the southwest bastions. The two front bastions have been well preserved, the angles being as sharp today as the day they were built. On the east side of the fort there was a double defense formed by two rows of pointed pickets one on the moat outside the trench, and the other on the inner side of the trench. The sally-port crosses this east trench along side the east bastion.

The trenches on the east side have been filled in and the bastions leveled in the construction of a roadway. In 1838 the buildings, etc., in connection with the fort were all located along the river front from where the postoffice now is, northward. Here were the commissary department (a part of the old building is still standing) the dockyards, government stores, the hospital and the officers' quarters. The space between the officers' quarters and the southwest bastion of the fort was protected by a row of pickets as was also the space between the two front bastions not otherwise protected by trench or moat.

A part of the defense not yet specified was the blockhouses on Bois Blanc Island. There were three of them, known as the north, center and south blockhouses or No. 1, No. 2, No. 3. The south blockhouse still stands as in the old days. The one at the north end was burned

some twenty-six years ago. The center one stands on the west side of the island and is embodied in the summer house built by Col. Rankin formerly owner of the island, and now known as the Col. Atkinson summer residence. About opposite to it on the east side of the island and abreast of Richmond street there was a picket barracks long afterwards used as a dwelling, but not now standing. The main site of the fort with a few of its old buildings still standing is now owned by private individuals. Some years ago a petition largely signed by the inhabitants of Amherstburg was presented to the government asking for its restoration and preservation as a national park. The situation is beautiful and is very accessible. It has been estimated that the property could be purchased for $25,000 and an additional sum of about $10,000 might be required to lay it out as a park. It is to be hoped that the government will do something to aid in such a laudable object.

The reclamation of this fort would not only be an object lesson to the youth of the present day but would do much to promote the study of the history of the early struggles on this frontier in 1812 and in 1838. Situated on the Detroit River no place could be better advertised. Few places are more visited by strangers during the summer season than this river which is only twenty-four miles long yet it is one of the greatest waterways in the world.

The "Columbia" of the D., B., I. & W, Ferry Company is licensed to carry 3,666 passengers and makes two trips a day from Detroit to Amherstburg and Bois Blanc and is frequently loaded with excursionists from Michigan, Illinois and Indiana.

FRENCH AND INDIAN FOOTPRINTS AT THREE RIVERS ON THE ST. JOSEPH

BY BLANCHE M. HAINES, M. D.[1]

The St. Joseph river, now "vexed in all its seaward course with bridges, dams and mills," no longer a navigable stream, (except in the eyes of the law), was in the time of the first American settlers in the region, in the early 1830's, the shipping medium for Three Rivers and a considerable territory in St. Joseph and neighboring counties. Three Rivers was practically the head of navigation for the larger crafts. Steamboats came to Knapp's ripples at the southern edge of the city, but found difficulty in crossing the shallow water at that point. The first merchants shipped the products of the country by flatboats and

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June 7, 1910.

rafts to St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, received there a return cargo of merchandise, which had come around the lakes, then poled the load up the "St. Joe" to Three Rivers, where it was discharged.

Before the American settler came, in the era of the earliest French explorers and even before the Gallic foot had left its imprint on our territory; while yet the aboriginal tribes, alone, traversed this country, the River St. Joseph was the highway, the medium of rapid transit, the short cut, the "Air Line" across southern Michigan. The favored route from Detroit to Chicago and the Illinois.[2]

Primitive modes of travel and transportation were walking and canoeing. Hence it is small wonder that canoeing, being easier and quicker, should have been preferred and the waterways of the new world assumed great importance. Among these waterways, the St. Joseph though only one hundred and eighty miles long, must be reckoned as important. The character of its watershed made it particularly rich in portages.[3] The St. Joseph-Kankakee,[4] portage connecting the waters of the St. Lawrence with the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, became a much used portage by both the French and Indians, after La Salle had made it famous in his trips to the land of the Illinois and the Mississippi River. The Wabash-St. Joseph[5] portage established a quick communication between Fort St. Joseph and Fort Vincennes, also between the Great Lakes and the Ohio. Short portages, from the head waters of the St. Joseph connected with the Maumee and the Raisin rivers, cutting the long way from Detroit to Chicago or from Montreal to Fort St. Joseph, a more important point than Chicago in the time of the French occupation. Another portage to the Kalamazoo river gave the name Portage to the lake and river of that name, which flows into the St. Joseph at Three Rivers.

Is scarcely needs emphasis that at the confluence of the three rivers, the Rocky, the St. Joseph and Portage, where Three Rivers City is located was a natural point of advantage and interest when waterways were highways.

From the point, where the three streams merge into one, a branch led off to a portage. The head of navigation for large crafts was there also. The three streams with their branches gave rich returns to the

[2]*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* Vol. XXXIV, p. 67.

[3]Reuben Gold Thwaites; *France in America.*—"From Lake Michigan, the river St. Joseph might be ascended to its source, and a carrying trail found, by which the Maumee could be reached and descended to Lake Erie, thus cutting across the base of the great Michigan peninsula; or, at the great bend of St. Joseph (South Bend, Indiana), a marshy trail led over to the Kankakee, which pours into the Illinois, itself an affluent of the Mississippi."

[4]Francis Parkman; *La Salle.* Page 151.

[5]*Michigan as Province, Territory and State.* Page 162, Vol. 2. "This was a portage of considerable importance between the most southerly bend of the St. Joseph and the most northerly bend of the Wabash."

hunter of furs. Now that the beaver are gone, the "oldest inhabitant"[6] still tells of a large beaver dam, in pioneer times, on the Portage in the northern limits of the city. The modern fur buyer recognizes Three Rivers as a good market, in which to purchase raw furs and many Three Rivers muskrats furnish the pelts for my lady's coat of "River mink" or furs of "River sable" and still the Three Rivers "Enfants du diable" of the French (skunks) yield up their skins to form the garniture of "marten" on my lady's gown of brocade. This region, still interesting to the fur buyer, was much more so, when the aristocrats, among the fur bearing animals, dwelt in our marshes, rivers, and forests. The Indians, certainly knew of these furry denizens of early Three Rivers. La Salle[7] bore testimony to the abundance of game in the locality and Father Marest[8] to the abundance of animals in the valley of the St. Joseph. The probabilities are that French traders bartered for furs at this point very soon after 1679.

When Jacob McInterfer's family came to Three Rivers in 1829, and George Buck's in 1830, they found a French trading post,[9] consisting of a double log house, on the west side of the St. Joseph River in what is now known as Third ward, and about where the Hike Millard property is located, now owned and occupied by Don Wolf. This post continued to do business, until about the time the mill was built on the Rocky River which was in 1836 when the traders disappeared.

The only other family here at that time, when these first settlers came was Cushaway, who lived also in third ward near Knapp's ripples, just south of the Michigan Central Railroad and near the site of the house now owned and occupied by Sidney Boyer. Cushaway also went away about the time the post did, possibly finding advancing civilization not to his liking. Cushaway was a white man, but dark. It is thought that he was a Frenchman or possibly a half-breed. We are unable to decide that he, himself, was Cush-ee-wee or that he was related to Cush-ee-wee,[10] the hereditary Indian chief of the Potawatamies of the Nottawa-seepe reservation, whom Pierre Morreau, a Frenchman, supplanted as chief of that tribe after his marriage with an Indian woman

[6]Mr. George Buck, son of George Buck, a settler who came in 1830, to Three Rivers, tells of this beaver dam.

[7]Parkman; *La Salle.* Description of La Salle's trip across southern Michigan in March, 1680. Page 180. "On the twenty-eighth, we began to fare better, meeting a good deal of game, which after this rarely failed us."

[8]*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* (*Cadillac Papers*) Vol. XXXIII. Father Marest wrote to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, on the 4th of June, 1708. "The men who arrived today from the Bay, (Green Bay) say that the Poutouatamis who remained there, and with them several Sakis, were to go and rejoin at the St. Joseph River with Ouilamez, where the land is excellent and *there are animals in abundance.*"

[9]Testimony of George Buck (see above) and Mrs. Lewis Salsig, daughter of Jacob McInterfer, who was the first American settler in Three Rivers, date of settlement 1829.

[10]*St. Joseph Co. History.*

of the tribe. Like the Arab, these early Frenchmen folded their tents and stole away at the approach of civilization. No descendants remain to tell the tale of their lives at Three Rivers. No old settler can give us even their names. They were the "Frenchman" or the "French Traders." So far as local history is concerned, they came from and returned to the unknown. They were here in 1829. They were gone in 1836. We are unable to say definitely, how many years the French had made Three Rivers a rendezvous, but certainly many years before 1829. Tradition[11] says that an Indian mission was established by the Jesuits, near the present concrete bridge on Flint ave. and St. Joe street over the St. Joseph River, probably as early as 1680 and that Father Allouez may have been the founder. Nothing of chronological significance or certitude was known about these early French until within five years. August 25th, 1905, some men who were digging in the King gravel pit, which is situated on the west bank of the St. Joe, midway between the sites of the old French trading post and the Cushaway's, unearthed a skeleton and three crescent shaped silver pieces. Later Mr. David C. Beerstecher of Three Rivers made some excavations near the pit. He found six skeletons and many interesting objects. The following is his *Account of his Excavations:*

"The first discovery of the Indian burying ground was made August 25, 1905, by H. B. King, near the St. Joe river. Place known as the King Bros. gravel pit, which was once a beautiful bluff. The skeleton of the body found, was supposed to be that of the miner as there was a lamp and a metal shade to cap found with same. On a portion of the lamp the word "Montreal" is engraved. A deer and bird are engraved on the shade of the cap which is solid silver. This was all found six feet deep.

"July 5, 1908, I went to the said gravel pit and made several discoveries myself. After laboring hard for some time, I found an old brass kettle with copper ears, which had been made in a very crude way. A few days later, H. B. King found cover for same—that was made of brass with iron fastening on top to handle. This was five feet under ground.

"The next discovery I made was August 5, 1908. I unearthed two skeletons, one of which must have been a very large man, perhaps a chief, I found by laying the bones out, it to be a little over six feet.

[11]Father Kaufmann, in St. Edward's Parish. *Mendon, Mich. and missions.* "The Chicago Historical Society claims that the Recollect Father, Louis Hennepin, the companion of La Salle, came up the St. Joseph river as far as where Three Rivers is now situated. Tradition has it that an Indian mission was established and for a long time flourished close by the concrete bridge in Three Rivers. This mission may have been founded by Father Allouez, who came to Niles in 1680 and labored along the St. Joseph river till his death in 1690."

The present Catholic church at Three Rivers is a mission belonging to St. Edward's Parish in Mendon of which Father Kaufmann is the pastor.

In one hand was found a pipe made of red clay which is in a very good state of preservation. Two daggers, several French arrow-heads and a piece of glass in the other. On each arm were found two bands 1¼ in. wide on which the word "Montreal" was engraved. A belt buckle with the letters "J. O." engraved on it, also a set of earrings, all of which are of silver. The skull has around it a band of cloth about one inch in width, which is ornamented with two rows of little silver rings; a braid of hair ornamented with the same kind of rings was attached in back.

"Now perhaps you would like to know how this great chief was buried. The grave was about six feet deep and nine feet long and two feet wide. After the grave was dug, clay about two inches thick was placed around inside, then fire was put in until the clay was baked hard. The body was then placed in it with the head to the West. Then there was black dirt and charcoal mixed together, then clay about six inches thick. Then fire was built on top and this was all baked so the grave was water proof and no animal could dig into it.

"Skeleton No. 2 was buried about the same way. A pipe, knives, French arrow-heads, glass bottle, beads, brass bell and a number of pieces of brass and copper were found with this. Since that time I have dug in several graves, but always find different animal bones—sometimes knives, arrow heads, and pieces of brass and copper. These were found from four to six feet deep and in black dirt and charcoal. I also found a number of fireplaces two and one-half to three feet across top and from three to six feet deep, built of stone and clay inside and baked very hard, all containing a great amount of charcoal. My work is nicely commenced, but not finished."

The skeletons were buried in gravelly soil in a bank which rises twenty or thirty feet abruptly above the stream, a most sightly place giving a beautiful view up and down the river. They were buried in sitting position in clay cavities, with bits of charcoal in the bottom of the receptacles with rounding domes of clay over them. The first discovery was, as Mr. Beerstecher suggests, thought to be the skeleton of a miner with the visors of the miner's cap. But, the three crescent shaped pieces of silver were not, of course, visors, but the ornaments much affected by the Indians and sold to them by the French and English traders.[12] The skeletons vary in type, most of them are rather short and squat, with the round or bullet type of head. But the one described by Mr. Beerstecher as a chief, is that of a very tall person with rather a long head. This skeleton must have been that of a man

[12] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* Vol. X, page 579. Invoice of goods sent to Michilimackinac addressed to Lieut. Govr. Sinclair the 24th May, 1782. "50 Gorglets" are included in the list.

COLLECTION OF INDIAN RELICS FROM D. C. BEERSTECHER, THREE RIVERS, MICH.

six or more feet tall. The findings with it were rather the most interesting.

The mode of burial, the place of burial, and the objects found with them, tell a story of these people and Three Rivers before the American settler, a story of Frenchmen and Indians. That these dead were Indians is indicated by the character of the spot and soil, high and gravelly. The mode indicates it also. Neither French nor English bury their dead in the sitting position in fire-baked clay cavities. The American Indian did so bury his dead. The Alaskan Indians [13] of to-day bury their dead in this position, and place them in wooden receptacles above the earth. The objects with the skeletons tell more of their history. They were the trinkets and utensils commonly used in the barter between the white man and Indian. The English and French traders received the furs of the Indians in exchange for the silver crescents, buckles, bracelets, brass kettles, knives and scissors. The three crescent shaped silver pieces, first discovered are etched with figures. One has a deer etched on its face. Another a bird with the word "Montreal" in the corner, while the third has a bird which was never on sea or land. It has the barb pointed tail attributed to his Satanic majesty. Silver earrings accompanied one skeleton, an armlet or silver bracelet was found with the letters "P. H." on one end and "Montreal" on the other. A silver buckle with "J. O." in four or five places on it, several steel knives, beads of garnet and white glass, and beads of tiny black and white shells accompanied them. With the large skeleton was a headdress made of a band of woven cloth of a coarse texture, not unlike horse hair. This was strung with numerous small buckles, not much larger than a small coin. This encircled the brow and head. With this skeleton were many of the richest ornaments, showing the wearer to have been a man of property, at least. We do not pretend to place this person, either in his tribal relation or in his tribal name, but he was different from the others. His rich adornment indicates a man of importance, possibly a chief. The size of the skeleton and shape of the skull suggests the Iroquois or Sioux. The shorter more squat skeletons remind us of the Potawatamie type.

Near the burying ground, Mr. Beerstecher found six or more "fireplaces" four to six feet deep and two to three feet across the top. These were made of clay and contained charcoal. Usually there was a hole near the bottom about the size of an egg. The walls of clay were from an inch to an inch and a half in thickness. They were from eighteen to twenty inches under the ground. Similar pits[14] have been described,

[13] *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.* Page 311.

[14] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* Vol. XXVII. Mr. Frank Little in "*Early Recollections of the Indians about Gull Prairie;*" says: "Remains and signs (of Indians) of large permanent villages were abundant. In the vicinity of these were numerous caches—circular pits about three feet deep dug in the ground, lined and covered with bark for the storage of corn, dried and smoked meat, etc."

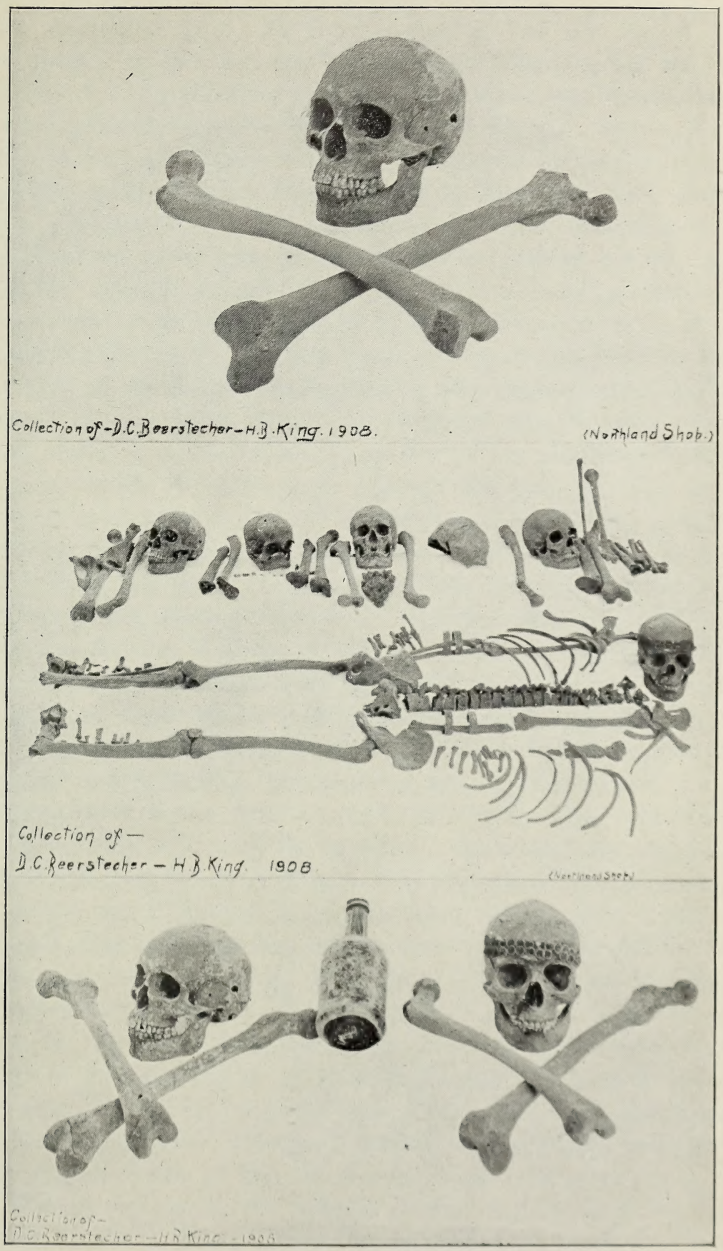
used by the Indians as caches in which to store corn, meat and other provisions, and the same sort of constructions was in use for sacrificial fireplaces. The contents of charcoal and large quantities of animal bones, near these pits, incline us to the opinion that these were used in some ceremonial.

Undoubtedly, this was an Indian[15] burying ground, probably of the Potawatamies, antedating the American settlers and American traders' yielding to our eyes the merchandise of Montreal, showing us a glimpse of white men bartering with red men probably fifty years or more before the old French post vanished. The inscriptions on the ornaments with the word "Montreal"[16] indicate that they were made subsequent to the French and Indian war or a date later than 1760, as prior to that time and date, Montreal was known as Ville Marie. On the other hand the Indian trade of this region passed out of the hands of the British after they evacuated Detroit in 1796 and Montreal would scarcely furnish the objects of trade for the American trader. Indeed there is much to suggest that American traders controlled the trade on the St. Joseph after 1780 (as we shall note later). A coin, bearing the date 1825 and "to facillitate trade" around the edge, was found a few inches below the surface of the ground and but a short distance away from the old cemetery. It comes from a later period, and has no relation with the old Indian burying ground. No tradition existed in Three Rivers of such a burial place. The first American settlers, who found the Indians in this country knew nothing of this cemetery in the city limits. Hence we must go back, beyond the first white settler who came in 1829, back beyond the American trader, before the evacuation of Detroit in 1796, back at least to the British occupation of Michigan and the Indian trader under English dominance with the cargoes of goods from Montreal. That trade was most active about the time of the Revolutionary war. We place the acquisition of the ornaments between 1760 and 1796 and the date of interments not much later than 1800.

Where did the Indians acquire these objects? Did the old French trading post at Three Rivers date back to that time? Were they received in trade at Three Rivers, or did they come from the trading

[15]Harlan I. Smith, in a letter, says: "Judging from the photographs I am inclined to think that the skulls are those of Indians, although in the case of one or two I think it is difficult to tell from the photographs; however, the objects found with them make it almost certain that they are Indians."

[16]Mr. C. M. Burton, in a letter, says: "I hardly believe a Frenchman or a white man would be buried with a crown upon his head. The fact that the crown or headdress is there, indicates to me that the person was an Indian of some importance." Further, he says: "The inscription of 'Montreal' on some of the silverwork indicates a date subsequent to 1760, and even a much later date in all probability. The French name for Montreal was 'Ville Marie' and I think that this was the name usually employed, so long as the French dominated."


Collection of - D. C. Beerstecher - H. B. King. 1908.
(Northland Shop.)
Collection of —
D. C. Beerstecher — H. B. King 1908
Collection of —
D. C. Beerstecher — H. B. King — 1908

COLLECTION OF INDIAN RELICS FROM D. C. BEERSTECHER, THREE RIVERS, MICH.

posts at Fort St. Joseph or Detroit? What was the early history of the French in Three Rivers?

In the spring of 1675, Father Marquette,[17] on his return from the Illinois, passed up the east coast of Lake Michigan on his way to Michillimackinac. It is possible, that he entered the St. Joseph River, but if so, he could not have explored it far, for he was then a dying man, and did die near Ludington,[18] before he reached his destination.

It is also quite possible that French traders may have visited this region before that date; but no record has been preserved to tell us of their coming. The first record of the French on the St. Joseph is given in the account of the trip of La Salle by way of the St. Joseph and Kankakee rivers to Illinois in 1679.[19] He reached the St. Joseph in August, 1679, built a trading post with palisades on the site of the present city of St. Joseph and called it Fort Miami, because he found the Miami Indians near there. He sounded and buoyed the channel for some distance up the stream. A few of his men remained at Fort Miami that winter, while he went on with the most of them to the Illinois. It is probable that some explorations of the St. Joseph, were made during the winter by La Salle's men who were left at Fort Miami. In March, 1680, La Salle came back to Fort Miami, went from there to Lake Erie on foot, through southern Michigan with a few of his followers. He crossed the river on a raft on March twenty-fifth, then went through thick woods, which tore their clothing. On the twenty-eighth, they found the woods more open, meeting a good deal of game, so that they no longer needed to carry their provisions with them. On the evening of the twenty-eighth, they made a fire on the edge of the prairie. This description of the journey and country on the twenty-eighth of March tallies very well with the country a short distance north of Three Rivers. When they left Fort Miami, they crossed to the north side of the river. After two days and a half in thick woods, they came to more open woods, (the oak openings of our country north of the St. Joseph). Game became more plentiful, and the evening of the twenty-eighth, they camped on a small prairie, suggestive of Prairie Ronde and the territory in northern St. Joseph and southern Kalamazoo counties. He returned in the autumn of 1680 and spent the winter of 1680 and 1681 at Fort Miami.[20] La Salle was a man of action and a merchant as well as an explorer. Hence it is inconceivable that knowing of the rich fur region north of the St. Joseph from his spring trip, that he should have remained at St. Joseph several months without returning to the region about Three Rivers or sending men there.

[17]Reuben Gold Thwaites—*Father Marquette.*
[18]See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 408.
[19]Francis Parkman—*La Salle.*
[20]Francis Parkman—*La Salle.* Page 179.

The Jesuit Father Allouez who had the Miamis and Potawatamies at Green Bay in his mission there,[21] and who had a way of following up his converts and also following La Salle came to his Miamis on the St. Joseph in 1679. He labored among the Indians there until his death which is said to have occurred at Fort St. Josephs in 1690.[22]

At the time of La Salle's overland trip across Michigan, the region about the St. Joe was debatable ground claimed by several warring tribes. Shortly before this the Potawatamies had been driven out of the country and they and the Miamis had clustered about Green Bay. The Miamis had returned to the lower St. Joseph in 1679, and La Salle found a large village of them at the portage at South Bend in 1681.[23] The Potawatamies with a few Sacs returned to the St. Joseph about 1708 to 1711.[24] Not far from that date the Miamis moved to the Maumee and Miami rivers leaving the Potawatamies along the St. Joe.

Fort Miami was destroyed in July, 1680, by some of La Salle's disaffected followers, but was restored the same year by his men under La Forest.[25] Fort St. Joseph's was built not long afterward, about 1690, near Niles, Michigan.[26] This fort, Charlevoix described in 1721,[27] with a village of Miami Indians on the east side of the river and a village of Potawatamies on the west side of the river.[28] Fort St. Joseph's was occupied, as a military post, until its capture in the Pontiac conspiracy in 1763.[29] The attendant coming and going, travel and relations with the Indians, and trade through its trading post continued until the destruction of the fort by the Spaniards of St. Louis during the Revolution. In the meantime, it successively passed into the hands of the British at the close of the French and Indian war in 1759, into the hands of the Potawatamies after the conspiracy of Pontiac in

[21]Francis Parkman's—*La Salle.* Page 34. "The Potawatamies and Winnebagoes were near the borders of the bay." "The Miamis on the same river above Lake Winnebago." "The Miamis soon removed to the banks of the river St. Joseph, near Lake Michigan."

[22]Judge Orville W. Coolidge; *History of Berrien County.*—"According to tradition Father Allouez died at this mission (St. Josephs) in 1690."

[23]Bartlett and Lyon—*La Salle and the valley of the St. Joseph.* "It does, indeed seem not unlikely that Allouez, who was with the Miami Indians in 1672, should have followed them from their Wisconsin home when they emigrated to this valley." "He was certainly here at a later date, devoting the closing years of his life to the work of the mission on the St. Joseph where he died in 1690."

[24]Parkman's—*La Salle.* Page 267. *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* Vol. XXX. Memorandum of Marquis de Vaudreuil. Date 10th March 1711. "Potawatamies and other savages settled on the St. Joseph River."

[25]Parkman's—*La Salle.* Page 185.

[26]*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXVIII, page 179. L. H. Beeson—*Fort St. Joseph.*

[27]Judge Orville W. Coolidge—*Berrien County History.* "Both (Miamis and Potawatamies) are for the greater part Christians, but have been a long time without pastors." Quotation from letter of Charlevoix, date 1721.

[28]In 1712, Father Marest, says: "The mission at St. Joseph among the Potawatamies is in a flourishing condition second only to Michillimackinac."

[29]Parkman. *The Pontiac conspiracy.* Vol. I, page 273. *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.* Vol. XXX, page 556, *Cadillac Papers.*

1763, back to the British two years later. Post St. Joseph remained, under these various administrations, the distributing point of Indian merchandise for the St. Joseph River and was under the management of the post at Michillimackinac and so remained until the evacuation of this country by the British, although Cadillac, shortly after founding Detroit in 1701, invited the Potawatamies to settle around Detroit. Friendly relations and trade continued between the Potawatamies of the St. Joseph River and the post at Detroit until, in the time of Commandant Sinclair of Mackinac, it became a subject of complaint to Governor Haldimand at Quebec, that the trade with Detroit was an encroachment upon the grants of privilege to Mackinac. Major De Peyster, Sinclair's predecessor at Mackinac, had been transferred to Detroit, and in reply to the complaint of Sinclair, wrote an explanatory and apologetic letter to Haldimand, stating that the Potawatamies of the St. Joseph came to Detroit, because it was nearer, and because they had known him before at Michillimackinac.[30] In 1762, the post at St. Joseph was paying an annual rental to Michillimackinac for the privilege of trading, of 3,000 livres or about $600.[31]

Much of the trade of St. Joseph River and Fort St. Joseph from 1745 to 1780 passed through the management of Louis Chevalier, merchant at St. Joseph's and Indian agent of the commandants at Michillimackinac. No one knew better the Potawatamies of the St. Joseph River nor has left a clearer picture of the Indians of that time than did this French gentleman, who served under two kings, and two flags, the French and the English, and who lived there almost up to the time of Spain's[32] capture of the fort and American possession of this soil. In 1780, he was ordered, by Lieutenant Governor Sinclair to leave the post at St. Joseph and proceed with the inhabitants of St. Joseph to Michillimackinac.[33]

About that time, (1780) or possibly a little before, a new trader and merchant came to the mouth of the St. Joseph, now the city of St. Joseph and controlled much of the trade of the St. Joseph River. This was William Burnett[34] of New Jersey, an American. Burnett, also, was obliged to pay tribute to Mackinac, until the victories of the Revolution gave him courage to disregard their authority. About the time Burnett settled at the mouth of the river, Joseph Bertrand[35] and one Le Clare, Frenchmen, came to Bertrand near Niles. It is thought,

[30] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Coll.*, Vol. IX.

[31] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XIX, page 21.

[32] See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184 and Vol. V, p. 550 this series.

[33] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. X.

[34] Judge Orville W. Coolidge—*Berrien County History*, also *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXX, p. 85. *William Burnett* by Edward S. Kelley.

[35] Joseph Bertrand founded the village of Bertrand, now extinct. See Vol. XXVIII, p. 128 this series.

that, they were employed by Burnett in the trade of the region. William Burnett married a sister of Topinbee, a chief of the Potawatamies, and Joseph Bertrand married Topinbee's daughter, which doubtless had something to do with their relations. Burnett was, also, associated in a business way with such men as John Kinzie, James May and Jean Baptiste Point Au Sable. With his son and successor Isaac Burnett, the names of Jean Baptiste Chardront and B. Ducharme are associated.

It is impossible to say at this time, whether the trinkets, found on the Indian dead at Three Rivers, came to us through the agents of Louis Chevalier of old Post St. Joseph, or through the agents of William Burnett or Joseph Bertrand or possibly through the post at Detroit which our St. Joseph Indians were wont to visit. Probably many posts furnished treasures to deck those roving braves in all their splendor.

Among the Bouquet papers,[36] is an order from Pierre François Vaudreuil, Montreal, under date of Feb. 9, 1760, saying: "You will send copies of all my letters to St. Joseph and the posts *near*, supposing that there remain some soldiers there in order that the inhabitants may conform to it." That Three Rivers was one of the "post near" is very probable. It is also probable that the wide knowledge of Louis Chevalier of the Indian character and movements was not gained without the medium of sub-agents and sub-trading posts and that, in his time, an active trade was carried on at Three Rivers with the Potawatamies.

Chevalier in 1779,[37] says "The Potawatamies are divided into six villages, fifteen to twenty miles apart, each village having its own chief." Three Rivers no doubt was one of these villages.

The old Indian burying ground in Three Rivers is not the only evidence of the aboriginal population. Several farms, along the St. Joseph and Rocky rivers, in the vicinity are rich in Indian treasures, flints, battle-axes of stone and other Indian objects. A branch of the Rocky River the outlet of Pleasant Lake which is one of a chain of lakes some seventy feet above the St. Joseph River, flows rapidly down to join the Rocky River near the city limits. This stream is not more than three or four miles long and it takes its descent quickly. Not far from this little stream is an old sand-pit, rich in arrowheads. Near its confluence with the Rocky is another field which has yielded many flints, battle-axes and pipes. South of Three Rivers on the St. Joe are two such fields. This series of Indian haunts, shown by localities where flints abound attests the popularity of these streams with the Indians, and suggests that more than one village of Indians was located in this vicinity.

[36] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XIX, p. 29.
[37] *Mich Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XIX, p. 375.

In conclusion: The story of Three Rivers on the St. Joseph, in the time when Michigan was a province, first of France and then of England, is best told in the few traces of the French trader and his Indian customer. Mere footprints of a vanished people, nearly obliterated in the flight of time. The written history, of the period and region concerns the military operations and occupations of the forts, through which the government was administered. The traders left no written memorials of the place or people. Three Rivers' provincial history is interwoven with that of the forts at Detroit and St. Joseph; That Three Rivers, with its natural advantages, was an early point of attention and occupation by both traders[38] and priests[39] is certain. Both came soon, certainly not later than the return of the Potawatamies from Green Bay, Wisconsin in 1708 to 1711, "to this river where the hunting was good."

The word "Montreal" on the trinkets from the Indian burying ground signifies that the objects of trade still came from Montreal. We know that William Burnett did not pay license nor do business under Michillimackinac, later than 1782. Naturally, we return to the period of Louis Chevalier. The thirty-five years between 1745 and 1780 when he traded with the Potawatamies on the St. Joseph, influenced them, and kept them in friendly relations with himself and his superiors.

Dead men tell no tales! But they have told to us a story of Three Rivers on the St. Joseph in the eighteenth century. The only story of it that we can find of that time. A tale of the noiseless pad of mocassined feet, now dust for more than a century. We trust the interpreter has made no mistakes in the translation.

[38] *Jesuit Relations*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Vol. 66, page 279. Letter of Father Gabriel Marest, dated November 9, 1712. "Therefore, I resolved to go by the river St. Joseph to the mission of the Pouteautamis, which is under the direction of Father Chardon."

[39] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXXIII. Letter from Father Marest to the Marquis Vaudreuil, under date of Aug. 14, 1706. "I had spoken to some Frenchmen about taking news to the St. Joseph river and helping our priest, and getting them out of their difficulties if they are there and enabling them to leave."

D. A. R. UNVEILED MONUMENT MARKING SITE OF FRENCH TRADING POST

(From the Three Rivers Commercial, Sept. 30, 1911.)

INSCRIPTION ON BOULDER MARKING SITE OF FRENCH TRADING POST

Hereabouts stood the old French trading post, kept by Cassoway and Gibson, when the first white settlers came to Three Rivers in 1829.

This post was probably established before the revolutionary war. The French traded with the Indians of the St. Joseph river as early as 1680.

This tablet was erected by the Abiel Fellows Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution September 30, 1911.

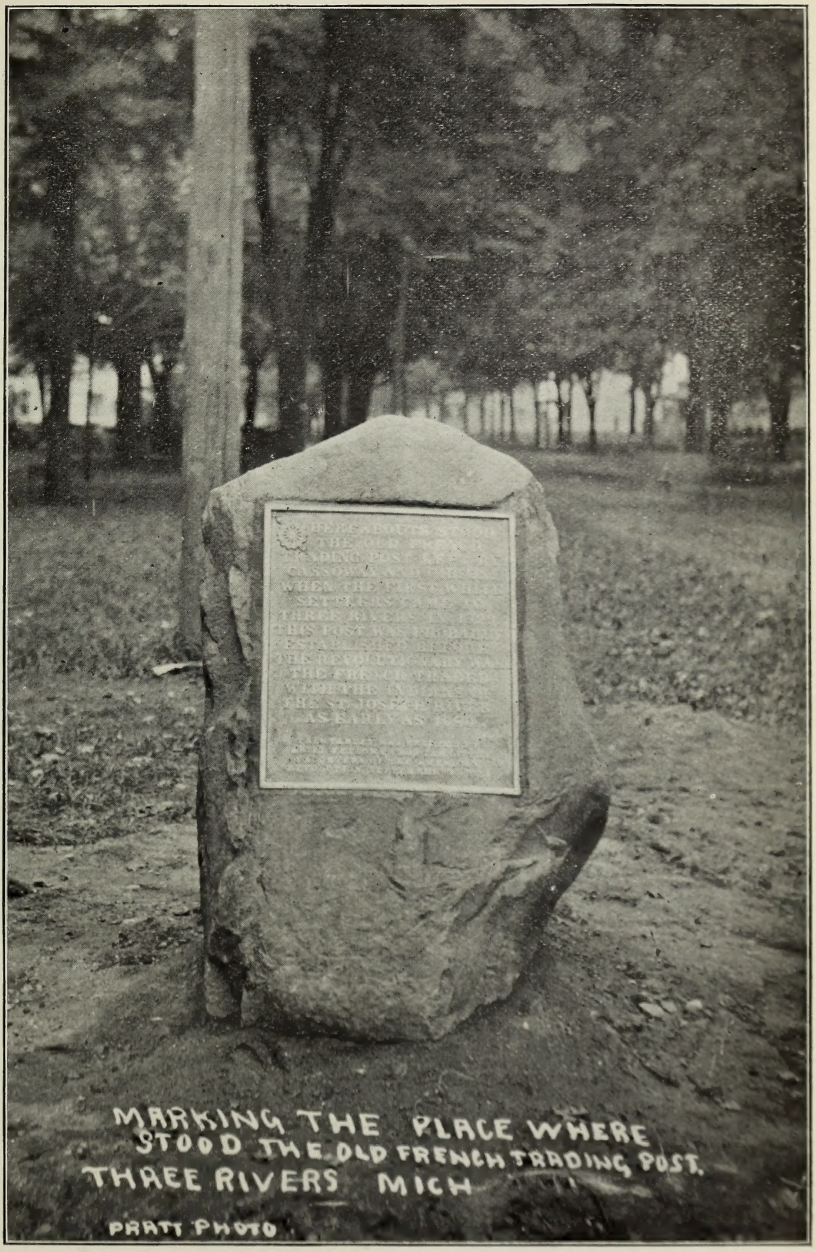
The ceremony of the unveiling of the boulder that marks the site of the old French trading post which stood near the site of the park on Constantine street in the Third ward, occurred this afternoon at 2:30, in the presence of Abiel Fellows Chapter Daughters of the Revolution, who are the donors and a large gathering of citizens, who had assembled at the spot to witness the ceremonies. The ceremonies were opened by the singing of the Star Spangled Banner by the entire assemblage, which was followed by the invocation by the Rev. Thomas H. M. Coghlan, of the Methodist church. Mrs. L. B. Perrin, the regent of the chapter, gave an address on the work and aims of the order.

In part she said:

"While we seek to perpetuate the memory of our revolutionary fathers our eyes are turned toward the future and it is our special work not only to mark historic places but to instill and foster a fine and high spirit of patriotism in the minds of our boys and girls who hold the future destinies of this country in their hands, and to aid those who are debarred educational privileges.

"It is in the interest of our boys and girls we mark historic places, suitably inscribed and mark revolutionary battlefields and revolutionary soldier's graves and mark portages and trails of the early traders and Indians and place monuments along the road our pioneers followed to the far Pacific coast.

"One of the works which most strongly appeals to us is teaching patriotism to our boys and girls, teaching them love and loyalty for the flag and we have strong committees in this line whose especial work it is to see that no desecration is offered our dearly loved and blood bought banner."


MARKING THE PLACE WHERE
STOOD THE OLD FRENCH TRADING POST.
THREE RIVERS MICH
PRATT PHOTO

Dr. Blanche M. Haines followed Mrs. Perrin with the principal address of the day, giving the following history of the old trading post:

"Ladies and gentlemen, we have invited you to assist, by your presence, and your encouragement, the Abiel Fellows Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in the ceremory of unveiling this boulder, which marks the earliest civilization in Three Rivers.

"We know definitely that the earliest civilized people in Three Rivers were the French traders. That the oldest habitation here was the old log trading post and that it was here before 1829.

"Through our unbroken forests the waterways were the highways of travel for the early explorers. The St. Joseph river was one of the most important of these water highways. It was rich in portages or carrying places. There were only short distances to transport canoes from the waters of the St. Joseph to the headwaters of the Kankakee, the Wabash, the Raisin, and the Kalamazoo rivers. The early French explorers availed themselves of these comparatively short cuts to the south and west, as well as to the east and Detroit. La Salle, in 1679, came to the St. Joseph, left a garrison at its mouth, ascended the river to South Bend, and used the South Bend-Kankakee-Portage on his journey to the land of the Illinois. In the spring of 1680 he returned and crossed the country north of us, from Lake Michigan to Lake Erie, and found in this region many fur bearing animals. Doubtless from that date, 1680, our country, so rich in furs, was a fruitful field for the French traders.

"Father Kauffman, of Mendon, in a little history of St. Andrews Parish, mentions a Jesuit mission, which was established here possibly as early as 1680, and that Father Allouez, who died at Niles, in 1690, may have been the founder. If this is true the old post at Three Rivers marks a very early period of the French occupation of Michigan. For the Jesuit and his mission were accompanied or soon followed by the explorers and traders.

"There is no question that Oglethorpe founded the colony Georgia and possibly at the same time Penn's followers landed at Chester on the Delaware river, the first settlement in the colony of Pennsylvania. French Jesuits and French traders labored and trafficked with the Miamis and Potawatamies of this locality. The French flag may have floated over this spot. Therefore, in honor of the French traders and because Michigan was French before it was English, or American, we will hear the Marsellaise, the national air of the French republic, during the unveiling of the stone.

"Friends and citizens of Three Rivers: It is with the greatest pleasure that the Abiel Fellows Chapter of the Daughters of the American Rev-

olution present to you this boulder and tablet, marking the site of the old log French trading post."

At the close of Dr. Haines' address the Marsellaise was sung, after which Rev. John Gallaher pronounced the benediction closing a function of much historical interest to the citizens of Three Rivers and St. Joseph county.

SAUGANASH'S GRAVE MARKED BY THREE RIVERS' DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

October 19, 1911, the Abiel Fellows Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, marked the burial place of Sauganash, a Potowatomie Indian chief, who was a friend of the early white settlers of this locality. He prevented many massacres of our early settlers. His own life paid the forfeit as a result of this friendship for the whites. He was killed by members of his own tribe, because he signed a treaty with the U. S. government to remove with his people, who were non-free holders, beyond the Mississippi river.

The burial spot is on the John Fitch farm, south of town, lately owned by Milton Fitch. It is on a high, sightly knoll, overlooking the Prairie river. Just such a spot as the Indians usually selected for burial places. He was, after the Potowatomie custom, placed in a sitting posture in a log pen above the ground, with food, pipes and utensils. Later, at the request of the settlers, he was buried. The grave was near the pen of logs and close to the old Indian trail from Kalamazoo to White Pigeon. This trail became the wagon road between these points of the early settlers. It crossed a dam on the Prairie river just below the grave of Sauganash. This dam furnished power for a gristmill, which was a feature of the early town of Eschol, which has vanished as completely with the years, as the Potowatomies have done.

The D. A. R., in erecting the marker to Sauganash, have, also, revived the memory of the old Indian trail and early road—the water power, now abandoned, and the town of Eschol.

The credit of working out this local history is due to Mrs. H. P. Barrows, which she has accomplished through the knowledge gleaned from the Fitch family. A vote of thanks was extended by the D. A. R. to Mrs. Catherine White,[1] of Chicago, (great aunt of John Fitch) to John Fitch and Frank Fitch for their help in locating the spot and the privilege of marking it.

[1]Mrs. White says Sauganash was the chief's name but Mrs. Lewis Salsig gives it Saginaw. In St. Joseph County history it is called Sagino. In Vol. 14 p. 275, this series, it reads Saugoma.

MRS. ALEXANDER CUSTARD.

The funeral of Sauganash was attended by the white settlers, who mourned him as a friend. Among those present at the exercises of marking his grave, were children of those who attended his burial. Mrs. L. B. Perrin, regent, presided with her usual grace. Mrs. H. P. Barrows gave a brief history of Sauganash and all present contributed what they could to the history of the spot.

A feature of importance was the drive through the gold and scarlet roads, flanked by tepee-like shocks of Indian corn, on an ideal Indian summer day to the grave of the Indian friend of the early palefaces of this region.—Dr. Blanche M. Haines in *The Three Rivers Daily Commercial,* Oct. 20, 1911.

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENT OF ST. JOSEPH COUNTY*

BY MRS. ALEXANDER CUSTARD

What is history but time's record of men and things; what is the record of the French settlement of St. Joseph County, the settlement which roots back to old Detroit? French? Aye French, the whole state of Michigan was in infancy rocked in a French cradle, tended by French nurses for more than a hundred years—nurses who loved every lake and stream, every hill and dale, every plant and tree found within the borders of what we now call Michigan. They spent their lives teaching the dusky children of the forest religion and many peaceful pursuits. Our French forefathers were lovers of nature, they not only taught the savages to pray but they fished with them, hunted with them, went over the trail with them, living more peaceably with them than the representatives of any other nation.

It was while following the Indians over the Chicago trail that the beautiful Nottawaseepe (sippi) reservation was discovered by the French. The Nottawaseepe reservation comprised all of the present township of Mendon, West Leonidas and East Park extending into Kalamazoo County. This reservation was not settled by white people until after most of the other townships of the county had quite a number of settlers. In 1821,[1] by the Chicago treaty with the Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawatomies all of the land west of the principle meridian south of the Grand River to the Indiana State line, and west to Lake Michigan, was open to settlement except the reservation.

The geography of a country has much to do with the class of people

*Read at the midwinter meeting at Kalamazoo, Jan. 31, 1911.

[1]See Indian Lands Ceded by Treaties by Gov. Alpheus Felch, Vol. XXVI, p. 284, this series.

which settle it attracting those best fitted to enjoy the locality. Thus, tillers of the soil, fishers in inland streams and lovers of scenic beauty sought the banks of the St. Joseph River, whose beautiful scenery places it among the scenic rivers of the world. The river crosses the county almost diagonally and its waters wash the soil of eight of the sixteen townships. I sometimes wonder if it was beauty of scenery that attracted the very first people who lived along its banks, for neither the French nor Indians were its first inhabitants, if we read Time's records correctly, found in the mounds along the river, which hold evidences of a pre-historic people who lived in and around the waters of the river St. Joe. But it is of the French settlers we are to find memory for a few moments—the French who located on banks of the river named and blessed by Father Marquette in 1673, long before our settlers saw its waters.

The Chicago Historical Society Records state that the Récollet Father Hennepin, a companion of La Salle, entered the river from Lake Michigan and came up the stream, as far as where Three Rivers now stands, in 1679 and tradition says that Father Allouez founded a mission near the concrete bridge, which was destroyed and its priests taken prisoners when old Fort St. Joseph was captured, and that Father Hennepin explored the river as far east as the Nottawaseepe reservation and landed on its banks, near where now stands the midway bridge, and held divine worship with the Indians. The Mendon Women's Club has marked the landing place with a pyramid granite boulder, the gift of Mrs. H. L. McClellan, one of its members.

If to-day in looking backward we could see the old trail as it was in the years from 1820 to 1829, we would see numbers of worthy pioneers coming from Detroit to view the land they had heard so much about. They came, admired the river, appreciated the soil but when they saw the Indians they turned their faces towards other fields. Thus it was not until 1829, that the first trading post was established by the Godfroy brothers, who built two log houses on the south side of the river, just where the Marantette manor house now stands; one building was for a store the other for a shop. The views of the river from that point both east and west are very beautiful and far to the south, far as the eye could see lay thousands of acres of fertile prairie soil peopled by the Indians who came to the trading post for their supplies, the braves for hatchets—blankets and tobacco, the maidens for trinkets and beads to decorate their bridal moccasins.

The Nottawaseepe Indians were composed of portions of three great tribes, Potawatomies, Chippewas and Ottawas, noble braves in an earlier time, but degenerated through the influence of a depraved yet brilliant Frenchman, (Pierre Morreau,), the first white man to make

his home in the reservation. He was an accomplished young man, a descendant of one of the first families of Canada. Possessing a desire for a financial career he embarked in business in Detroit and meeting disaster, made shipwreck. He brought the remnants of his goods to the valley of the St. Joseph and joined the Indians. Forgetting his family, name, race, lineage, he married a squaw and tried to drown himself in drink. His wisdom in council, and his sagacity in war raised him to the place of chief sachem, giving him great influence over the tribes. But alas! He taught them to drink too, depraving them, until they lost all self-control, all habits of industry and were a menace to civilization.

Pierre Morreau was the father of seven half-breeds, four sons and three daughters. Sauquoquette, his eldest son and successor, was a splendid specimen of physical manhood, standing six feet three inches. A man of strong will, inheriting his mother's crafty nature and the many talents of his father, he was well equipped for his place as leader. He was winning and courteous in manner, a gifted orator, gentle and polite when sober, but a fiend when drunk. A white man when drunk is bad, a drunken Indian is worse, but a drunken half-breed is a fiend incarnate. Sauquoquette was a fiend incarnate. Such was the condition of the reservation when the first white settler came to the post in 1831 to make a home in the present township of Mendon and assist the Godfroys in their store.

Monsieur François Mouton[2] was a French gentleman from Monroe where he had served as grand juror in 1805 under Gov. Hull. Court was held at Monroe at the home of Jean Baptiste Jeraume, in the district of Erie. Chief Justice Woodward presided. Michigan had but three judicial districts then, Detroit, Huron and Erie. Madame Mouton, nee Catherine de Navarre,[3] was a direct descendant of Robert de Navarre, Royal Notary of Detroit, of the House of de Navarre of France. Madam was a dear little aristocrat, who never laid aside her high heeled, pointed toed slippers, her insignia of royalty, even if her poor little feet did suffer on the rough roads, sometimes she cried out in anguish but kept her slippers on. Madame though petite, possessed great courage. One day, when alone with her children and an old servant, an Indian, somewhat the worse for liquor, came to the house de-

[2]Francois or Francis Mouton was the son of Francis Mouton, Sr., who was born in 1832, in the Parish of St. Pierre de Bouillon, diocese of Liège, Belgium, and Charlotte Duroseau. The elder Francis came to Canada in the French Army, married at Montreal and later in 1771 began to trade with the Miami Indians at Detroit. Francis, Jr., and Catherine Navarre were married before a civil magistrate, Feb. 7, 1809, at River Raisin. See *Navarre Genealogy* by Christian Denissen, Chapter 8.

[3]Catherine Navarre's parents were John Mary Alexis Navarre and Archange Godet dit Marentette. Her father was born Sept. 21, 1763 at Detroit and died at River Raisin, May 22, 1836. See *Navarre Genealogy*.

manding the warm bread he smelled in passing. Madame refused him saying that she had but enough for her family. She sent the children up the ladder to the loft, the old servant followed with the bread and little Madame with the great iron poker stood at the foot of the ladder saying to the Indian. "Come no further, if you follow me I will strike, and I strike to kill." The Indian looked at her rigid figure, and fearless eyes, then shook his head saying "Little paleface much brave." He went away leaving Madame the victor.

In August, 1833, there came to the trading post one who was to wield a strong influence over the future of the settlement, the Honorable Patrick Marentette.[4] He, too, was of royal blood, a scion of the House of de Navarre, handsome, well built and not more than twenty-five in years. Patrick Marantette was a native of Detroit where he had been most carefully educated under Father Gabriel Richard. This talented young diplomat was well calculated to take charge of the post for he possessed unbounded influence over the Indians as did his father before him. Mr. Marantette pre-empted a section of land, which included the post and Indian village. This land was reserved to him when the Indians sold their claims. From the day of his arrival at the post he was identified with every movement for progress. In September, 1833, he assisted Governor Porter[5] in bringing about the signing of a treaty ceding the reservation to the United States. The first pay day was to be at the post in December, 1833, though the Indians were to hold possession of the land until 1835. Long before the big pay day came they were dissatisfied with the terms and ready to repudiate the treaty. They became suspicious of the rapid encroachments of the white settlers whose aggressiveness aroused Indian jealousy. At last the dreaded pay day arrived bringing Governor Porter and the government agents, Messieurs La Bard and de Navarre from Detroit who were to assist Mr. Marantette in paying the Indians. Just before morning's dawn a settler from an adjoining township unloaded several barrels of whiskey in the Indian village. Governor Porter discovered it and ordered Mr. Marantette to break in the barrel heads and let the liquor on the ground. The Indians were alive to the situation and falling on the ground vied with mother earth in consuming the fiery fluid. Just then Sauquoquette, the chief, who had figured in the sale came riding up dressed in his gayest apparel; blue coat with shining brass buttons, red sash, broad belt and sword; on his head an immense chapeau with waving plumes. His horse was finely caparisoned, and swinging his sword he cried: "I sold the land, and I would sell it again for whiskey." Quansette was standing near and drawing his pistol

[4]Patrick Marentette was born at Assumption, Sandwich, Canada, March 11, 1807 and died May 21, 1878. *Idem.*

[5]Gov. Porter—See volume XXXVII, p. 221, this series.

The Old Manor House — Home of Patrick Baranetta

he aimed it at Sauquoquette and pulled the trigger but the weapon missed fire. Quickly swinging his sword Sauquoquette struck at him with such force that his head would have been severed from his body had he not had a large plug of navy tobacco rolled in a blanket on his shoulder. Mr. Marantette sprang forward and led Quansette away until quiet was restored and the Indians received their payment. Sometime after this Sauquoquette fell sick, repented of his wicked life, became a better man and was baptised before he died. A daughter of Monsieur Marantette told me that he was buried on the south side of the river, not far from where the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad bridge now spans the river and for years after the Indians had been removed to the far west, his faithful squaw came each year, in autumn, gliding swiftly up the river in her canoe, to visit his grave, keeping a lonely vigil all night. With the dawn she was ready to depart. Madame Marantette always greeted her kindly and gave her food for her return journey. Thus died the last chief of the Nottawaseepe reservation.

The Indians were by the terms of the treaty, to vacate the land in 1835, but it was not until 1840 that they were finally removed, and that it was peacefully accomplished then, was largely due to Monsieur Marantette. They went overland on ponies and in wagons, transported by the government.

MENDON SETTLEMENT

The fall of 1833 shows quite an increase in the number of French settlers, among them Messieurs Montreau, Le Vere and Peter Nedeau, who settled near the fortification in the extreme southeast of the present township. The spring of 1834 brought Leander Metty[6] and wife from Monroe. Monsieur Metty built his house on the north side of the river near the site of the Wakeman House.[7] Millair settled on the south side near Mr. Marantette. The year of 1835 seemed to awake the Yankee of the east who came with the French, also some southern gentlemen, the last one of the Wakeman brothers[8] from Virginia, Moses Taft and Peter Howes from the east.

[6]Leander Metty (Metay) married the oldest daughter of Catherine Navarre and Francis Mouton, Mary Ann Mouton who was born at River Raisin, July 27, 1810. They were married there Jan. 10, 1825. Leander Metty was born in Detroit, March 14, 1798, son of Felix Metty and Catherine Le May. *Idem.*

[7]Wakeman House was first known as the Western Hotel and was burned in 1873. Adams Wakeman immediately rebuilt it and from that time it was known as the Wakeman House. *History of St. Joseph Co.*

[8]There were three Wakeman brothers. Adams and Hiram who came in 1833-1834 and Mark Hoag who came in 1836. They were the sons of Elizabeth and David Wakeman of Delaware Co., N. Y. Mark was born August, 1799, in Bedford, Westchester Co., N. Y., Adams, at the same place December 1, 1804 and Hiram, in Carmel, Putnam Co., N. Y., October, 1808. *History of St. Joseph Co.*, p. 227.

The year 1835 was memorable for the first wedding in the settlement. The fair bride was none other than Mademoiselle Frances Mouton. The groom the Honorable Patrick Marantette. The civil ceremony being performed by J. W. Coffinberry, the marriage was solemnized later by Bishop Lefevre of Detroit at the home of Monsieur Bertrand[9] of Monroe.

The first white child born in the township was their daughter Elizabeth[10] who saw the light first in 1836.

As the years went by more French came over the trail from Detroit and Monroe. Among the names we find Pattee, Rainey, Raciene and Ney. The year 1840 brought Monsieur Louie Duquette and family from Detroit. Two of his sons and a daughter are residents of our village to-day. One an honored pensioner of the Civil war, the other a prosperous merchant of the firm, Hickmotte and Duquette.

INCIDENTS IN SETTLEMENT LIFE

The first entries of public lands in the township were made in 1836. All previous locations were preemptions, as the land did not come into market until the terms of the treaty had expired. The first farm in operation was Mr. Mouton's. He raised the first corn crop, planted the first peach orchard, planting the pits in a charcoal bed or where he had burned charcoal; he gathered the fruit, fine peaches just four years later.

When Mr. Mouton first came here in 1836 he found fine apple trees twenty years old bearing fruit on the reservation; who planted them is a mystery. Was it Pierre Morreau or one of the missionary priests, or is there truth in the story of Johnny Appleseed?[11] Monsieur Marantette raised the first wheat. Messieurs Mouton and Marantette were the first merchants. The first death, among the white people of the settlement, was that of Mrs. Alexander Metty, daughter of Colonel François Lasselle of Monroe. Mrs. Metty was accidentally shot by her husband, who no doubt took her for a deer. The first schoolhouse

[9]In his History of the *Navarre Family*, Christian Denissen says that they were married at Bertrand, Mich. This is an extinct village which was founded by Joseph Bertrand. See volume XXVIII, p. 128 this series.

[10]Elizabeth Cyprienne Marentette was born Sept. 3, 1836, married May 4, 1858 to George B. Reed of Three Rivers, Mich. and died Jan. 22, 1890. *Navarre Genealogy.*

[11]Johnny Appleseed—John Chapman was an eccentric character who won the title of "Johnny Appleseed" through a peculiar custom of planting apple seeds about the country in places not yet frequented by the whites. He was born near Springfield, Mass., in 1775, and wandered into Pennsylvania and then into Ohio in 1801. He would clear spots on the banks of streams, plant his seeds, enclose the ground and then leave the place until the trees had grown some size. When settlers began to flock in and open up the country, Johnny was ready for them with young apple trees. In 1838 the advance of civilization made him resolve to leave Ohio and go farther west. He died in 1845. See *Historical Collections of Ohio*, Vol. III, p. 156, by Henry Howe.

was built on the Bacon farm; the first teacher Miss Wealthy Hunt; the first supervisor Joseph Jewett; the first frame house was built for Monsieur Marantette.

In 1835 Dr. Duncan came from the south, bringing a number of slaves, thinking to locate a plantation. The settlers became busy telling the negroes that slavery could not exist under the laws of Michigan. The negroes soon ran away and the good doctor turned his attention to theology, hoping by preaching to convert the people from the evil habit of gossip. One June night, that same year, Mr. Comfort Tyler drove a herd of cattle to the river bank and called for help to get them across. No one heard him and he was obliged to stay out all night. The weather was so cold that nearly all the corn was destroyed by frost that night.

AN EXHIBITION OF COURAGE

Monsieur Marantette had been called to Centreville to defend himself in a suit brought by the settler who unloaded the whiskey on the reservation in 1833. When he returned home he found that his men had been drinking and were quarrelsome. At supper they complained of the food. He reproved them. They sprang to their feet drawing their knives. Monsieur seized his rifle and aiming at the leader said "Sit down." The man looked into the shining muzzle of the gun and at the steady finger on the trigger, then at the open door beyond. The calm, clear voice rang out in command again "Sit down, I tell you." The Indians dropped into their chairs sheathed their knives and the meal was finished with the master's rifle near his hand.

Mendon village was surveyed and platted in 1845 by Leander Metty and Patrick Marantette, in section 27, township 5, range 10. The first house was built for Mr. Metty near the site of the Wakeman House. The first hotel was built by Mr. Lewis Lyman. Miss Frankie Lyman was the first white child born in the village. In 1844 Brownson and Doan dammed the Little Portage, which flows into the St. Joseph River. The dam brought manufacturing in a small way. The first brick store was built by Barnabee and Pellett and was in constant use until destroyed by fire December, 1910. Mr. Metty was very fond of music, and offered Mademoiselle Lucie Duquette her choice of several village lots in exchange for her accordian, worth about two and one-half dollars. Monsieur Marantette was foremost in every project for village improvement. His was one of the first names on subscription for a railroad.

From wigwam village to settlement town, from trading post to manor house passed this scion of Navarre. The wigwams vanished with the red men, the manor house occupies the site of the old trading post and was, when finished in 1852, the largest and finest house

in the county. Within its halls the master and mistress dispensed a generous hospitality. Monsieur Marantette was a loved and respected citizen and one has but to mention his name before the old settlers to call forth stories portraying traits of his character. I asked one "Did Monsieur like horses?" "Oh yes," was the reply, "You ought to have seen him on horseback, he sat his horse like a knight of old and rode like a cavalier." Another told me of his pets and finished with the story of the pet goose which always followed him if she could get away. When he was in his canoe she swam beside it, if he rode horseback she flew above his head, and when he walked she waddled after him, if he stopped to chat with any one, goosey quacked loudly. One day she followed Monsieur and one of his little sons to Centreville. Just as they were going up the steps of the court-house goosey flew down beside them and would have gone in with them if the lad had not caught her by the neck and held her until his father came out.

RELIGION IN THE SETTLEMENT

Our French forefathers did not forget to worship God in the wilds. The first services held in the settlement were conducted at the home of Monsieur Marantette in 1836 by Father Cointet. In 1837 Father Boss was traveling from Detroit to Grand Rapids and stopped at the post holding services, thus laying the foundation for St. Edwards Church of the future. Mr. Marantette offered his house for a chapel and services were held there for twenty years, white people and Indians knelt side by side in that home where all who wished to pray were welcome, and through the years from 1836 to 1856, Father Barnie, E. Sorin, Quentin, Rev. Lewis Baroux, Schilling and Murriveau conducted mass, riding sixty miles on horseback to supply the charge. The last time mass was ever read in that home was in the present manor house at the wedding of Miss Carrie Marantette and Captain MacLaughlin. Not long ago a white-haired lady told me that she remembered, when a child, walking six miles with her parents to mass in the Marantette home, going without breakfast, as is their custom. The children used to get very hungry and when services were over Monsieur would call the little ones to him and taking them to the kitchen, give them food and patting them on their heads, tell them sweet stories, while his daughter Carrie brought milk for the babies. In 1861 Monsieur gave the use of the second floor of his store building on the south side of Main street for a place of worship (like the man of old he had an upper room for the use of the Master). That room served as the Catholic Chapel for eleven years, Father Ryckaert officiating. The first service was held November 11, the feast of St. Martin of Tours. Father Koest (Kurst) came in 1870 and then the members decided to build a church. Monsieur came

forward again giving the ground for church, cemetery and rectory. The church was dedicated in 1872 and was used until 1908, when a large, new church, built of field stone took its place. One of the names on the building committee for the new church was P. H. Marantette, Jr., a son of Monsieur Patrick. Again a Frenchman comes to the aid of the church financially. After giving generously as did every member of the church, M. Michell Duquette crowns his already large subscription with money to buy a tower-clock for St. Michell's tower of the church. The clock has won a place in the hearts of the villagers who point with pride to its four transparent faces which truthfully tell the hour night or day.

Monsieur and Madame Marantette have passed away. They are sleeping in consecrated ground in the little cemetery near the church. Their children and grandchildren dwell in the township save three daughters and their families, a grandson, in New York State and a granddaughter, the Princess De Murello, listened to the call of the blood and went to dwell amid the scenes of De Navarre in La Belle France.

In the meantime the village grew slowly for its age is near threescore and ten, and that reminds me of what Father Kaufman once said, "Mendon is a village of more than 800 souls and quite wealthy but it moves slowly in spite of its twenty automobiles." The village is no larger nor does it move any faster though there are twenty-four autos. But if the growth is slow there are some permanent improvements. At present the village claims the finest, largest Catholic Church in the county, a fine Methodist Episcopal Church, a ten thousand dollar Carnegie Library building, a twenty-five thousand dollar schoolhouse, two good hotels; the oldest one, the Wakeman House, noted for its excellent cuisine, has for its proprietor, a son of Patrick Marantette. That the village has a large library is due to the efforts of our citizens. Soon after the Free Public Library Act was passed, Mrs. Flanders, under the guidance of Lawyer Flanders started the movement for a Free Public Library and in 1889 it became a reality. The Carnegie building came through the efforts of Mr. H. L. McClellan and others. Mrs. Duquette, daughter of Mrs. Flanders has been president of the Library Board since its organization.

Time brings its changes and progress has not forgotten the little French settlement on the banks of the St. Joseph River, yet amid the changes, the influence of our French ancestors remains with us, like the perfume of sweet flowers, it touches our social life with gentle courtesy, and even our judicial system under which we live so prosperously is based on "La Coutume de Paris"[12] introduced in Detroit by the French.

[12]See volume XIX, p. 29 notes, second edition, this series.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF PIONEER DAYS*

BY RUTH HOPPIN

I was but three years old when my father moved to this State in 1836. Many things which are distinct recollections would have been forgotten had they not been told over many times by parents and elder brothers and sisters. Our first sojourn was in the northern part of the county in the Edwin H. Lothrop[1] neighborhood. Our house was near the Buckhorn tavern, then owned by Mr. Bebee. After his death the place was purchased by Dr. Parsons, who occupied the old inn as a private residence for a while, but who later built the house now standing on the old site. A sort of village was started there with nearly a dozen houses within half a mile of each other. The spring run had been dammed and buildings erected for a tannery and carding mill. Too late, it was found that the stream did not afford sufficient water power. The tannery later became a distillery and the carding mill a dwelling house. The tavern was then the important building. The rush of immigration made it profitable to its owner. Its sign was a deer's horn fastened to the top of an upright tamarack pole. This buckhorn named the inn, the neighborhood, and the road leading from Prairie Ronde to Three Rivers. The immigrant heard of the Buckhorn hundreds of miles away. The inn was a good representative of the stopping places of pioneer times; a two-story frame house by the side of a well-worn sandy road. Two large rooms fronted on the road. The one outside door led to the barroom. The house was destitute of paint and plaster. Bedquilts and blankets helped to piece out the partitions where the rough boards and studding failed. The barroom, which was also the sitting room, had little furniture, splint bottomed chairs and the bar with its sparkling bottles and glasses being the principal. The great brick fireplace with its log fire, did much to render the room cheerful and comfortable. There great fires were needed even to keep out the autumn cold, for the building was a shell, merely clapboarded. The other front room contained many beds. When these were filled the immigrant might take from his covered wagon his own beds and spread them on the floor. Running back, was another room with a huge fireplace. This room was the kitchen and dining room. Such houses as the Buckhorn were a day's journey apart, so the movers came at night, went on in the morning, and were not often seen during the day.

*A paper read by Ruth Hoppin at the meeting of the Pioneer Society at Centreville, June 14, 1893.

[1]E. H. Lothrop—See Sketch, Vol. XXXVII, p. 217, this series.

Long after pioneer times the old house stood there, unfinished, forlorn, a sort of monument to a brief period in our State, when land speculation ran wild, and all the world was coming to Michigan; then, the rush quitted this road and went by other routes to states further west. What had promised to be a village was left without an inhabitant, save the one family which occupied the old inn. But before the place became quite forsaken the distillery had its day. What could a child of five years remember about a distillery? Well, I recall impressions received from my parents who detested the whole thing. I recall the pigpens with all their squeals and odors. I remember seeing some of the employees and other low characters who will be hangers-on at such places, and I had good reasons to remember the Indians who so frequently passed our door on their way between the Reservation in Park Township and the baleful place, where they went for firewater. A paper could be filled with the story of dreads and frights caused by our Indian neighbors. Drunken Indians often called at our house, asking for food; for they were always hungry, wanting to rest, and sometimes wanting to fight. One of the latter proclivity, my father picked up on the trail one bitter cold night and brought him on his load of wood to our house. The savage came into the living room with his whiskey jug, his gun, and his dog. He drove the children away from the fire; he insisted on pulling fingers with my fourteen-year-old brother who had a felon on his right hand, and he wanted to pull the sore finger. My mother, seeing that the whiskey jug would make him no better, slipped that article out of doors and emptied its contents into the snow, the gun, too, was put where he could not get it. The dog, he called back to the best place as often as it was called away from the fireplace. He was eager to fight, so the older members of the family who sat up with him had a night of it; but managed to avoid any serious encounter. They got him sober, mended his gun, fed him and his dog, and by sunrise started him toward the Reservation happy and singing. I have a vivid recollection of how glad the little ones were when on coming down to breakfast we found the terror gone. I say terror, for not a month before a neighbor, Mr. Wisner,[2] had been killed at his own fireside by an Indian.[3] Had Mr. Wisner, like my father, been a temperate man, the tragedy would not have occurred. The Indian owed Mr. Wisner a grudge, but only manifested the spirit of revenge when under the influence of liquor. This time he got his victim "to drink too much" and the result was death to the white man. I never shall forget the outcry of voices, when that brave, fifteen-year-old lad, James Wisner roused us with the cry, "Help! Help!! the

[2]This story is given in the History of St. Joseph County, page 14.

[3]The name of the Indian was Joseph Sin-ben-nim or Joseph Muskrat who came to Wisner's house with his squaw and two children.

Indian has killed my father and I left him trying to kill the rest of the family." Then there was the hurry of dressing, harnessing and driving rapidly away to save the endangered wife and little ones. How relieved we felt when at daylight a horseman returned, with the word that no others had been killed, although some had been badly hurt. My father and brother did the last duties in dressing the murdered man for the grave. A day later the remains were brought to our house and the funeral was held. No wonder such a history made cowards of children. Ever after have I experienced a terror in hearing or reading of Indian atrocities, which I attribute to this early fright. I was well grown before I ceased to have frightful dreams of being pursued, caught and even being scalped by Indians. When, a year or two later, the tribe moved to the Indian territory, though my parents believed that in this deportation a great wrong was done the red man yet I, selfish child, was very thankful to see them go. No more would I have to meet them on my way to school! How often on such occasions have I run, like a frightened deer into the woods or fields. Once, it was my mother coming to meet me, but I knew neither her person nor her voice. A drunken Indian had passed that way one hour before and I saw in every stump and bush a savage. When these people came to our house, the first thing they asked for was whiskey, next they always asked for bread, flour and salt pork. This latter they liked cut in slices one-half inch thick and laid raw between two thick pieces of bread. This they would bite through as easily as we could the bread alone. It seems wonderful to us children that they always refused my mother's good berry and pumpkin pie. They brought us in return, berries in baskets or mocoes, (mococks) and maple sugar. More often they brought us fish and venison. Once they brought young turkeys. The mocock was a round box like a bandbox, but made of bark sewed together with thread of bark or twigs.

We had a chance to see how they treated boys, so that when they grew up they became straight, finely formed men. I have seen the baby lashed to a straight board tied down from head to heel. We thought the pappooses were pretty and their mothers, too, seemed so happy when the whites admired their little ones. The Indian woman was a devoted mother and patiently carried her child on her back, no matter how long or how difficult the way. I remember seeing a family coming through the trackless snow a foot deep. The long legged, strong father had nothing to carry, the short dumpy mother had her baby strapped to her back, her blanket drawn over her own head as well as that of the pappoose. When they entered the house she was pretty well tired out, her lord was not tired at all. But it was not all selfishness that caused the red man to refuse to carry such burdens. It was his duty as

warrior and hunter to keep himself straight. If there were horses, the squaws always rode, when not enough ponies to go around, it was the men who walked. These people loved their own and sincerely mourned their dead. I have known them to go long distances to lay their friends in some favored Indian burying ground. It is a shame that the whites have not preserved some of these aboriginal cemeteries which to-day we would deem interesting memorials of a vanished race.

There are those here to-day who recall the interesting character of the squaw whose husband killed Mr. Wisner. She was a pure Indian, and her virtures were of savage origin and native growth, as she had not been instructed by civilized people. The devotion to her husband could not be excelled, her efforts to keep him from committing the crime ought to have saved the life of the victim. She did all she could to warn the endangered man, and when the Indian sprang upon him, fought for the enemy of her race. Not until she saw that the Indian was likely to be killed did she cease to help Mr. Wisner; but with true wifely instinct, when she saw one of the two must die, determined that that one should not be her husband. In the trial at Kalamazoo, much sympathy was shown her, and many thought that in this sad affair this uninstructed sister from the wigwam experienced the keenest sorrow and was the truest mourner.

A story had gone out that the Indian had killed the pappoose. She felt that such a report would lessen his chances in the trial, and she took great pains to dispute the statement by removing her baby from under the blanket on her back and showing it to the white people as she passed. Mr. Lothrop who was taking her in his cutter to the trial was quite patient in the detentions caused by these frequent exhibitions of the pappoose. The story of the Indian killing his own child was not without foundation, for a boy had mysteriously disappeared from the family two or three years before. The whites had suspected foul play, but the disappearance was never investigated. It all came out at the time of the Wisner murder. That morning when his captors brought the Indian bound down in the sleigh to the cabin where his victim lay dead, my mother went out to the sleigh to see him. His face was badly mangled; for they had a desperate fight in capturing him; he did not mean to be taken alive for he believed that they would, as the squaw had told him, burn him alive. My mother bound up his wounds and tried to alleviate his sufferings. Seeing her kindness he said, "Good squaw, good squaw, you tell white man to kill me quick; no burn me, but kill me quick." She tried to make him understand that he would not be tortured but would have a fair trial. But she could not convince him; then he tried to anger her, so if possible she would through vengeance, set the men on to kill him quick. He said, "Me very bad Indian, you kill

me quick, me very bad, me kill pappoose put him under ice in swamp." What became of his wife we never knew, probably she went with the rest of her tribe to their lands beyond the Mississippi. The Indian, after a fair trial, was condemned to be hung, but the sentence was delayed on account of the law pending in our legislature in Detroit. That law abolished capital punishment, and our Indian was first to receive the sentence for life imprisonment. He lived but four years. He was quite heartbroken, and docile, and became a sincere Christian.

What pioneer does not recall the Buckhorn Road as it wound through the forest from Prairie Ronde to Three Rivers? When my father came to Michigan, the only houses on this road between Three Rivers and the Buckhorn tavern, were those of Joseph Sterling, Grant Brown, Abram Schoonmaker, and Reuben Bristol, now the Woodward place. Around each of these houses were a few acres of clearing, all the rest of the way was an unbroken forest. The pole bridge on this road which crossed the great marsh just below the outlet of Goose Lake was another landmark known all over the country. The Indian trail from the Marantette agency at Notawasippi struck the main road just below the pole bridge. This trail passed over the Kellogg farm in Park and crossed the Portage by the White Man's Bridge about a mile below the Portage Lake. The trail was in places a foot deep and packed so hard that it was a long time before anything would grow on it. Years after the red man had left the country this trail could be traced in my sister's dooryard.

The earliest pioneer found Michigan healthy, but later so much ground was ploughed up and the malarial gases set free, that the country became very sickly. Our family came at the worst time. My father shook with the ague every day for eighteen months; there were ten all down at once, my mother, the only one able to administer the cup of cold water and care for the sick.

Crops went back into the ground, animals suffered for food, and if the people had not been too sick to need much to eat they, too, must have gone hungry. The pale, sallow bloated faces of that period were the rule; there were no healthy faces except of persons just arrived. "The doctor came with a free good will, And portioned out his calomel."

He came every day, he purged, he bled, he blistered, he puked, he salivated his patient, he never cured him. He forbade the nurse to give the patient any water or any milk. The doctor's bill was something that no sane physician would present today, not so much for a single visit, but the visits had seemed endless. The subject of sickness brings us to that of death and the grave. How many pioneers lay sleeping in nameless graves we shall never know, for too often the avaricious land owner in a few years plowed over the few acres where rested the strangers.

Even in the good town of Three Rivers a row of thickset houses are standing over one of these early cemeteries, whence the bodies have never been removed. There were no headstones, only planks. These soon rotted, and the sleepers beneath passed into oblivion, their friends dead, gone away, or worse, indifferent. Everybody attended the funerals of forty years ago. The neighbors were sympathetic and helpful; there was no expense except for the plank coffin made by the nearest joiner and the white cambric shroud, which was the burial robe for man and woman alike. Mourning was put on by the women, even if it was nothing but a bit of black ribbon on a white straw bonnet. There were no flowers, no hearse, no undertaker. The body was carried in a common lumber wagon, the bearers riding in the same vehicle. The coffin was lowered into the grave by means of lines taken from the horses. All remained till the grave was filled up, the head and foot plank set in place and the mound had been rounded and smoothed into its suggestive shape. Then it seemed that all was done by kind friends, for each neighbor had taken a part in these duties. Now we turn away from the open grave and leave this work to the hireling. The tunes and the hymns sung at funerals seemed purposely designed to make the bereaved ones sadder. There was little hope or consolation in either. Who of us older ones does not remember "China" sung at all pioneer funerals? The sermon, too, seemed to arouse not allay sorrow. He was the eloquent preacher who made the mourners cry the hardest. People worshipped in schoolhouses and private dwellings. So far as I know the only church edifice in 1836 anywhere in the country was the Liberty Pole Church near Harrison's[4] on the north end of Prairie Ronde. There was not one in Schoolcraft, Three Rivers and I think not in Centreville.

Park was settled later than the surrounding country because of the Indian Reservation there, so we repeated our pioneer experiences when my father went there to live. We settled in the woods, saw herds of wild deer and flocks of wild turkeys, our neighbors were visited by bears; my sister saw a bear near a lonely road as she was coming home on horseback. In the winter we heard the wolf's howl, in the spring the thrum of the prairie hen, and in the summer the song of the whip-poor-will. We had unlimited range of pasture with the inconvenience of having our cows go off and our being without milk a week at a time.

Our fruit was picked from the field and the swamp, strawberries from the former and huckleberries and cranberries from the latter. Gardens and fields were luxuriant; melons were brought in by the bushel basket and when the corn was cut up in the fall there was a golden display

[4]Bazil Harrison was the first white man in Kalamazoo Co.

of pumpkins. That almost forgotten fruit was made into pies, stewed for sauce, was dried, made into pumpkin butter, and a toothsome corn bread known as pumpkin Johnny cake made of it. All housewives cooked by open fireplaces, baked bread and pies in the old fashioned bake kettle or in the tin baker. Not until the forties did cook stoves become common.

My mother spun, wove, colored and made up the wearing apparel for her whole family, until the invention of machinery and the incoming railroad changed everything and made home manufactures unprofitable. Suddenly all the female world found itself genteel in calico at twelve and a half cents, and delaine at twenty-five cents per yard, then the spinning wheel and loom were put aside.

There was no plaster, our plank walls were covered with newspapers. Oil for painting was scarce and high priced, so we mixed some real lead with common lard, and put the mixture on the doors and partitions, but it never got dry and was always rubbing off on our clothing. Before the era of rag carpets was the notable era of scrub brooms, those well remembered homemade splint brooms. Many a lady here present can recall the time when it was a disgrace to any housekeeper not to keep her floors "clean enough to eat off of,' and the rule for rinsing, was to dash on and sweep off water till "it was clear enough to drink."

Most of the furniture had been brought on the immigrant's wagons. My mother's old armchair thus imported is my most valuable possession. Our bedsteads were the work of several hands, the posts had been done by the turner, the ruder hand had squared the rails and bored the holes for the ropes. The splint bottom chair was in every house; the greatest elegance was the Windsor chair, popularly known as the "Winzy." These wooden bottomed chairs were painted in a variety of colors, usually dark, but I have seen them of a bright grass green. The grandest piece of furniture known was a mahogony bureau, which many went to look at as a great curiosity. People who had linen for the table made it themselves; not until late in the forties did the Irish peddler bring in a plentiful supply of table cloths.

Musical instruments were few, the fiddle, the most common. Some had accordians but few could play them. When the first organ grinder came through he was greeted with joy, and some wanted to know if that thing that he carried on his back were not a piano. We had much singing of songs, mostly English ballads and Scotch airs. The songs of Burns were as familiar to us as to the Scotchman in his native land, but a few of American authorship were popular. Such a one was "Oh, doubly mournful is the fate that I am call-ed to relate," and "James Bird, the White Pilgrim" was another. These early songs were the seed which brought forth a crop of piano wrestlers and screamers of opera a few years later.

The old-fashioned winter evening visits brought to your door at sunset a large wagon load of men, women and children. They remained until towards morning; a hearty meal was served about midnight. The time was filled with singing and stories. Ghost stories were most popular, but war stories had a part. There were still living not a few men who had seen Washington and Wayne, who like my father had fought in the war of 1812. We were told how Perry's heroes looked as they marched through western New York to reach the squadron being built on Lake Erie. We heard the story of men who fought at Tippecanoe or escaped the massacre at Frenchtown. The war of 1812 was always spoken of as "the late war."

EXTRACTS FROM HISTORY OF THREE RIVERS

BY M. H. BUMPHREY[1]

A village named Moab seems to have been platted[2] July 28, 1830, near the site of Three Rivers, and on June 30, 1831, George Buck and Jacob McInterfer laid out a village which they named St. Joseph. November 25, 1835, John H. Bowman platted a village which he called Three Rivers. In December, 1836, George Buck, Jonathan Brown, Benjamin Sherman, Edward Pierson and L. B. Pierson laid out a new plat, naming the village Lockport and projecting a water power and canal, so that the city now consists really of three plats, the corporate limits in 1871 being so extended as to include all of Lockport, now second ward, and Canada, now third ward, and Brooklyn, now fourth ward.

It is conceded by all that the first settler on what is now the first ward was John H. Bowman, then unmarried, in 1833; and in the second ward, George Buck in 1830; and in the third ward, Jacob McInterfer, in 1829; the first settler in the fourth ward not being known, although it is supposed that the small brick house now standing on Third avenue was the first house.

The pioneers of those early days still with us are Mrs. Sophia Salsig, daughter of Jacob McInterfer, the first white settler; Mary Jane Gill Hopkins,[3] Mrs. Clara Reed Crossette, all of whom now reside in the

[1]The common council of the city of Three Rivers shortly after the celebration of "Old Home Week," 1907, appointed Mr. M. H. Bumphrey, Secretary to U. C. Senator J. C. Burrows, to prepare a history of Three Rivers. Considerable of his records had been embodied in previous volumes of the Collection and these are omitted.

[2]The village of Moab was laid out by Chris. Shinnaman. See *His. St. Joseph County*, p. 140.

[3]Mrs. Hopkins died soon after her interview with Mr. Bumphrey.

first ward, and George M. Buck, now residing in the second ward, and son of the first settler in that ward; Allen Westcott, Sylvester Troy, Arthur Silliman, now residing in the first ward; and Samuel Walz, now residing in the second ward, who have each contributed most interesting narratives as to early settlement and development, all of which will be preserved in full in the "Home Coming" memorial volume authorized by the common council, to be deposited in the archives of the city.

From these narratives in the order of their arrival in Three Rivers, we quote more or less freely.

Mrs. Sophia Salsig, now (1907) eighty-two years of age, came with her father's family in 1829. She says, "My father's name was Jacob McInterfer, and he with mother and our family of twelve children and three young men that he brought along to work, came to Three Rivers in 1829. Nine other families started with us, but the others stopped off at Coldwater and other places along the line. I was next to the youngest child, and the only one now living. We were three weeks on the road, and came from Wooster, Wayne County, Ohio. They had to chop out and build corduroy roads through the black swamp in Ohio. We were the first white settlers in Three Rivers, and there were no roads and no houses between here and White Pigeon. We saw Indians all along the road, and there were more of them when we got here. They lived in bark shanties, and the Indian trail from Elkhart to Nottawa Wasepi passed close to our house. After father built the block house we could look out almost any time and see Indians passing along the trail. The Indians were very friendly, as they had a good chief, Sag-e-maw. He died in 1831 or 1832, and was buried sitting, and as I remember it, at a place down near Hog Creek. My father died in 1832, and I remember that Sag-e-maw died before father's death, because we all went and gave the chief a decent burial. There was no underbrush, and the woods were beautiful, just like a flower garden. On the high land in and around Three Rivers the timber was mostly oak, and on the low lands soft wood. There was lots of wild game, and we could look out any time and see deer. There were no mills and we went to Monroe for our supplies. If the roads were good and they did not have to wait too long to have the grain ground, it would not take long to make the trip. I remember at one time we ran out of flour, and entirely of bread-stuff, and we hollowed out a stump, and pounded corn, sieved it out and made corn bread. Mother always baked her bread in a stick oven. When we arrived here, we stopped over on what is now Constantine street, near where Mrs. Shurtz now lives. I remember that when we came near that spot that father said, 'now we are almost home, and its a green house.' I can recollect it well, as we were riding in a

wagon, and were all looking out to see the 'green house.' Father drove up under a big oak tree and said, 'here is the green house.' Father bought a little birch canoe and took mother across the Rocky River over to where the Portage empties into the St. Joe. After they had walked around some they came back, and father said as they stood on the bank of the river, 'What shall we call this place; its got to have a name.' Mother said, 'I've heard nothing but Three Rivers ever since you were here and entered your land.' Then father said 'that will be a good name and we will call it that.' I remember it well, as mother was afraid to get into the canoe, as it tipped easily and the water was very rapid. Father said, 'this will be a big place some day on account of the water power.' He intended to have the business part in what is now the third ward, and the manufacturing in the first ward. Father brought with us about half-dozen sheep, five or six cows and other cattle, and some other live stock, blacksmith shop, nursery stock, and almost everything to commence living. On the road the cows would be milked, and the milk put in a churn and then fastened on the wagon, and at night we would often find the butter already churned. The first tree that was cut down was for firewood, and we built a fire and cooked along the trunk of that tree until it was burned up. Mother was never homesick—she was a brave little woman, and her word was law. We never thought of disobeying mother. Father was fifty years old when he died, and mother fifty-three. She lived six years after father died. She is buried in Cassopolis, having died at Diamond Lake. Father is buried in Riverside. I remember the old French trading post, kept by Cassoway and Lewis Gibson. There were eight girls and four boys in our family."

George W. Buck, a veteran of the Civil war, came to Three Rivers in 1830 with his parents, three brothers and four sisters. He says:

"I was very young, and my first remembrance is of our hotel and ferry, near where Mrs. Bucher's residence now stands, on Fourth street, in the second ward. Father also had a ferry there across the St. Joe river. I think the price was fifty cents for a team and a large double wagon, twenty-five cents for single rigs, and ten cents for foot passengers.

"The ferryboat, as I recollect it, was fifty feet long and twenty feet wide, so as to accommodate two wagons side by side. It was towed across by rope and tackle, sometimes by hand, but generally with one horse. The road on the east bank came down direct from the east, where the large willow tree now stands on Buck street, and connected on the west bank with a road that followed the high land, coming out near the present Three Rivers House. In time as the country began to settle, there was a large stage road running to Kalamazoo. We

got our supplies from Mottville or Flowerfield. In the winter, if we could not go with horses, we would then follow the river on foot and with canoes.

FIRST BURYING GROUND

"The first regular burying ground was on Eighth street, in the second ward, near Broadway. My father, one brother and one sister were buried there, but later removed to Riverside cemetery. I think there are ten or twelve bodies there yet, which have not been removed. There were three camps of Indians near Three Rivers. They would gather there, dance all night, and in the morning go about their business. We never locked our house—the latch-string was always out. The Indians were in the habit of coming in at night, stir up the fire, sit around and chat and smoke, and when they got ready to lie down would say to me, 'White papoose go to bed,' then they would roll up in their blankets, lie down on the floor and at daylight be up and gone. They liked potatoes and pork, and were eager to exchange venison, maple sugar or berries for anything we raised."

MRS. MARY JANE HOPKINS

Equally interesting is the account of Mrs. Mary Jane Hopkins, now eighty-seven years of age, who talks the Indian language fluently, and who came with her father's family to St. Joseph county in 1832, settling in Flowerfield Township, in what is now called Howardsville. She says:

"My father entered the land at the mill site, with the intention of building a sawmill, but sold to Ira Moss, before finishing the mill. My father then bought land near to what afterwards became known as Gill's Corners. We came from New York State by boat to Detroit, where father bought an ox team and wagon, and then came through to Flowerfield. Lived in Flowerfield three months before we saw a white woman. The first time I came to Three Rivers was on July 4, 1833. A party of young people came here and forded the river near where the Emery gristmill stood, and went over to what is now the second ward, and took dinner at Buck's tavern. Later, in 1837, I was married, and my husband and I began housekeeping in what is now the third ward, in a little plank house, with a basement on the side hill near where Mr. James B. Roberts' house now stands. It was about fifteen feet square, and was built by Misheal (Michelle) Beadle.

"My husband ran the sawmill, and there was a little gristmill for grinding grain. It was a small affair, the millstone being so small they would hold it on their lap when it was necessary to peck it. The mill was near the present waterworks. There were plenty of Indians

and lots of game. I have seen twenty-five or thirty deer in a drove many a time. The woods were alive with large timber wolves, but not many bears. The first church that I remember was at Prairie Ronde, and the next at Three Rivers. There were no regular burying grounds, and when the people died they were buried right where they lived. I remember that a man by the name of Dollie, and one or two children were buried where Mr. W. W. French's barn now stands. I am eighty-seven years of age, and with one exception, the five children in our family are still living."

MRS. CLARA CROSSETTE

Mrs. Crossette, formerly Reed, seventy-nine years of age, came to Three Rivers with her father's family in 1836. She says: "There were in all six children and fourteen persons in the company. We came from Danville, Columbia County, Pa., and were five weeks on the road. There were many people on the way, and through the state of Ohio the roads were very bad, particularly through the "Black Swamp," where we had to help each other pull through. There was lots of wild game here, deer, squirrels, turkeys and they were so pretty, and did not seem at all afraid. We moved into the Salsig house which stood below Mrs. Arney's house on the corner of Moore street. After a time we moved out on a farm east of town. The first school was in the third ward, and it seems to me near where the Millard house now stands. Miss Arvilla Denno was the teacher there when I first attended, and she afterward married Mr. Harwood of Constantine, and died only a few years ago, but I did not know she was living all these years so near, until I saw the notice of her death, and never saw her after she quit teaching here. When we came here the Methodists held church services in the school-house in the third ward."

ALLEN WESTCOTT

Allen Westcott, seventy-five years of age, who early in the civil war enlisted in Co. G, Twenty-fifth Michigan infantry, and who has resided in Three Rivers almost continually since coming in 1836, says: "We came from Onondago County, New York, in the fall of 1836. There were four in my grandfather's family, and seven in my father's. My grandfather came here in the spring of that year, and located 160 acres of land on section twenty-seven east of Three Rivers. He made the round trip on horseback alone. We came overland in wagons through Canada, leaving New York the latter part of October, crossing on a ferry boat at Detroit. There were two or three dozen people here, and only three houses and a gristmill in what is now known as the first ward, two on the east side of St. Joe street, and one on the west side

near where the Null block now stands. The mill was on the site of the Emery mill. The houses in the first ward were frame. There were no roads—just trails—the trees having been blazed, and no roads chopped out. Supplies usually came from Detroit by wagon, and at Centreville there was a little trading post. There were no schoolhouses or churches, but schools and meetings were held in private houses. There were a good many Indians, friendly and all right except when intoxicated. Plenty of game of all kinds, including bear, deer and turkeys."

SYLVESTER TROY

Sylvester Troy came to Michigan in 1825, from Erie County, Pennsylvania, to Three Rivers, sixty years ago. He says:

"Came with father and mother—seven in our family, and we came through all the way alone, and were about three weeks on the road. I was small, but can recollect something about it. There were but few houses then. I was seventeen years of age and came to learn the millwright trade with Joseph B. Millard. There were no worked roads except the Chicago turnpike, and the stage road from Nottawa down through Florence. The other roads were just blazed trees.

"The first brick building was put up by Mr. Monroe H. Spencer and somebody else, and then James Kelsey built one just north of it. My brother, George, built the first shop in the second ward, on what is now known as the Roberts, Throp & Co. plant. He built it for a foundry, and first made plows there. The building is now being torn down. I made the wooden beams for the plows. My brother, George, and I had the contract for building the first dam on the St. Joe River, and that was in 1851. It took all summer to build it, and the original foundation is there yet. It was built of logs, brush and dirt. The parties we built the dam for lived in the east and J. B. Millard was agent for them."

ARTHUR SILLIMAN

Arthur Silliman has resided in Three Rivers for sixty years next August. He says:

"My father's family of eleven and Edwin Carrier and John Foresman came from Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, and stopped a few months in Dorr, Indiana.

"In Three Rivers there was quite a little settlement of houses here and there in the woods. The timber was mostly oak, hickory and quaking aspen, and but little underbrush. Game was plentiful, deer, wild hogs, turkeys, geese, squirrels and lots of wild pigeons.

"In the early '50's the Silliman Brothers established a pump factory in the third ward, where the waterworks now stands. Hibbs & Bannan were general blacksmiths, and Mr. Petit, the wagonmaker. I learned

the blacksmith trade at Centreville, of Boyer & White, in 1849, and worked here in 1856, and opened a shop in 1857, where the Ota Avery residence now stands, on Portage avenue, until I could finish my building, which is the frame building in the rear of the Central House, but at that time stood where the Central House now stands, on St. Joe street, on a sand bluff.

"A narrow road ran in front, and the sand bluff was afterwards graded down to widen St. Joe street. One of the oldest landmarks now remaining in Three Rivers is the warehouse of Moore & Prutzman, on the bank of the St. Joe, near the railroad bridge. In 1848, Moore & Prutzman[4] "arked" down the St. Joseph River 1,100 bushels of wheat, for fifteen cents per bushel, for Alexander Silliman, my father. The wheat was raised four miles north of Three Rivers, which netted fifty-six cents per bushel."

SAMUEL WALTZ

Mr. Samuel Waltz, who is familiar with the manufacturing development of Three Rivers, arrived here in February, 1852, from Bellevue, Ohio, he says: "I came with my parents, there were seven in the family, and Henry Warner with five in his family came along at the same time. We were on the road from Monday until Sunday. There were probably 1,852 here in Three Rivers when we came. No railroads here; the regular highway roads were laid out on lines mostly where they now are. Land north of Three Rivers was selling for about $12 per acre. There was no timber in Three Rivers at that time, except in the fourth ward. There was some underbrush in the upper end of town. The trees were white and black oak, and there was lots of game in the vicinity of Three Rivers, and plenty of deer over in Cass County and some deer on our farm north of town. Supplies were brought here from Constantine. John Hoffman had been building his mill the year before we came, and commenced running the following year. The old Mill, called the E. J. Moore-Prutzman mill, was running. The dams had all been built and there was a two-room schoolhouse on the present site of the first ward school building. The Methodists and Presbyterians both had churches. The first manufacturing was a carding mill on the site of the Water works building. The next was the old Roberts & Throp frame building now being torn down in the second ward. That was put up the same year we came here. It was built by George Troy and was a one-story building. The next shop was built down by the mill, where they made axe-helves and ox-yokes, and that must have been in 1853-4. The next was the planing mill built by William Beckwith,

[4]Moore & Prutzman opened a branch store at Three Rivers in October, 1836 and came themselves personally in the year 1838, at which time they began shipping flour down the river in arks.—Hist. St. Jos. Co., p. 142.

where Sheffield's machine shop now stands. Mr. Caldwell built a sash and door factory where the Quincy Knitting Company plant now is, which he sold out to Mr. Roberts, and then Mr. Caldwell built over on the south side of the race where the forging shop of the Roberts Car & Wheel company now stands, and this afterwards became the Shurtz & Green Company's property. Mr. Caldwell ran the planing mill until 1866 and then sold out. In 1868-9 Caldwell, Twichell & Co. built what was known as the Swartout building, but prior to that time someone had built a sawmill there. George Buck, Sr., built a sawmill on the site where the Sheffield race runs into the Sheffield wood shop. After that Mr. Twichell built a sawmill at another place, and Jackson & Whipple built a sawmill near the head gates of the main race. John W. Arnold and Luther Wilcox established the first lumber yard for the purpose of retailing lumber, on the site of the F. M. Case & Co. lumber yard. After the lumber yard had been started, the local planing mills refused to do any work for the lumber yard, and in the winter of 1867-8 they built a planing mill which occupied the site of the present large warehouse building at the F. M. Case & Co. lumber yard. In the spring of 1872 Smith & Laferty built a pump shop where the Three Rivers Electric Company shop now stands. We moved on the farm where Dan Garn now lives, and cleared it up. We cut off fifteen acres of grubs the first year, and father hired eleven yoke of oxen to plow, hitching the entire eleven on one plow. The size of the plow beam was 10x12 inches and made of seasoned oak."

Mr. E. R. (Williman) Willemin, father of Mrs. H. P. Barrows, has told of the great number of barrels of flour stored in the warehouse, to be floated down the St. Joseph River, and he himself had made the trip many times, which was attended with considerable peril. The Woman's Club of Three Rivers has furnished several interesting reminiscences which are made part, also, of the record filed in the Memorial volume.

As nearly as can be determined, the first school was organized in the winter of 1834-5, and was held in the McInterfer cabin, and taught by William Arney,[5] beginning, it is said, with upward of thirty pupils. Later the same school was also taught by Arvilla Denne. The first regular school house built for that purpose was located opposite the dwelling now occupied by Mr. Beatty, on the Kellogg farm, and was completed December 1, 1837, was constructed of plank, and was a building of one story, 24x30. In 1840 it was moved down on the public square, west of the present schoolhouse lot, and subsequently sold and occupied as a residence, the original building forming a part of the present residence of Z. Jacobs, in the first ward. In 1851, a brick schoolhouse was built on the present site of the first ward school and this later, in 1859,

[5]See sketch following this paper.

was enlarged. On March 28, 1890, it was destroyed by fire, and later still, on January 8, 1904, again wrecked by fire, and rebuilt at once in both cases, and is the present first ward schoolhouse.

The second ward school building was erected in 1868, and has since that time been several times remodeled and altered.

The third ward school was built in the spring of 1884, and is still in use practically as first constructed.

The fourth ward schoolhouse was also built in 1884, but has been remodeled, with an additional wing.

The present high school building, completed in 1905, is thoroughly up-to-date, and is located in the fourth ward.

CHURCHES FROM EARLY DATE

It is probable that the first religious services in what is now the city of Three Rivers were held at the funeral of Jacob McInterfer,[6] and while not known by name, the minister was a Methodist circuit rider. Both the Presbyterian and Methodist societies seem to have held services in schoolhouses and in residences at a very early day, but it appears that the first church to be built was the Methodist, in 1846, on the present site, built of brick, 30x40, Z. B. Ruggles, now living in the first ward, and W. D. Petit, deceased, constituting the building committee. The Methodist society was first organized, however, as a class, in 1836, but not as a church until 1842. The present church was erected in 1864. The first church organizing as such was the Presbyterian, on August 12, 1838,[7] and for ten years or over services were held in schoolhouses and residences, and in 1841 a church was built on the present site. This, in 1859 was enlarged, and later removed from its site and is now used as an opera house. The present church edifice was erected in 1870. The Baptists organized as a society April 6, 1861, and a church was built of wood on Portage avenue in 1864. This in 1871 was destroyed by fire, the present church on Main street having been erected in 1890. The First Reformed Church was organized in February 1, 1863, and the present church in the third ward was built in 1871. The Episcopal Church was organized September 14, 1863, and the church erected in the first ward in 1867. The Lutheran Church was organized in 1870, and the present church was built in the second ward in 1873, having been rearranged at different times. The Protestant Methodist Church was built in 1873, and subsequently altered and rebuilt. An United Brethren Church was built in the fourth ward, but subsequently the society disbanding, the church has been in use for different purposes,

[6]Jacob McInterfer's funeral occurred in 1831. Hist. St. Joseph Co., p. 139.

[7]This Society was organized by Rev. Staley of Mottville with nineteen members. Hist. St. Jos. Co., p. 145.

being now occupied as a business college. The Catholic church was erected on Flint avenue in the second ward in 1904.

NEWSPAPERS

The first newspaper in Three Rivers was the Western Chronicle,[8] which commenced publication in Centreville in 1850, and moved to this city in 1854, and was published by Newton L. Bouten until it was discontinued in 1865. A little sheet called the Herald was also published by Dr. Welper along in the 50's for a time. The Three Rivers Reporter was published prior to 1861[9] by Wilbur H. and H. E. J. Clute, and later by W. H. Clute and G. A. B. Cooke. Mr. Cooke withdrew when the paper espoused the greenback cause, and later still R. E. Case became the publisher, being succeeded by F. H. Case, and he later by C. W. Maffit, (Mafit) the paper finally being discontinued.

The next paper in the city was the Herald, which was moved here from Burr Oak, and was published by 'Squire Arnold for a time. Later it was published by Dr. O. Arnold & Son, the late H. D. Arnold being the son; and later by J. J. A. Parker, until finally merged into the Commercial in 1906. In August, 1878, George A. B. Cooke began publishing the Tribune, continuing until May, 1895, when he was succeeded by F. H. Case, and a year later by S. Greer, who sold to M. C. Ryder, and he later to Bower and Marvin, merging into the Commercial.

On January 1, 1895, J. J. A. Parker established the Three Rivers Daily Hustler, continuing until the present time under Mr. Parker's management.

The Three Rivers Commercial, into which the Tribune and Herald were merged, was established June 4, 1906, by Bower & Marvin, continuing until the present time.

BANKS

The attempt made in 1837 to establish a bank was not consummated, owing to the "wild cat" panic, so-called, although the capital stock of $100,000 had all been subscribed. But a bank was organized at Centreville, and currency issued which was called "red dog" currency. In the early 50's, a private bank was organized under the firm name of E. Cole & Co., and an interesting relic, a letter press, is now in daily use and in the possession of John Griffith. Later Cole & Co. were succeeded by J. C. Morse and William Griffith, under the firm name of Morse &

[8] *The Western Chronicle* was discontinued after 1861. It was violently Democratic in its partizanship but fairly well edited and gained considerable influence. Hist. St. Joseph Co., 1877, p. 45.

[9] The Three Rivers' *Reporter* was established previous to 1860. Hist. St. Jos. Co., p. 45.

Griffith, continuing until 1860. During the 50's a banking business was conducted for a time by Roberts & Lord.

In December, 1864, the First National Bank was organized, and as a bank of issue, has continued until the present time without interruption. The bank building when erected was one of the finest in the State.

The Manufacturer's Bank was organized in 1872, and later, was reorganized as a private bank, and later still succeeded by the Three Rivers National Bank. Under both National bank organizations business was carried on bank of issue.

The First State Bank was organized August 15, 1891, and has continued uninterruptedly until the present time.

During the 50's a private bank was carried on by Dr. Grant, of Kalamazoo, on the site of the present First National Bank, in a wooden building, which was afterwards removed to the lower end of St. Joe street.

POSTOFFICE

From official reports received from the postoffice department, through the courtesy of United States Senator J. C. Burrows, we are enabled to report officially as follows: Three Rivers established as Bucks, postmaster George Buck, October 10, 1831; name of postoffice changed to Lockport, March 8, 1837, postmaster, George Buck, March 8, 1837; William McKee, April 1, 1839; name of postoffice changed to Three Rivers, February 15, 1840; postmasters, Burroughs Moore, February 15, 1840; Herman H. Cole, June 2, 1846; John Ogden, May 9, 1849; James E. Kelsey, July 19, 1850; Isaac Crosette, April 2, 1853; Isaac C. Bassett, June 16, 1859; Isaac Crosette, August 16, 1859; S. Allen Smith, April 26, 1861; James E. Kelsey, January 13, 1862; Wilber H. Clute, March 10, 1865; Charles W. Fonda, October 10, 1866; Albert B. Ramsey,[10] March 19, 1867; Wilber H. Clute, April 15, 1871; John B. Handy, April 13, 1875; Theron L. Arnold, January 23, 1888; George A. B. Cooke, April 11, 1890; Theron L. Arnold, April 18, 1894; Frank B. Weston, May 16, 1898; Lester B. Place, April 12, 1906. The following is a statement of the gross receipts: Fiscal year, 1840, $131.84; 1850, $321.96; 1860, $1,102.75; 1870, $3,248.37; 1880, $5,393.99; 1890, $6,904.06; 1900, $10,402.67; 1906, $20,447.54.

HOTELS

The first "tavern" was built about 1830, in what is now the second ward, by George Buck, and was used for many years as a hotel, as

[10]A. B. Ranny, postmaster in the '60's and in 1877 is a jeweller, as well as keeping a book and stationery store. No mention is made of A. B. Ramsey. See Hist. St. Jos. Co., p. 144-5. The name of Edward Pierson, postmaster, is also given in the Hist. of St. Jos. Co., p. 141.

heretofore noted in the narrative of George Buck, a survivor, and son of the first proprietor. It was called "Buck's Tavern," also the "Half-Way House," the latter name being derived from the fact that it was located about half way between White Pigeon and Prairie Ronde. In 1833 Burroughs Moore built a hotel one and one-half story, near the present site of the First State Savings Bank. In 1834 an addition was made, and others from time to time thereafter, until it finally became known as "Shanty Row." It was very popular in its day, and served a most useful purpose, but was finally moved back, and for a time occupied as a tenant house, then later torn down entirely.

In 1836 Luther Carleton (Carlton) built a frame hotel on the site of the present Three Rivers House. Later the Lantz House, then the Hatch House, of brick, and at that time being regarded as very fine. It is still standing on the original site, just north of the opera house, and now known as the "Sage building." The Central House was next built, and the Three Rivers House enlarged and rebuilt. The American House in the second ward was built in the early 70's and the south part of the Null building has for some years been in use as a hotel and now known as the "Buffalo House."

BRIDGES

There are in all sixteen bridges in the city—three on the Rocky, three on the Portage, three on the St. Joe, and seven on the canals and races, eight of which are of cement and steel. The first bridge was built by Asa Wetherbee, near the site of the present bridge over the St. Joe River.

FIRE ORGANIZATIONS

The first fire company was organized in 1859, with fifty members, with Arthur Silliam (Silliman) as engineer. John Youngs' shop on East street, the site of the present residence of F. Case, being used as the first fire engine house. Cisterns were built in 1860 for fire purposes, and the present engine house in the first ward was built in 1866, and that of the second ward in the early 70's. The Holly system was installed in 1881, the first annual published report, that for 1898, being included in the "Home Coming" volume, and this will be found to give full information as to the organization, etc. It is sufficient to say that from the first the system has been most efficient, and furnishing most excellent water. The fire organization has always been the best, the present equipment, including team, and paid driver and attendant, being located at the first ward house, with a regular fire company paid by the hour, when called out on fire alarm signal.

PUBLIC AND PATRIOTIC SPIRIT

Three Rivers has never been lacking in public or patriotic spirit. Indeed, beginning with the Mexican war, there have always been worthy representation from our city, in all the wars which have been waged by our country since that time. Captain Isaac D. Toll raised one company in this county for the Mexican war, and later in the war of the rebellion. The record is one which our citizens can look back upon with patriotic pride. Of the 212 men who went out in the defense of the nation during those stirring days from Lockport township, 50 per cent came from Three Rivers and in all the campaigns, and on all the bloody battle fields of the south there were found in the fore front brave soldiers who had gone out from our city. For many years a most excellent company of militia was maintained in Three Rivers, Company D, Second regiment, Michigan state troops, mustered into service in 1871 and finally disbanded.

During the Spanish-American war Company K, Thirty-third Michigan infantry, was raised here, and a goodly number of the famous company, including Captain C. P. Wheeler, First Lieutenant Wade Swartout, and First Sergeant J. W. King, enlisted from our city.

As early as 1860 a band was organized for several years. In 1874 the Three Rivers cornet band was organized, and in 1875 reorganized as Arner's silver cornet band. From time to time since, most excellent band organizations have been maintained, some of which became famous, reflecting great credit to our city, the present Three Rivers band, under the leadership of William Predmore, being most excellent.

Many stirring Fourth of July celebrations have been held here, and the evening of the 3d of July has almost without exception been made the occasion of patriotic demonstration, though no formal celebration has been held here since the early '90's. In 1857, the night before the Fourth, was being celebrated, and a cannon had been improvised out of an old six-inch mill gudgeon, from an old water wheel. It had been fired several times in front of where the First State Bank now stands, by Jim Whelper, son of Dr. Whelper, and others, and finally burst, one large piece flying over on the Three Rivers House steps, and the other piece shattered the thigh of Jim Whelper, and made an awful wound, so close to the hip that it could not be amputated. All that was possible to do for him in those days of scanty surgical skill, was to strap the limb to a support laying him flat on his back for several months, and by keeping the circulation as nearly normal as possible his life was saved, but he became an almost helpless cripple for the balance of his life.

In 1893 a magnificent soldiers' monument, costing $3,300, situated on St. Joseph street, at the intersection of Third avenue, was unveiled

and dedicated to the perpetual memory of the defenders of the republic. It is surmounted with the figure of a soldier, and is suitably inscribed with the names of heroic commanders, and battles of the civil war. Later in the year, 1903, on Decoration day, on the soldiers' memorial lot in Riverside cemetery, a large St. Joseph County boulder, weighing over twenty tons, was dedicated to the memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Union Army. A bronze tablet on the boulder explains the object of its dedication, and surrounding it are four large iron tablets, similar to those placed in each national cemetery, each inscribed with a selected stanza from O'Hara's martial poem.

BUILDINGS

In the beginning, most of the houses were built of logs, just such houses as can be seen in any pioneer region. Logs laid up in mud, usually built with a mammoth fireplace, and with chimney throat as large; a lower story, and a garret, and in one corner a ladder, which, in the language of the period, was styled "Jacob's Ladder." In 1834, what is now the first ward, contained six families—Burroughs Moore, John H. Bowman, Lewis Frost, John M. Leland, —— Dawley, Asa Weatherbee. Weatherbee, Moore and Dawley had houses; Bowman and Leland lived in wagons, and Frost in a board shanty. Soon, however, frame houses began to be built. Phillip H. Hoffman and Borden Hicks, who came in 1833, each had houses, but thought to have been on the "Canada" side. It is known that Mishael Beadle, in 1832, built a small frame house on the west side of Rocky River, and a frame store house on the St. Joe in 1833. The first brick was built in the first ward by John Youngs, date not known exactly, but it is thought to have been in the early '40's. Other buildings were erected from time to time, until 1855, Joseph Hiles began as an architect, after which many of the brick stores on both sides of St. Joe street, as also the Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopal churches, were designed by him. Residences and store buildings in Three Rivers have always been up to date, keeping pace with the improvements, and few cities in southern Michigan can rival Three Rivers in its neat, tasty and commodious houses, and well kept surroundings.

In the early days of this region the St. Joseph River was everything to the settler. Before the advent of the railroads it afforded almost the only outlet. The first road surveyed and laid out as such connected White Pigeon and Three Rivers, and was established in 1833 by Matthew Rowen. But the road improvements were slow and the river, connecting as it did with the Great Lakes, became not only the natural, but the most direct highway to the markets beyond. Little wonder, then, that considerable impetus was given, though in a crude way to the work

of shipbuilding. The lumber for the "arks" and other water craft was whip-sawed, and as there was an abundance of good timber for that purpose, it promised to become a still greater industry. It is of record that Washington Gascom (Gascon) began building keel-boats in 1835. The first was named "Kitty Keddungo," and the second, the "Three Rivers," and the shipyard being located in the second ward on the river. Meanwhile it became apparent that navigation on the river, owing to the strong current, etc., could not be undertaken with profit, except with the current, down stream, so that keel-boats were not built for general navigation of the stream to any great extent. The steamer "Ruby," a small boat, however, made several trips up and down the river, and reached Three Rivers several times. But it was apparent that some other expedient must be adopted, and in 1833 Burroughs Moore conceived the idea of building what was afterwards called the "Ark." These were usually built in sections, 16x40, and 500 barrels of flour was an average load, and the cost of transportation ranged from $120 to $175 for the trip. Elisha Millard of Three Rivers seems to have been the most capable captain on the river, and shipment was made in this way to the mouth of the river until 1849, when the railroad reached Niles, and the "arks" then unloaded at that point. This continued until 1853, when the Michigan Southern Railroad reached Constantine, and later Three Rivers, when river transportation ceased entirely.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The record of manufactures and the industrial development is, perhaps, not entirely complete, but gathered from personal narrative and from other sources, a fairly correct outline can be given. It appears that Jacob McInterfer began erecting a sawmill in 1830 on the west side of the Rocky River, but did not complete it before his death. In 1832 Mishael Beadle, after selling his mill in Flowerfield, came to Three Rivers, and completed a mill on the west side of Rocky River, which is thought to have been the mill begun by Jacob McInterfer. Mr. Beadle put in a rude pair of boulder stones, also, and in a crude way ground grists. Afterwards he sold to one Schnabel, and he to Smith & Bowman who, in 1836, began extensive improvements, both of the mill and water power, and in July, 1837, the new mill was in readiness, occupying the site of the Emery mill, recently destroyed by fire. On the second ward side George Buck built a sawmill in 1836, and he, together with S. S. Brown and Benjamin Sherman, formed a Water Power Improvement Company, but the panic and crash of 1837 wrecked their hope and fortunes. In 1837, however, Mishael Beadle built another sawmill further up the Rocky, which, after passing through several hands, in 1850 was enlarged so as to include a distillery, and this being

destroyed by fire in 1853, was replaced by another, which in the end proved a failure. In 1845, Luther Carlton and Mrs. Hoskins commenced building a flouring mill on the Portage on the site of the present Hoffman mill, so-called, which was completed by J. B. Millard and William Hutchinson, subsequently passing into the hands of Phillip H. Hoffman and John H. Bowman, and in 1851 was destroyed by fire, rebuilt the year following, and finally, much improved, passed into the hands of John Hoffman. In 1839 a woolen factory was built in the third ward, where wool carding and cloth dressing were done by Carlton Bonfooy (Bonfoy) which later passed into the hands of Moore and Prutzman, and later still, L. T. Wilcox and W. G. Caldwell, who for some little time ran a sash and door factory on the site of the present power house. Later, W. G. Caldwell bought the L. T. Wilcox interest, and in 1863 sold to Cox & Throp, who raised it and added a brick building for a foundry and blacksmith shop. Abraham and Mose Johnson also for a time built the Johnson Mould Board Hoe, and afterwards John Hutchinson built corn shellers for a time, finally removing to Jackson. It was this interest in the water power, more or less, together with the site for the pump house, that John Throp sold to the city of Three Rivers. The water power on both the Rocky and the Portage rivers having become practically fully developed, the water privileges on the St. Joseph River, in the second ward, which had been so disastrously terminated by the panic of 1837, again attracted attention. In fact, the land belonging to the Lockport Hydraulic Company, and bought by them for $60 per acre, reverting to George Buck, had been as early as 1843 sold again to other parties at $6 per acre. In the spring of 1851 the Lockport Hydraulic Company, composed of Joseph H. Mather of Deep River, Conn., Stephen R. Weeden of Providence, R. I., and George Merriam of Springfield, Mass., with J. B. Millard as superintendent and manager, began operations. The dam across the St. Joseph River was built for this company by George and Sylvester Troy, of brush, logs and dirt. In 1837, when the original water power had been projected, and before the crash came, the main race with channel had been dug out by Barret Sickels, and a smaller race also dug out leading down to the present plant of the Roberts Car & Wheel Company. On this latter site, in 1852, George Troy and J. B. Millard erected a small foundry and built plows, Sylvester Troy making the beams and other wood work. Later George Buck, on the main race, built a sawmill. The next factory on the main race was an axe handle and spoke factory, built by a Mr. Clark, who, after a few years, sold it to J. W. French, and he to the Three Rivers Pulp Company. The Rosette paper mill was built in 1853 by Shaler, Becker & White, both the paper mill and pulp mill being operated for many years. The paper mill is still in operation.

In 1853 a sawmill was built with a small race leading off the main race, well up toward the dam by Charles Twichell, and sold by him to Jackson, Whipple & Company, and they to George A. Jackson & Company. A small sawmill had also been built up near the head gates by Jackson & Whipple. About this time William Beckwith built a planing mill near where the Sheffield machine shop now stands, and projected a race leading off the main race. He made a contract with Philemon Waltz, the father of Samuel Waltz, to cut out the ditch, who immediately began operations, first ploughing two furrows the whole length of the proposed race. Night coming on he suspended work until the next morning. During the night the water began flowing into the furrows, and immediately began to cut through, and before morning had washed out a gully sixty feet wide the whole length and well back into the main race. This washing out into the river below accounts for the bar and riffles below the Sheffield shops, and which were not encountered when the "arks" navigated the river. In 1853 a sash, door and blind factory, and planing mill was built on the south side of the race leading to the present Roberts Car and Wheel works, and in 1855 sold to Caldwell & Company, who after enlarging and running it for a time, sold to Shurtz, Greene & Company, and later leased by Brownell & Dexter, Judge Dikeman of Schoolcraft, becoming the owner, he, later on, selling to Roberts, Throp & Company.

In 1868 the Three Rivers Manufacturing Company established a foundry and machine shop on the plant built by Caldwell, Twichell & Company, and later became known as the Swartwout building. Willetts & Webb were also established on the Beckwith site. In the early '50's Bailey Brothers built an ashery and soap factory on the site of the present F. M. Case & Company lumber yard, which was afterward moved down near where the Sheffield office now stands.

In 1876 Arnold & Smith built a soap factory south of the present F. M. Case & Company lumber yard, which later for some years was in use by Gibbs & Hill as a feed mill.

John W. Arnold and L. T. Wilcox established in 1867 the first lumber yard on the site of the F. M. Case & Company yard. The local planing mills refusing to dress lumber for them, in the same year they built a sash, door and planing mill, which was in operation for twenty-one years, the building now being used as a warehouse for F. M. Case & Company.

In 1865 E. P. Smith began the manufacture of pumps in a small way, subsequently having been joined by Orrin Gifford, who later sold to J. E. & J. P. Prutzman. Two years later the Prutzman interest was sold to Mr. Munson, who in turn sold to Mr. Lafferty, the firm then becoming known as Smith, Lafferty & Bliss, who built the large brick shop

in the second ward at the intersection of the Michigan Central with the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad. The firm was finally merged into the N. W. Pump Company, and moved to Toledo.

The Aspinwall Manufacturing Company occupied the building for potato diggers and planters. During their occupancy the building was partially destroyed by fire. Some time after they moved to Jackson.

The small foundry and shop of J. B. Millard and George Troy before referred to was purchased by Roberts & Cox, John A. Throp succeeding Mr. Cox soon after. In 1875 Mr. Roberts having previously acquired an interest, the firm Roberts, Throp & Company was incorporated and continued for a number of years in the manufacture of threshers and corn shellers, and in the later years building a line of handcar specialties. After the death of Mr. Roberts, who was a fine mechanic and inventor, the firm continued in the same plant, until finally succeeded by the Roberts Car and Wheel Company. Meanwhile J. E. & J. P. Prutzman had built a shop on the Portage River in the fourth ward and continued for a number of years building pumps and plows with great success. Z. B. Ruggles for many years built wagons and buggies in the first ward, as did also John Brigham.

In the year 1859 on the site of the Three Rivers Manufacturing Company in the second ward, W. J. Willets, E. B. Linsley, R. H. Webb and George Sheffield began the building of the Sheffield light handcars, together with the three-wheeled railway velocipede. Other railroad specialities have been added, including standpipes, railroad crossing guards and motor cars, the latter of several different patterns, adapted to all the uses of track maintenance. From time to time, as the business has increased, all the different plants on the St. Joseph water power have been purchased and absorbed, until at the present time, upwards of 800 men are employed, with a payroll of $9,000 per week. Several large and up-to-date shops have been erected, and these in each instance having been specially planned for the uses for which they were intended. It is now one of the largest shops of its kind in the world and is continually expanding. Of the original projectors E. B. Linsley alone remains, now acting as treasurer and general manager. Mr. Sheffield disposed of his interests a number of years ago; Mr. Webb deceased, and W. J. Willetts a few years ago disposed of his interest to Charles H. Morse of Chicago. Fairbanks, Morse & Company have acted as sales agents from the very beginning.

One of the leading industries is the R. M. Kellogg Company, which is engaged exclusively in growing the "Kellogg Thoroughbred Pedigree Strawberry Plants," and is meeting with marvelous success. In 1897 the first crop was grown on the farm at Three Rivers, Mr. Kellogg having for twelve years previously conducted a smaller farm at Ionia. It is

now the largest farm in the world devoted exclusively to the propagation of strawberry plants, of which twelve are early varieties, twenty-one medium, and sixteen late varieties. The business has grown enormously, 175,000 copies of the annual publication having been issued to meet the requirements of the 1907 trade, the number of customers in 1906 having been all over the world.

On Jan. 1, 1906, the Kellogg Publishing Company was organized, publishing a monthly magazine, devoted to the interests of strawberry culture. It is styled *The Strawberry*, and is a practical, useful publication suited to the year-round treatment and care of the strawberry.

The Avery Press, equipped with the latest improvements in printing presses and all other necessary appliances, is associated in the publication of *The Strawberry*.

It has been found impossible, as yet, to make a complete list of the merchants and business men who from time to time have located in Three Rivers, but it is hoped that this may yet be done, but from the data already at hand, and the information secured from citizens who have long resided in this community, it can truthfully be said, as a rule, that Three Rivers people have always been favored by enterprising, public-spirited business men alive at all times to the best interests of the city, contributing liberally to every worthy enterprise.

A list also of all the fraternal and beneficial societies with information as to the membership will also be added to the Home-coming volume.

Since this history was written a most valuable contribution to the history of Three Rivers has come to hand in Brown's Directory of Three Rivers, published in 1871, but the fact as to early settlement, and subsequent development, differ but little, if any, except in detail from that already related, but we are indebted to this publication for a few particulars of general interest. It appears as early as 1870, the progressive business men of Three Rivers, (then numbering 2,400 inhabitants), saw the importance and necessity of paving, at least, the business streets, and in 1871, St. Joseph, and a portion of Penn streets were paved with selected cobble stones, 1,300 perch of stones constituting the first purchase for that purpose, the gutters having been surveyed and paved some years previously. This cobble stone paving was first-class, and gave the best of service for over thirty years, and was always in good condition, in fact, remaining practically as originally laid until the present system was substituted.

At that time (1870) there was a decided difference of opinion among the early settlers then living, exactly as to where, and by whom the first dwellings were erected, but all agreed that the first frame building erected in what is now the first ward, was built by James Smith & Co., for storing wheat, on the north bank of the St. Joseph River, and

that it still remained on its original site. It also appeared, with reasonable degree of certainty, that in the same ward Burrows (Burroughs) Moore, who came to Three Rivers in 1834, on the corner of what is now St. Joseph and Penn streets, built the first frame dwelling, John H. Bowman the second, and Elisha Dolly (Dawley) the third.

Dr. Egery (Eagery) was the first physician, Dr. Burd the second, and Dr. Choate the third to locate in Three Rivers.

Also that a Mr. Crumer laid out and platted the first village of Three Rivers, afterwards moving to LaGrange, Indiana.

At that time it was also learned from Alfred B. Moore, that in 1834, his father, Burrows (Burroughs) Moore, traded one yoke of cattle for six acres of land, which was afterwards known as Moore's addition to Three Rivers.

As to the natural conditions in pioneer days, the soil was said to have been exceedingly fertile. Radishes were reported as having been grown as large as twenty-two inches in circumference, and thirty-one inches in length. In 1836, on Moore's addition, a pumpkin vine yielded fourteen pumpkins of good size, one of which was so large that it could not be set down in a wagon box, the seeds of which retailed for one shilling each.

Wild game, of all kinds abounded everywhere, and the pigeons were so plentiful that at one time Orrin Hicks killed seventy-two with a pole in a short time, near the Bowman residence. Sixty-four deer were seen at one time in what is now the fourth ward, near the Portage River, and later near the same place thirty wolves were counted. Fishing was never better anywhere, and it is of record that near where Arthur Silliman now lives, two wagon loads of fish were taken at one haul of the seine. Sturgeon and white fish were plentiful, and one sturgeon was reported as having been eight feet in length, and that muscallonge weighing thirty pounds were frequently caught in the river.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MRS. WILLIAM ARNEY

PREPARED FOR THE THREE RIVERS WOMAN'S CLUB, 1905.

In September, 1836 we moved in a covered wagon from Washtenaw County to St. Joseph County. The weather was fair, our cows were tied to the back of the wagon, and we fared well until we came to Three Rivers. There was no bridge and we were taken across the river on an old scow and went on to Flowerfield where we stayed until our log house was finished five miles west of that place. We moved

there finding our way by hacks on the trees, as there was no road. The land was heavily timbered with beech and maple; our neighbors were Indians of the Potawatomie tribe. We found about an acre cleared, the trees cut down and lying in heaps to be burned. We got along very well that winter as we brought a barrel of pork with us and purchased flour of Challenge Wheeler at the Flowerfield mill.

The Indians came with venison to trade for salt pork which they called *eucush* and *quoshgun* as they called potatoes.

The next spring, my father and my husband Mr. George Ash purchased a section of land with a quantity of maple trees and we made sugar. We were about fifteen miles from a store and often had to make our own saleratus. We would burn corncobs, wet the ashes and use this to make cakes. Our cows found their own living in the woods and we made plenty of butter. One morning I put the saddle on "old Bet" and started for the country store, kept by Mr. Prutzman on Prairie Ronde with my basket of butter on my lap and arrived there all right. On my return, a friend, Mrs. Challenge Wheeler, persuaded me to take tea with her, the time went by all too soon. I had five miles to go before reaching the heavy timber, where I arrived just as the sun went down. All at once I heard the distant sound of wolves; my horse pricked up her ears in fright and I saw no other way than to put my foot on the other side of the saddle and give old "Bet" the reins. We managed to keep ahead of the ferocious animals until we reached the clearing when they gave up the chase.

That spring of 1837 was a very rainy time. My husband had completed his log house on his "eighty" a mile from the Ash settlement into which we moved. In the meantime a man by the name of Charles Woodruff had organized a school district and I was hired as teacher for the school of twelve children held in my home. Mr. Ash worked during the week for John Wheeler on the Plains as it was called so I kept one of the children with me nights for fear of the Indians, who were not yet removed by the Government. The wolves howled around our cabin every night. One Saturday my husband brought home a large dog, and at sundown the wolves were howling in a swamp near by, so he took a heavy club and the dog and attacked the pack and succeeded in killing a large cub for which he received sixteen dollars bounty for the hide.

Because of the abundance of rain the marshes were full of water and in June people began to come down with the ague, chills and fever until there were hardly well people enough to take care of the sick. In July I was taken sick and had to give up my school. There was no physician in the county except Dr. Egery who lived in Three Rivers. Mr. Ash sent away for a box of Sappington's pills for me at

a shilling a pill, these broke up the chills for three weeks and then they came back harder then ever and I had to be taken to the home of my mother-in-law and was confined to my bed until the next April. I can never forget the first day out of doors; it seemed like heaven. That year was called in the history of St. Joseph County "the sickly season." When I was taken sick and had to be removed we locked our door and left our nice garden of vegetables among the stumps, and the wily Indians finding us gone stole everything in the garden, even the pumpkins and squashes and climbing up the corner of the log house slid down the chimney hole which was cut in the roof for a smoke escape and stole our bacon and flour, and dug our potatoes.

One day old Pokimin the chief and Shave Head with a lot of white scalps hanging on a string by his side came to our home and I told him because of the theft he was "no good Indian," he said "he no stole, 'twas squaw who did it."

In 1842 I was married to William Arney. He took me from the Ash settlement to his home and I soon had supper ready. He said he had promised to marry a couple at what is now the Freese place. I told him to go by all means and that night Lewis Salsig and Miss McInterfer were made man and wife.

In 1865 Mr. Arney became tired of seeing his wife and girls plying the knitting needles every spare moment for a family of nine, so sent fifty dollars for a knitting machine which we soon learned to use. So you see I have the honor of having the first knitting factory in the township. We knit dozens of pairs of socks, selling them to James Kelsey at fifty cents per pair. In 1880 we sold our farm and moved to Three Rivers, leaving our knitting machine in a box under the stairway. Our renters found it and told the neighbors that the Arneys had left some kind of an infernal machine in the closet and they were so afraid of it that they had a man carefully carry it to the barn where it could do no damage.

HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE COUNTY NAMES OF MICHIGAN[1]

BY WILLIAM L. JENKS

Mark! how all things swerve
From their known course, or vanish like a dream;
Another language speaks from coast to coast;
Only perchance some melancholy stream
And some indignant hills old names preserve,
When laws, and creeds, and peoples all are lost!
—*Wordsworth.*

Preservation of the origin and meaning of local names is a matter of considerable historic importance, and some knowledge of their history and significance should stimulate interest in the investigation and study of local history.

In the original giving of names to places, localities, or territorial subdivisions, Americans in general have fallen far short of their opportunities, especially is that true in sections where the Indians had roamed, or the stately Spaniard ruled, or the lively Frenchman traveled or traded. It was the Indian habit to attach a fittingly descriptive name to every prominent natural object, river, mountain, island, and most of these names converted or transcribed into the language of the invader, English, French, or Spanish, were sonorous, euphonious words, which would have made admirable permanent names. Schoolcraft, whose influence upon Michigan local names was important, gave much thought to this subject, and says, "The sonorousness and appropriate character of the Indian names has often been admired. In so rapidly settling a country as the West where the areas occupied so far outran the capacity to provide original names, the inconvenient repetition of old and time-honored names of Europe might be often avoided by appeal to the various Indian vocabularies."

The county names of Michigan present a subject both interesting and difficult. Owing to the fact that the county making power—governor, legislative council, or legislature—has in no instance when laying out and naming a county, seen fit to indicate its motive in assigning a certain name to a county or the historical significance of such name, it is frequently difficult and sometimes impossible to determine with certainty the origin of their names. When the name is of Indian

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1910.

origin, the meaning is frequently doubtful, due to the difficulty in reproducing in English letters the sounds uttered by the Indians, and when the word comes through the French, this difficulty is increased. In repeating a word to an Indian for translation, a slight difference in sound might indicate an entirely different meaning from the one belonging to the original word. This is the probable explanation of the widely differing meanings which we shall see given to the Indian names of some of the counties.

The word Michigan first appears as applied to land area in the proceedings of the first session of the Eighth Congress in February, 1804, culminating in the Act of January 11, 1805, in the second session of the same Congress, establishing the territory of Michigan, to include the present lower peninsula,—but extended southward to a line drawn due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan—and that part of the upper peninsula east of Mackinac. Prior to that, in 1784, a Committee of the Congress of the Confederation, of which Jefferson was chairman, had reported a plan for the government of the Northwestern Territory, and its ultimate division into ten states. One of these was to be named Michigania, to extend westward from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi River, and include a large part of the present state of Wisconsin. Fortunately this report was not adopted, as our lower peninsula was to be a state with the cumbersome, if appropriate, name, Cherronesus, a Greek word meaning peninsula.

The name "Michigan" applied to the Territory and State unquestionably was taken from the Lake Michigan, and that itself emerged in its present form after many vicissitudes, and as the survival of many names and differing forms. The first reference which I have found to to the lake is in the Jesuit Relations of 1640. Nicollet, who was probably the first white man to pass over the waters of Lake Michigan, made in 1634 a journey to the "People of the Sea,"—La Nation des Puants—and upon his return gave an account of the tribes he met, and waters he passed over to Le Jeune, who in his Relation of 1640 attempted to give a general description, which though somewhat confused, clearly enough identifies Lake Michigan under the description of "the second fresh water sea," upon whose shores dwelt the Maroumine (Menominees) and the Ounipigon (Winnebagos). The latter he says were called by some of the French la Nation des Puans.[2] Pére Ragueneau, who was then among the Hurons at the lower end of Georgian Bay, in the Relation of 1648, after speaking of Le Mer douce (Lake Huron), says: "At the extremity farthest from us it communicates with two other lakes which are still larger." And again he refers to "A third lake which we call the Lake of the Puants, it extends between the south and the

[2]*Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 18, p. 231.

west but more toward the west and is almost equal in size to our Mer douce."[3]

The first map to show a body of water at all corresponding to Lake Michigan, was that of Sanson, made in 1650, showing the Strait of Mackinac and an opening at the west into an undefined body of water called Lac des Puans. This name was soon after appropriated to the Baye des Puans, which subsequently became Green Bay. The map of Du Creux, or Creuxius, of 1660, clearly indicates the lower peninsula and the lake on the west, and calls the latter, Magnus Lacus Algonquinorum seu Lacus Foetium, the last word having the same meaning as Puans. Allouez, one of the Jesuit fathers, in his journal of 1666 refers to "Lac des Illimouek, (probably a mistake for Illiniouek, found elsewhere in the journal), a large lake which had not before come to our knowledge, adjoining the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Puants toward the east and south."[4] In the Relation of 1670, the same father who had not before been upon the lake, but spoke from hearsay, speaks of his going from the Sault, to the Pottawatomies and passing over the Lake "des Ileaouers, unknown till then and much smaller than Lake Huron."[5] Later in the same Relation, reference is made to the "Lake of the Illinioues which is called Machihiganing."[6] The map accompanying the Jesuit Relation of 1670-1 shows the northern part of Lake Michigan under the name Lac des Illinois. This Relation speaks of the "Lake called Mitchiganons, to which the Illinois have given their name."[7] The map itself is remarkably accurate so far as Lake Superior is concerned, but does not attempt to give anything but the extreme northern part of Lake Michigan, and that not with accuracy.

Joliet's map of 1674, while showing the entire lake for the first time, is not at all accurate in its outlines, and calls the lake "Lac des Illinois ou Missihiganin." In another map the author of which is not known, but which appears to have been made shortly after the map of Joliet, Lake Michigan appears as "Michiganong ou des Illinois." Marquette's map of 1673-4, which showed only the west shore of Lake Michigan, calls the lake "Lac des Illinois," while Thevenot's map of 1681, which he published as Marquette's calls it "Lac de Michigami ou Illinois." A map ascribed to Franquelin, dated 1682, calls the lake "Michiganong ou le Grand Lac des Illinois dit Dauphin." Franquelin's map of 1684, much the most complete and accurate map of the Great Lakes up to that date, shows the lake under the name of "Lac des Illinois," while his map of 1688 calls it "Lac des Illinois ou Mich-

[3] *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 33, pp. 61, 151.
[4] *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 51, p. 27.
[5] *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 54, p. 198.
[6] *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 54, p. 221.
[7] *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 55, p. 101.

iganay." Duluth in a letter from "Mischilmakinac" written in April, 1684, refers to perverse Indians "who have in the past assassinated us at Lake Superior and in Mischigane."[8] A map by Coronelli of 1688, bears the name for Lake Michigan, "Lago Illinois 10 Michigami," and for Lake Huron, "L. Hurons, Algonkins, Michigange." Denonville, Governor of Canada, in a Memoir of 1688, says that La Salle navigated Lake Huron and thence through that of "the Illinois or Missigans."[9] Raudin's map of 1689 has "Lac des Illinois ou Missiganin."

In a Memoir by Cadillac written probably about 1697, he describes the country where he has been during the three years past and in his first reference to this lake calls it "Lac Michigan ou Illinois," but during the remainder of the article always calls it Lac Michigan.[10] The Del'Isle[11] map of 1703 calls Lake Michigan, "Lac des Illinois," and to Lake Huron gives the name "Lac Huron ou Michigane," which is followed in the map of Seutteri of 1730.

Nicholas Perrot, who spent the years from 1665 to 1699 among the Indians of the Great Lakes, in his Memoir upon the Customs and Manners of the Savages, in giving an account of the warfare between the Iroquois and the Hurons, says that after the serious defeat of the latter in 1649, they went after a time to Huron Island at the mouth of Green Bay, and the following year, upon hearing of the approach of a large band of Iroquois, withdrew "au Méchingan" where they constructed a strong fort. From the connection it would seem he meant by this term the district adjacent to the northwestern part of Lake Michigan.[12] In 1698 Hennepin published his "New Discovery" which included an abridgement of the discoveries of Joliet in 1674. This latter refers to "The River of St. Lewis which hath its source near Missichiganen"[13] clearly meaning Lake Michigan. La Potherie, who was himself in New France during the latter part of the seventeenth century, in his history, in speaking of the Pottawatamies, who were located in the region of Green Bay, says, "Their families are scattered to the right and to the left along the Mecheygan."[14] In the Jesuit Relation of 1712, Pere Marest, a Jesuit priest who had spent some time in Illinois with the Indians, speaking of his return in 1711 to Mackinac, says, "We sailed the whole length of Lake Michigan which is named on the maps Lake Illinois without any reason since there are no Illinois who dwell in its vicinity."[15]

[8] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XVI, p. 116.
[9] New York Col. Doc., Vol. IX, p. 383.
[10] *Wisconsin Hist Colls.*, Vol. XVI, p. 351.
[11] This man's name was usually written Guillaume Delisle.
[12] *Wisconsin Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XVI, p. 12.
[13] *Hennepin* (Thwaites edition), Vol. II., p. 623.
[14] *Wisconsin Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XVI, p. 8.
[15] *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 66, p. 283.

Gallinée's map of 1670 while not disclosing any knowledge of Lake Michigan, and a very inaccurate knowledge of the western shore of Lake Huron, has the latter lake much larger than the reality, under the name "Michigane ou Mer Douce des Hurons." The original map made by Gallinée, which was deposited in the Department of the Marine at Paris, has disappeared; but three direct copies are known to exist, and these disagree as to whether the final "e" in Michigane is accented. There are some confirmatory facts to indicate that it should be accented, the Franquelin map of 1688 and the Del'Isle map of 1703, indicating this. The written account by Gallinée of his journey upon which the map was based, does not, however, indicate the "e" to be accented. In the description of the journey, which was from Niagara River, up through Lake Erie, the straits and Lake Huron, Gallinée says, "We entered the largest lake in all America, called the Fresh Water Sea of the Hurons, or in Algonkin, Michigane,"[16] thus indicating the latter word to be the translation of Mer or Sea, which is substantially the translation of the name found on the map of Creuxius, "Magnus Lacus Algonquinorum," for Lake Michigan. Moll, in his map of 1720, has Lake Michigan named "Illinese Lake or Michigan," and Lake Huron, "Huron Lake, or Michigan." The name Michigan became finally established as the name of this lake by the time of the maps of Del'Isle in 1739, of Bellin in 1744, D'Anville 1746, and of Mitchell 1755.

It seems to be reasonably clear that the meaning of the word is the Great Lake, although the real derivation is somewhat uncertain, the first part of the word, "michi" certainly meaning great, or large, and is the same as Missi in Mississippi, Mississaga, and other names. Blackbird in his History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan says "The word Michigan is an Indian name which we pronounce Michi-gum and simply means monstrous lake." Schoolcraft derives the word from "mitchaw" great, and "Sagiegan" lake, but this seems unlikely as it is not common to find an Indian compound word so greatly contracted as would be necessary to reduce Mitchaw-Sagiegan to Michigan.

The famous ordinance of 1787 providing a government for the Northwest Territory authorized the governor to "Proceed from time to time as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships." By an amendment in 1789, the secretary was authorized to act in the absence of the governor from the Territory. Gen. Arthur St. Clair was duly appointed the first governor and Major Winthrop Sargent, the secretary. At this time, although by the Treaty of 1783 with Great Britain, the International Boundary Line put Michigan

[16] *Ontario Hist. Soc.*, Vol. IV, p. 69.

within the United States, the British still remained in actual occupation of the posts at Detroit and Mackinac, and the Indians who occupied—in their way—the surrounding country, were mainly friendly to them and hostile to the Americans.

Some years of desultory warfare with the Indians followed, including the disastrous expedition of General St. Clair in 1791, and it was not until General Wayne—the Mad Anthony Wayne of the Revolution—was put in charge, that matters took a different complexion. In 1794, he led a campaign against the Indians and by the battle of Fallen Timbers on August 20th, and the subsequent destruction of their corn fields and villages, impressed upon the Indian mind that the United States was at last a force to be reckoned with. The Treaty of Greenville, made August 3, 1795, by General Wayne with the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and eight other Indian tribes, was really the first which the Indians had any intention of observing. By this Treaty, the Indians while ceding their rights to a considerable territory which is now a part of Ohio and Indiana, received in turn from the United States an acknowledgment of their rights to hunt over and occupy (with the proviso that the Indians should sell only to the United States) practically all the remainder of the Northwest Territory. From this remainder however there was excepted a strip of land six miles deep extending from Raisin River to Lake St. Clair; (thus including Detroit) and a small area at Mackinac Island and vicinity, to which the Indians ceded all their rights.

In the meantime, the British, by the Jay Treaty of 1794, had agreed to surrender the posts of Detroit and Mackinac on or before June 1, 1796, and on June 2nd, 1796, orders were given by Lord Dorchester, Governor General of Canada, to surrender them. General Wayne, after making the treaty of Greenville, left General Wilkinson in command and went to Philadelphia, where he was received with great enthusiasm, thanked by Congress, appointed to receive the western posts held by the British, left Philadelphia in July, 1796, and reached Detroit, August 13th, 1796.

1796. Governor St. Clair was temporarily absent from his Territory. The active and vigilant secretary hastened in to see the country now for the first time coming under his *de facto* as well as *de jure* jurisdiction. He arrived at Detroit in July, the British soldiers left the fort July 11th, and the Americans took formal possession. Local officers were necessary to afford visible evidence of the change of authority. A county to include the surrendered territory and its civilized occupants was the only means of securing this. The secretary consulted with some of the leading citizens of the community, then containing in the general district, about 2,500 souls. For a name, what so appropriate

as that of the conquering hero then in their midst, and on the 15th day of August, 1796, two days after the general's arrival, Secretary Sargent—acting governor—instituted the County of *Wayne.* Its limits were extensive, and included the lower peninsula, a large section in the northern part of Ohio and Indiana, a strip along the west shore of Lake Michigan, (for the purpose of including the settlement of Green Bay), which would include a small part of Illinois, the east part of Wisconsin, and the east part of the present upper peninsula. These limits were reduced by creation of the State of Ohio in 1802, and again changed by Gov. Harrison of Indiana Territory, Jan. 14, 1803.

The Act establishing the Territory of Michigan was passed January 11, 1805, to take effect June 30th of the same year, and Gen. William Hull, then of considerable revolutionary fame, but now chiefly remembered for his inglorious surrender of Detroit in 1812, was appointed the first governor. He arrived at his seat of duties July 1, and one of his first official acts on July 3rd, was to constitute the parts of the Territory in which the Indian titles had been extinguished, one county, but he did not indicate whether or not this county should retain the name of Wayne. Later apparently, in the same day, he divided the entire Territory into four *Districts* for the execution of process and other civil purpose, Detroit, Erie, Huron, and Michilimackinac, and proceeded to appoint various officers for the districts, and the county of Wayne virtually ceased to exist, until it was re-established by Gov. Cass in 1815. Although the western expansion had already begun, Michigan lay outside the line of usual western travel, and the government was slow in starting the public surveys; even the so-called private claims of the occupants along the rivers, and Lake St. Clair were not surveyed until 1810.

In order to facilitate the opening up and settlement of the territory, and in accordance with the policy adopted by the United States, a treaty was made November 17, 1807, by Governor Hull, acting for the United States, and the Ottawa, Chippewa, Wyandotte and Pottawattomie tribes of Indians; they, ceding and granting all their rights, except as to certain small reservations, to that part of the state lying east of a line running along the west side of what is now Lenawee and Shiawassee counties, and from about the center of the west line of the last county, northeasterly to White Rock on Lake Huron, a point well known to the Indians, and early voyageurs. Schoolcraft in his Travels of 1820, speaks of "White Rock, an enormous detached mass of transition limestone standing in the lake at the distance of half a mile from the shore. This is an object looked upon as a kind of milestone by the voyageurs and is known to all canoe and boat travelers of the region. The White Rock is an object which had attracted the early notice of

the Indians who are the first to observe the non-conformities in the appearances of the country, and it continues to be one of the places at which offerings are made."[17]

1815. Governor Hull was removed in 1813 and Lewis Cass appointed in his stead. Governor Cass was a strong believer in popular institutions, and began the institution of counties within the Territory, November 21, 1815, by establishing the County of Wayne to include all of the territory to which the Indian title had been extinguished, thus forever repealing the District system of Hull.

1817. In 1817 President Monroe[18] made the first presidential tour to the west. It was the era of good feeling, party animosity which had been so much in evidence during the preceding administrations, had largely died away. The President went to New England where he was cordially received; then westward to Buffalo, from there by boat to Detroit where he arrived August 13, 1817, and remained five days, a period of great glorification for the small city then of about 3,000 inhabitants. Upon leaving he went southward through Ohio and back to Washington.[19] There had been an early settlement, mainly of French, on the Raisin River, and this had grown somewhat, and with the additional population along the shore of Lake Erie, furnished sufficient justification to Governor Cass to perform an act of gracious hospitality to his visiting superior, and on July 14, 1817, in anticipation of the coming visit, and in honor of the visitor, he established the County of *Monroe,* out of Wayne County, with limits extending from its present northerly boundary to the southern boundary of the territory—then understood to be far enough south to include Toledo—and westwardly to the Indian boundary line—the present west line of Lenawee County.[20]

1818. The Moravians under the leadership of Zeisberger, driven from Ohio, had made a settlement in 1782 upon Clinton River—then called the Huron—near the present Mt. Clemens, which they called New Gnadenhütten. Upon their withdrawal in 1786, their improvements were sold, and settlers began to come in slowly, and together with the early French settlers along the shores of Lake and River St. Clair, they comprised by this time probably between 700 and 800 people. This number, together with the distance from Detroit, induced Governor Cass to act, and on January 15, 1818, he issued his proclamation:

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[17]This rock is now considerably reduced in size, rising only about four feet above the water and is about twelve feet square in area.

[18]Monroe's visit to Detroit—In honor of the occasion the city was illuminated at night. The bill for lighting was paid by the city and amounted to $23.26. A ball was given at Ben Woodworth's hotel and subscriptions to it were $8.00.

[19]Waldo—*President Monroe's tour of* 1817, p. 234. Farmer *History of Detroit,* Vol. I, p. 103.

[20]*Terr. Laws Mich.,* Vol. II, p. 792.

"Whereas, petition has been presented to me signed by a number of the inhabitants of this territory, requesting that a new county may be laid out therein;

"Now therefore, believing that the establishment of such county will be conducive to the publick interest and to individual convenience, I do, by virtue of the authority in me vested, by the ordinance of congress passed the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven * * * lay out that part of the said territory included within the following boundaries * * * into a separate county to be called the County of *Macomb*."[21]

The boundary of the county included all that part of the land contained within the Indian Treaty of 1807, lying north of the base line, so-called, which is the dividing line between Macomb and Wayne counties. He gave the name to the county in honor of his friend General Alexander Macomb of the United States Army, who was born in Detroit, April 3, 1782. Having entered the regular army he was general at the important battle of Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, and by his handling of the situation there and subsequently, won great credit, and received a medal from Congress. From 1815 to 1821, he was in command of the military district of Detroit, and in 1835, was made commander-in-chief of the United States Army, and died at Washington, June 25, 1841. The limits of the county were reduced in 1819 by the setting off of Oakland County, and still further reduced in 1820, by the creation of St. Clair County, leaving it substantially its present boundary, which was finally fixed as at present, in 1832.

During this same year, 1818, by Act passed April 18th, Congress authorized the establishment of the State of Illinois with its north boundary, latitude 42° 30′ N. and attached the remainder of the old Northwest Territory to the Territory of Michigan. This added to the former area the remainder of the Upper Peninsula, and the present State of Wisconsin and part of Minnesota. The people of Illinois adopted their constitution August 26th, and on October 26th, Governor Cass, in order to provide some form of local government for the large region now under his charge, and having in mind that there were within it three settlements of white people, one at Mackinac, one at Green Bay, and one at Prairie du Chien, established three counties, *Michilimackinac, Brown*, and *Crawford*.[22] The first included all of the lower peninsula of Michigan north of the base line and west of the Indian treaty line of 1807, the eastern part of the Upper Peninsula and all of the western part north of the height of land between the rivers running into Lake Superior and those running into Lake Michigan, the peninsula east of Green Bay, and all the northern part of

[21] *Terr. Laws Mich.*, Vol. II, p. 796.
[22] *Terr. Laws Mich.*, Vol. I, pp. 325, 327.

Minnesota. The second included the eastern part of Wisconsin and that part of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan directly north of this and south of Michilimackinac County. The third covered the western part of Wisconsin, and was bounded on the north by Michilimackinac County. Although the Indian title to practically all this area had not been extinguished, there was sufficient settlement to justify this action.

The name Michilimackinac is first found in the Jesuit Relation of 1669-70, where reference is made to "A large island named Michilimackinac, celebrated among the savages."[23] The name was later applied to the entire locality, including the island and adjacent parts of both upper and lower peninsula, and the spelling sometimes varied. The Indian form of the word as represented by English letters, would seem to be Mishinimakinong. In reproducing this the French dropped the "h" sound from the first syllable and changed the "n" to "l," Missilimackinack. There are several explanations of the meaning of the word. The one having the best, and most reasonable authority is that it is derived from the name given by the Ottawas and Chippewas in memory of a small independent tribe, Mishinimaki, who in ancient times occupied the island and were confederated with them, and whose spirits still roam the island and dwell in its caves. The last syllable, the Indian "ong" or "ak," means "place of," hence the whole word has the meaning "place of the Mishinimaki."[24] Blois' Gazetteer of Michigan of 1838 gives substantially the same derivation and the meaning "place of giant fairies." (2) Schoolcraft's meaning is "place of turtle spirits, or rock spirits."[25] It seems doubtful if the word has any relation to the meaning turtle, as is often claimed, it being probable that the idea came from the resemblance of the word for turtle—Mikenauk—to Mackinac. Out of more than sixty different forms or ways of spelling the word found in the early writers, only two cases—and both of those in English writers—occur in which the latter part of the word gives the syllable "mik" instead of "mak." Other meanings given to the word are "Dancing or fairy spirits." Dr. William Jones of the Field Museum, translates it, "Place of the big wounded or lame person."[26] The legal name of this county is uncertain. I find no formal action by the legislature changing the original full name Michilimackinac, which is found in use as late as 1842, but from early as 1819, the name has been spelled in legislative proceedings, with bewildering inconsistency, Mackinaw, and Mackinac; of late years the latter form has been the one uniformly used. The pronunciation, however, is the same whether spelled with final "c" or "w."

[23] *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 54, p. 201.
[24] Bailey—*Mackinac*, p. 36. *Blackbird*, p. 19.
[25] *Blois*, p. 323.
[26] *Eth. Bull.*, No. 30.

Brown County was named for Major-General Jacob Brown, at that time in command of the northern division of the United States Army, who although he had had no previous military training, was one of the few American generals who during the war of 1812, really showed evidence of military ability. It was said of him "No enterprise undertaken by him ever failed." For his services, he received a medal from Congress and was made brigadier-general in the regular army, and was commander-in-chief of the army from 1821 to his death in 1828. This county included but a small part of what is now Michigan, and upon the establishment of Wisconsin as a Territory and State, was reduced in area until it is now a county of ordinary size at the head of Green Bay.

Crawford County took its name from Fort Crawford, located near the site of Prairie du Chien, which in turn was named for William H. Crawford, a prominent politician, at the time Secretary of the Treasury, who became United States Senator from Georgia in 1807; in 1813 Minister to France, and in 1816 Secretary of the Treasury under Madison, and although a candidate for nomination to presidency against Monroe, was retained by him as secretary during his entire term, and in 1824, as candidate for president received forty-one electoral votes. He then retired on account of ill health from federal public life and died in 1834. This county had the same experience as Brown County in reduction of area, and is now a county of ordinary size in the southwestern part of Wisconsin, with Prairie du Chien as county seat.

1819. In 1818 a company had been formed to purchase lands upon the upper part of the Huron River of Lake St. Clair—now Clinton River—and on January 12, 1819, Governor Cass issued his proclamation, reciting that a request had been made for the setting off of a new county, and believing that a compliance with such request would have a tendency to increase the population, he laid out a new county, carving it from Macomb, and called it *Oakland*.[27] Its limits included the present county, and also Livingston, the east part of Ingham, and part of Shiawassee, and Genesee counties. In spite of this large area, by the census of the following year, 1820, it had a population of but 330. It was gradually reduced in size by the formation of new counties, until in 1835 it was left in its present form. The name was taken from the numerous oak openings in that section, and was a very appropriate descriptive name. Bela Hubbard, in his Memorials of a Half Century, speaks of the character of the "openings" as that of "a majestic orchard of oaks and hickories varied by small prairies, grassy lawns and clear lakes."

The governor of the Territory of Michigan was by law the Superin-

[27] *Terr. Laws Mich.*, Vol. I, p. 328.

tendent of Indian affairs within its limits and in 1819 Governor Cass, who had acted for the government in prior treaties with the Indians to the complete satisfaction of all parties, negotiated with the Chippewas at Saginaw a treaty, by which they relinquished claims to about six million acres of land in the lower peninsula. This left free for settlement and development a large portion of the central part of the state north of Thunder Bay River.

On March 28, 1820, Governor Cass, acting upon a petition presented to him in the summer of 1819, by the inhabitants of Macomb County living along the upper end of Lake St. Clair and St. Clair River, issued his proclamation setting off and naming the County of *St. Clair*. It was created from the County of Macomb, reducing that county to substantially its present limits, and included a large part of what is now Sanilac County as well as Lapeer, Genesee and Shiawassee counties. The name was undoubtedly given to it because of the fact that there was a township of that name, first laid out by Governor Cass in January, 1818, as a part of Wayne County at the request of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace of that county, the township beginning at Huron (now Clinton) River and extending in a narrow strip along the water to Lake Huron, and in April of the same year, after the creation of the County of Macomb the Governor again laid out the Township of St. Clair, this time beginning at the mouth of Swan Creek and including all of that county north of that line, so that when the new county of St. Clair came to be laid out and named, the name of the township which included all the area of the new county was used.

The name of the original township may have been taken from the lake and river of that name along which the township extended, or from General Arthur St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwest Territory. Before the division of that Territory through the creation of Ohio as a State there were the townships in what is now Michigan, of Sargent and St. Clair. The name if taken from the lake is in its present form, a hybrid. In August 12, 1679, LaSalle and his company, on their memorable trip from the Niagara River in the "Griffon" entered Lake St. Clair, and as that happened to be the festal day of Santa Clara, or, in the French form, Sainte Claire, he gave her name to the lake. If it were properly Anglicized, the name would appear as Saint Clare, (in Moll's map of the Northwest of 1720, the name appears in this form), but as early as the maps of Mitchell and Evans, in 1755, the lake appears under the name spelled as now.

Prior to LaSalle, the lake had had many names. Gallinée, in his account of his trip up through the lake and river in 1670, says, "We entered a small lake ten leagues long, and almost as wide, called by M. Sanson, Lac des Eaux Salées (or salt waters), but we saw no indi-

cation of salt in this lake." M. Gallinée must have relied upon his memory which was slightly at fault, as the name upon the Sanson map of 1656 is Lac des Eaux de Mer, while Joliet's map of 1674 calls it Lac des Eaux Salées. It is probable that this name was a French translation of the Neutral or Iroquois name of the lake, Otsiketa, or Tsiketo which means salt, and may have been derived from the presence of salt springs near the present line between Macomb and St. Clair counties.

About 1765 Patrick Sinclair, then captain, built the fort called Fort Sinclair, for the British, just south of where Pine River empties into the River St. Clair, Captain Sinclair obtained for the British Government from the Indians their rights to a large tract, said to be about 4,000 acres, and subsequently obtained for himself the rights of the crown. He left the locality in 1768 to return to England, coming back in 1779 as lieutenant-governor and commandant at Fort Mackinac then on the southern peninsula, and Meldrum & Park, merchants of Sandwich and Detroit are said to have obtained his rights and subsequently made proof of possession and obtained patents from the United States to four private claims upon part of which the city of St. Clair is located. From the resemblance of the names, and the location of Fort Sinclair upon the river, considerable confusion has arisen, and in the early part of the last century, it was not uncommon to find the name of the lake and river spelled "Sinclair," and the inference adopted that they were named from the British officer. Even so well informed a person on our early history as the late Judge Campbell, in the Supreme Court opinion which he wrote in the case of Osborne vs. Lindow, 78 Mich. 606, speaks erroneously of the original name of the Township of St. Clair as being Sinclair. It was not until 1827 that the legislative council established the township of Sinclair, which included a part of the former township of St. Clair.

1822. By the census of 1820, the entire Territory of Michigan had within the present limits of the State less than 9,000 population, but hopes were high and preparations were made to take care of the newcomers certain to flock in when the fine quality of its public lands were known. The surveys of the public lands in the Territory began in 1818, the price at first being $2.00 per acre. In 1820 the Government reduced the price of its lands to $1.25 an acre. Additional treaties were made with the Indians in 1821, so that all their rights south of Grand River, with the exception of a small area in Berrien County, were ceded to the United States. On June 21, 1821, Governor Cass wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury, "There is a prospect of an immediate and considerable accession to the population of this Territory." The attention of these immigrants seemed to be directed to the country upon the Saginaw Bay and River, and the Governor urged the speedy survey

and offering for sale of that section.[28] In order to have matters in readiness for the expected increase of population, on September 10, 1822, Governor Cass established six new counties, Lapeer, Lenawee, Saginaw, Sanilac, Shiawassee, and Washtenaw, which, together with the older counties, included all the area within the Indian Treaty of 1807, and a considerable tract on the northwest in addition.

Governor Cass during his long public life had a large experience with and wide knowledge of the Indians, and of their language and characteristics, and collected many of their traditions. He published a number of articles upon them, and the giving of Indian names to our counties was begun and furthered by him. Of the six names, five were of Indian origin. *Lapeer*[29] County, as laid out, included a good part of the present Genesee County, and the river now known as Flint, had a large part of its course in the county. The Indian name of this stream was Pe-wan-a-go-wing, (which was also the name of an Indian village upon it,) meaning flint, or flint stones. Louis Campau, who lived in the Saginaw Valley as Indian trader from 1815 to 1826, says that when they called it Flint they meant what the French called Lapeer, in other words, La Pierre. The Governor, in naming the county, took the most prominent natural feature in it, in this case the river, and gave the French instead of the Indian or English name.

Lenawee,[30] is of Indian derivation, either from the Delaware "Leno," meaning man, or in the Shawnee form, "Lenawai," having the same general meaning, though sometimes limited to the meaning Indian. In an article in 1826, in the North American Review, Gov. Cass says that "Lenee" is used by the Delawares in a restricted sense to mean man, but its more general and proper meaning is male. In the original proclamation, and in all the territorial laws, the word is spelled "Lenawe," but on Michigan becoming a state, another "e" was added in legislative enactments relating to the county, making the word take its present form.

Saginaw County took its name from the river and bay of that name, and there is some difference of opinion as to its meaning. The earliest map showing the bay, of unknown origin, although ascribed to Franquelin, of date probably about 1682, gives it the name Baye de Sikonam. The Franquelin map of 1684 shows the bay with no name, but near the head of a river, emptying into the bay, the words, Portage de Sakinam. The Franquelin map of 1688 shows the bay named Baye de Saginnam. Hennepin's map of 1697 has it Bay Sakinam, while Mitchell's map of 1755 calls it Saguinam Bay. The most commonly accepted derivation and meaning is from the Chippewa Sak-e-nong,—

[28] *Mich. Pion. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVI, p. 442.
[29] The map of 1831 gives the name Lapier.
[30] See Act of 1829.

place of the Sacs,—having reference to a tradition that before the white man came, a tribe of Sacs lived near the mouth of Saginaw River, who were frequently at war with their neighbors on the north and south, who finally agreed to co-operate against them, and practically annihilated the tribe. The French, at least as early as 1686, called all the southeastern part of Michigan, from Saginaw Bay to Lake Erie, the Saguinam County.[31] Haines, and some others, refer it to Chippewa words meaning at the mouth, or pouring out at the mouth, the word Sak meaning outlet, or opening of a river.[32].

Sanilac, according to Wyandotte traditions, was the name of a chief, who took an active part in the early wars between the Iroquois and Wyandottes. Governor Cass had preserved many of these traditions in his manuscripts, and in 1831, Henry Whiting, then a major in the army of the United States, and stationed for many years in Detroit, published a poem entitled "Sanillac," based upon the hints found in these manuscripts. The poem treats of the love of Sanillac and Wona, an Indian maid living with her father upon Mackinac Island, and of Sanillac's adventures in warring upon the Mingoes (the name given to the Iroquois by other tribes), the hereditary foes of the Wyandottes, and the finale, after describing a sanguinary battle between the Mingoes and Wyandottes, in which the Mingoes are victorious, leaves the fate of Sanillac and his Indian bride uncertain. The County as originally laid out included Huron and Tuscola counties.

Shiawassee County was named for the river which extended through the county and divided it nearly equally, as the county was originally laid out. Its original size was reduced by parts going subsequently into the counties of Livingston and Genesee. Kelton derives the name from words meaning "the river twists about," and this is certainly a more accurate description of the river than the meaning sometimes ascribed to it, straight ahead or straight running river," and is the one generally accepted within the county itself.

The Indian name for Grand River in its Chippewa form was Washtenong, and with the addition of sebee "river" meant the river that is far off, i. e., extends far off, far in the interior, it being the longest river in the State. The French as was customary with them, took the Indian word and translated it into their own language, using the word nearest in meaning, and called it Grand River. The valley of the Grand River had a considerable Indian population, and before the government survey, the Indians generally called the region west of Detroit district, "Wash-ten-ong," and when Governor Cass laid out this new county just west of Wayne County, he appropriated the general

[31] *New York Colonial Docs.*, Vol. IX, 293.
[32] *Eth. Bull.* No. 30, Vol. 2 p.

name to this specific territory, and called it *Washtenaw*, although the name then ceased to have any proper local application. The county as originally laid out included the present county and parts of Ingham, Jackson, and Shiawassee counties.

After the creation of the six counties, there was a lull for a short time. In 1824 Michigan came under an advanced form of territorial government by election of a legislative council of nine members. The Erie Canal was opened in 1825, and the tide of western travel and settlement was flowing in, the government surveyors were busily at work laying off the public domain into townships and sections. The national turnpikes from Detroit to Chicago, Toledo, Fort Gratiot and Saginaw, were authorized by Congress in 1826.

The County of Michilimackinac still embraced a large part of the Lower Peninsula and most of the Upper. The government had established an agency for the lake tribes of Indians and in 1822 Henry R. Schoolcraft was appointed agent. He took up his residence at the Sault which was also the site of Fort Brady, and a settlement of some importance was established. Petition was made to the Council in 1824 to establish a new county to be called "Chippewa" to include the settlement of Sault Ste. Marie but this was denied. However two years later on, December 26, 1826, the council established the county of

1826. *Chippewa* to include the settlement, and extending westward to the Mississippi River. The name was taken from the Chippewa or Ojibway Indians, the largest of the Algonquin tribes, and who had from immemorial times dwelt around Lake Superior and also spread over the Lower Peninsula. They were closely related to the Ottawas and Pottawatomies, their rights to the land within Michigan were acknowledged by the United States, and they were parties to practically all the important treaties by which lands in Michigan were ceded from 1795 to 1842. The naming of the county for them was very appropriate. The form Chippewa is an adaptation of Ojibway, which means "to roast till puckered up," referring to to the puckered seam on their moccasins, or, as stated by Warren, referring to the custom of these Indians to torture by fire their captured enemies;[33] other meanings ascribed to the word are, "he who wears puckered shoes;" also "he surmounts obstacles."

Although the public surveys were not completed in the southwestern part of the State by 1829, the Indian title to the extreme southwest corner not having been completely extinguished until the Treaty of Chicago in 1833, the legislative council took time by the forelock and prepared for the future growth already beginning, and on October 29, 1829, set off twelve counties which included all the land west of the

[33] *Minnesota Hist. Coll.*, V. p. 82.

principal meridian, and south of the fifth township north of the base line, except what is now Allegan County. These twelve counties were named, Jackson, Barry, Berrien, Branch, Calhoun, Cass, Eaton, Ingham, Van Buren, Hillsdale, Kalamazoo, and St. Joseph. It would not require much knowledge of political history to determine the political affiliations of a legislative body, which would name eight of its new counties after the Democratic President Andrew Jackson, his Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, his Postmaster General, William T. Barry, his Secretary of Navy, John Branch, his Attorney General, John M. Berrien, his Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, his Secretary of the Treasury, Samuel D. Ingham, and his Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren. It is to be regretted that men of so little permanent national or state reputation as most of these, should be so commemorated, when LaSalle, Joliet, Champlain, Cadillac and Frontenac among the French, and representative leaders in the English part of our history, as well as desirable and appropriate Indian names, remain unused. H. R. Schoolcraft was at this time a member of the legislative council and upon his motion a few days after these counties were named a committee was appointed to prepare a list of names proper for use in naming territorial subdivisions. Being made chairman of this committee, he brought in a considerable list, and at least ten of his suggestions were used by the council.

Cass County was named in honor of Michigan's most eminent citizen, who spent fifty-six years in public life, and filled all the positions to which he was entrusted in such a manner as to reflect the greatest credit upon the Territory and State, as well as himself. A student, lawyer, executive, diplomat, and statesman, his statue most worthily occupies one of the niches assigned to this State in the Hall of Statuary at Washington, and the county commemorating his name has reason to congratulate itself.

Hillsdale County has a descriptive name, and is fairly appropriate, the surface being rolling, originally well timbered, and the combination in the name of the hills and dales is a pleasing one. At one time a petition was sent to a legislative council to change the name to Washington, but to no effect.

1829. *Kalamazoo* County was named for the river, which at that time bore the name Ke-Kala-mazoo, which is seen in the early "Farmer" maps of Michigan; the Indian form of the word was probably Ke-Kena-ma-zoo. In a memorandum found in the Haldimand papers of about 1770 showing the roads from Detroit to the Illinois, this river is called Reccanamazoo, but this is probably a misprint of the "R" for "K." The early French maps and English ones in the early part of the nineteenth century, show this river under the name of Marameg, or

slightly varying forms. Its meaning is Great Cat Fish, or possibly has the same derivation as Merrimac, and may mean in that case "rapid," which would be quite appropriate. The meaning of the Indian word, Kekenamazoo, is variously interpreted, bright sparkling water, boiling kettle (from the eddying waters), boiling water, beautiful water, and stones like otters. W. S. George says the name signifies the mirage or reflecting river. Schoolcraft says it means stones seen in the water which from reflection look like otters. Verwyst says, it is a corruption of Kikanamazoo, "it smokes."

St. Joseph County took its name from the river running through it, and the river in turn was so called in honor of the patron saint of New France, who had been so designated by formal religious ceremony at Quebec in 1624. The name given to the river by LaSalle, who first explored that vicinity, in 1679, was the river of the Miamis, because of finding that tribe in the vicinity. The name seems to have been changed to St. Joseph at or about the time of the establishing the Jesuit mission on the river at or near the present city of Niles about 1689. The name itself was a favorite one, several forts and missions receiving that name by the French.

The census of the Territory in 1830, showed a total population within the limits of the present State, of 31,639, an increase of more than three hundred per cent. during the decade. Wayne County led with 6,781, with Oakland second, 4,911, and Washtenaw following, 4,042, while Van Buren bravely ended the list with a total of 5. Several of the counties laid out in 1829 do not appear at all in the census, although St. Joseph appears with 1,313 population.

In March 2, 1831, all the remainder of the State south of Town 13 North, was laid off into twelve counties and named Allegan, Arenac, Clinton, Gladwin, Gratiot, Ionia, Isabella, Kent, Midland, Montcalm, Oceana, and Ottawa,[34] Cass was still governor at this time, although he shortly after resigned to become Secretary of War, and H. R. Schoolcraft was a member of the legislative council.

1831. *Allegan:* The meaning of this name which is one of those suggested by Schoolcraft is not entirely certain. It seems probable that it was named from the ancient Indian tribe whose name was sometimes spelled Allegans. Colden in his map accompanying the edition of his History of the Five Nations published in 1742, shows the "Alleghens" occupying the country at the head waters of the Ohio. The opinion has been expressed that the last syllable "gan" is the Algonquin termination meaning lake, but this seems very doubtful.

Arenac: This county has had a checkered career. Laid out in 1831, in 1857 it was incorporated into the newly formed Bay County. In

[34] *Terr. Laws Mich.*, Vol. III, p. 871.

1883, it was re-established with its present limits. The name was manufactured by Schoolcraft in accordance with a system which he developed more fully somewhat later. The syllable "ac" is derived from "auk," or "akke," which means land or earth, giving the idea of locality, and Arenac is compounded from the Latin "arena," sand—the derived meaning of place of combat comes from the fact that such places are sanded—and "ac," and therefore means sandy place.

Clinton County was named in honor of DeWitt Clinton, through whose efforts the Erie Canal had been built, which was of great effect upon the fortunes of Michigan, and who had died in 1828. This was not the first act by which Michigan had publicly expressed its appreciation of Governor Clinton's work. In 1824, the legislative council changed to Clinton the name of the river, running through Macomb County, and entering Lake St. Clair and which prior to that time had borne the name of Huron River, and also established the township of Clinton in Macomb County.

Gladwin County was named in honor of Major Henry Gladwin, who was in command of the fort at Detroit during its memorable siege by Pontiac in 1763-4, and who for his gallant defence was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. He afterwards served with distinction upon the British side during the Revolutionary war.

Gratiot County was named for Charles Gratiot, who as captain, and engineer, built in 1814 Fort Gratiot, at the head of St. Clair River. He was born in 1788, was graduated from West Point, and from second lieutenant in 1806, rose through intermediate positions to be brevet brigadier-general in 1828, his rise evidently due to his ability, having served with distinction in the war of 1812. He was inspector of West Point Academy from 1828 to 1838, and in the latter year was dismissed from the service by the President for failing to properly account for public moneys in his hands. He died in 1855.

Ionia County was so named for the ancient Greek district on the west shore of Asia Minor which included a number of flourishing cities, which for several centuries were famous for their commerce, wealth, high civilization and social development.

Isabella County took its name (proposed by Schoolcraft) from Queen Isabella of Spain under whose favoring auspices Columbus undertook his voyages in 1492. A tradition seems to have grown up which finds expression in Gannett's Bulletin "The Origin of Certain Place Names," that this county was named from Isabella, the daughter of John M. Hurst (or Hursh) the first white child born in the county. That is clearly a mistake. The county was laid out and named in 1831. At that time it was wholly unsettled, the western part being still within the Indian limits,—the Indian title not being extinguished until the

Treaty of 1836. The county was not organized until 1859, and Mr. Hurst did not move into the county until 1855.

Kent County was named in honor of James Kent, who was then, at the age of sixty-eight, in the height of his reputation as commentator and expounder of the principles of American law. The fourth and last volume of his Commentaries, which have formed through edition after edition the basis of instruction for law students, and the source of legal decisions to this day, was published the preceding year, 1830, and the growing Territory conferred honor upon itself by appropriating this name to a county destined to contain one of its largest and most flourishing cities. In the controversy over the south line of the State in 1836-7, Chancellor Kent was employed by the State as counsel to determine whether Michigan had any rights which could be enforced in the courts.

Midland is a descriptive geographical name and appropriate to the location of this county, as it is very nearly in the center of the Lower Peninsula.

Montcalm: In the French and English warfare upon this continent, no person engaged in it cut a more attractive figure, or was more calculated to appeal to American sympathies in his ability, courage, devotion to duty, and final unhappy end, than Marquis de Montcalm, whose defeat and death in September, 1759, was the virtual end of the conflict, and a notable name in the history of the continent is commemorated in this county.

Oceana County has a somewhat fanciful name given to it because bordering upon the large fresh water sea or ocean. It had a rather peculiar career. As originally laid out and named it all lay south of Town 13 North of the base line. In 1840, the name was retained but applied to an almost entirely different territory lying on the shore of Lake Michigan, and mostly north of its former north line, its former territory being absorbed into the counties of Kent, Newaygo, and Mecosta.

Ottawa County was named for the tribe of Indians who had for a long time been the most numerous in the northern and western part of the Lower Peninsula. The meaning of the name is generally said to be trading or traders, but the more likely derivation and meaning seems to be as follows: Champlain described this people as occupying the peninsula jutting into Georgian Bay from the south and called them Cheveux Releves, from their method of dressing their hair. The Hurons called them Ondatahouats, from "ondata," "wood" or "forest," thus meaning "people of the forest." Laverdiére, the accomplished editor of Champlain's Works, says, "From the word ondatahouat is formed the word ontaouat, or Ottawa, the name by which all the upper Algon-

quins were afterward designated," and in fact all the early French maps designate and locate under the name "Outaouacs," all the tribes who were subsequently known as Chippewas, Ottawas, and other related tribes. The Iroquois name of Lake Huron was Ottawawa.

1833. In March, 1833, the county of *Livingston* was formed by taking parts of Washtenaw, Oakland and Shiawassee counties and named in honor of Edward Livingston, then Secretary of State, who had had an unusual career in that having been trained in New York as a lawyer under the common law, and successful, after a financial failure—through dishonesty of an employe—he transferred his activities at the age of forty to New Orleans, in 1804, where the civil law was in force, and made even a greater success there, framing their codes, still largely in use, and being sent to represent the State in Congress as Senator, and then appointed by Jackson as Secretary of State, and subsequently Minister to France.

1835. The settlement of the Saginaw Valley had grown quite rapidly, the government had built a road from Detroit to Saginaw, the timber wealth and the agricultural value of the section having been discovered. A settlement had been made at the present location of Flint, and in March, 1835, in response to demand, the County of *Genesee* was formed from parts of Saginaw, Lapeer, and Shiawassee counties, and named from the part of New York from which many of its settlers had come. The word itself is derived from the Seneca Je-nis-hi-yeh, meaning beautiful valley. The bill to lay out the county provided it with the name of Grand Blanc but before its final passage it was changed.

The State had taken a census in 1834 to determine whether it had the necessary population to entitle it to statehood under the Act of Congress and found a total population of 87,273, and again in 1837, finding at the latter date 175,998, a gain of more than 100 per cent. in three years. In 1840 the National Census showed a population of 212,267, an increase during the decade of more than 700 per cent. This decade had seen a marvelous change. Michigan had become a State with its present boundaries, after years of struggle in Congress, and even a miniature war with Ohio. The great wave of land speculation which had swept over the country reached its greatest height in the territory of Michigan. In 1830 there were within the territory two public land offices and during the year there were sold 147,061 acres of the public domain. As the wave rose, and the land buyers became more numerous, and more insistent, three more offices were opened and the land sold increased to 1,817,247 acres in 1835 and in 1836 to 4,189,823 acres, nearly a million more acres than was sold in any other state or territory that year. When the fever broke, the tide ebbed even more

rapidly than it had risen, and in 1839, less than 150,000 acres were sold in Michigan.

When the legislature met in 1840, many changes had taken place since the last county had been set off and named. The United States surveys of the Lower Peninsula had been nearly completed. The Indian title had been completely extinguished by the Treaty of 1836, and Douglass Houghton, the first state geologist who in his second annual report made to the legislature of 1839, had recommended that the remainder of the Lower Peninsula be subdivided into counties as it would help facilitate his work in the making of topographical as well as geological maps. He repeated this recommendation to the legislature of 1840, and this time he was listened to. Twenty-eight new counties were laid out and named, making for the first time a complete subdivision of the Lower Peninsula.[35] Of these twenty-eight names, all but one were of Indian origin, and it is probable that Henry R. Schoolcraft had much to do with the selection of these names. Born in Albany County, N. Y., in 1793, he was graduated from Union College, and made a special study of chemistry and mineralogy. He was appointed geologist to the expedition made by Governor Cass in 1820, to explore the regions around the head waters of the Mississippi and published in 1821, an account of the expedition. In 1822, he was appointed Indian agent for the Indians of the Great Lakes, was stationed at the Sault, and thus became definitely identified with Michigan. He was a member of the legislative council from 1828 to 1832, and negotiated with the Indians the Treaty of 1836, by which the northwestern part of the Lower Peninsula and the eastern part of the Upper were ceded to the United States. He published many books relating to the Indians, their character, language, religions, etc., and undoubtedly possessed more knowledge of those matters than any other man of his time. His writings, however, are in general poorly arranged, diffuse, and contain much repetition. He gave considerable attention to the idea of providing names of Indian origin for political subdivisions and places, in 1829 he prepared for the legislative council a list containing a number of names of Indian origin, and in 1838 sent to Governor Mason a plan for a system of Indian names, which the governor communicated to the legislature.[36] At this time, Houghton, the state geologist, committed to him the topic of Indian terminology, and the bestowal of new names from the aboriginal vocabulary. He worked out quite a complete plan by which taking the Indian roots, and terminations and with the necessary consonants for euphony, and varying the combinations, he could produce a large number of words of pleasing sound, of descriptive character. This principle as we shall see, he used in several of the Michigan names.

[35] *State Laws of Michigan*, 1840, p. 196.
[36] Schoolcraft's *Personal Memoirs*, p. 585.

The names selected by the legislature in 1840 evidently did not all meet with popular approval, and when the legislature of 1843 met, it changed the names of sixteen counties.[37] Five of the new names were of Irish origin and it is one of the traditions that these names were due to Charles O'Malley, popularly known as "The Irish Dragon," in joking reference to Lever's tale published in 1841, and widely read, "Charles O'Malley, the Irish Dragoon." The story runs that the Michigan O'Malley being in the legislature and having a quarrel with Schoolcraft, took his revenge by having all these changes made. But this story does not fit in with the facts, the changes all being made by the legislature of 1843, and O'Malley who lived at Mackinac, did not become a member of the legislature until 1846, and of the changes made several were to names of distinctly Schoolcraft origin. The changes, however, were for the most part not desirable ones, but the contrary. Indian names, generally those of chiefs who were connected with the early history of the State, were changed and names of no local significance substituted. In considering the names of these counties, I have taken them in the alphabetical order of their present names.

1840. *Alcona* County was first named *Negwegon*. The latter was the name of a well known Chippewa Chief who was a firm friend of the Americans in their conflict with the British terminating in the war of 1812. He was a fine type of the race,—over six feet high, muscular, courageous, and of strong intellect. He was known also as Wing or Little Wing, the translation of his name. Alcona was undoubtedly a word manufactured according to the Schoolcraft formula in which "al" is the Arabic for "the." "Co" is the root of a word meaning plain or prairie. "Na" is a termination meaning "excellence;" hence the entire word has the meaning "the fine or excellent plain."

Alpena County was originally named *Anamickee*. The latter name was that of a Chippewa Chief who signed the Treaty of 1826 negotiated by Schoolcraft, and was a peculiarly appropriate name for this county. The word means thunder, and the county as laid out included the entire shore of Thunder Bay. The name of the Bay was the English translation of the French "Anse du Tonnere," which appears as early as the map of Franquelin in 1688, and which was probably so-called from the Indian name, the locality being one much frequented by them, the Indians believing that it was peculiarly subject to thunder storms. Schoolcraft in his Travels of 1820, refers to this belief and says "What has been so often reiterated as to the highly electrified state of the atmosphere at this Bay seems to have no foundation in truth; there is nothing in the appearance of the surrounding country—in the proximity of moun-

[37] *Acts of Mich. Leg.*, 1843, p. 145.

tains—or the currents of the atmosphere to justify a belief that the air contains a surcharge of the electric fluid. In no place does the coast attain a sufficient altitude to allow us to suppose that it can exert any sensible influence upon the clouds nor is it known that any mineral exhalations are given out in this vicinity as has been suggested, capable of conducting towards a state of electrical irritability in the atmosphere." The retention of the original name would have preserved this historical tradition, and been preferable to the rather meaningless name which was substituted.

Alpena was a word manufactured by Schoolcraft from the Arabic "al" meaning "the," and either "pinai," meaning "partridge," or "penaissee," meaning "bird." In one place in his writings he himself gives the latter word as the one entering into the combination,[38] the name Alpena therefore meaning the bird country, but the former seems more probable, and the word therefore means the partridge or partridge country.

1840. *Antrim* County was originally named *Meegisee.* The latter was the name of a Chippewa chief who signed the Treaties of 1821 and 1826,, the later of which was negotiated in behalf of the United States by Schoolcraft, and the meaning of the word is "eagle." The present name was one of the five Irish names to which reference has been made, and is taken from that of a county in the northeastern part of Ireland. The name as it appears printed in the Act of 1843, is Antim, and is only one of the evidences of careless proof reading found in the Act, as several other names are misspelled by omission or change of a letter. It is difficult to properly characterize such a substitution as this and several others; while some of the Indian names as originally given were not particularly euphonious or pleasing, they all were more or less appropriate, while with scarce an exception the substituted names were chosen without any reference to locality, historical connection, or general appropriateness.

Charlevoix County had as its original name *Keshkauko,* who was a leading chief of the Saginaw Chippewas and as such signed the Indian Treaty of 1819. He was a noted character in his day, of a tyrannical, overbearing disposition, little disposed to recognize any system of court or legal procedure. He was finally tried and convicted at Detroit of being accessory to the murder of another Indian in January 1826, and avoided suffering the penalty of the law by taking poison conveyed to him by one of his wives. The present name was given in honor of Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix the French Jesuit Missionary traveler and historian. Born in 1682, he came to Canada in 1705, and made extensive travels up the St. Lawrence, through the Great Lakes

[38] *American Archives*, Vol. 5, p. 624.

and down the Mississippi in 1721, and wrote during the following year his important *History of New France* which, however, was not published until twenty years later.

Cheboygan County, laid out and named in 1840, was extended in 1853, to take in *Wyandotte* County which was also laid out in 1840, immediately south of the former county, but was never organized, and lost its identity as stated above. It seems a pity that this latter name was not preserved in some county, as the Indians whose name it bears were an important element of our aboriginal population. The name—Wyandotte—is a corruption from Wendat, the name by which the Hurons who occupied the region in Canada around the foot of Georgian Bay called themselves. They occupied this region at the time of the coming of Champlain in 1615 and were closely related in language and descent to the Iroquois, but were even then at deadly enmity with them. Lacking, however, the fierce and persistent fighting qualities of the latter, they were defeated and nearly exterminated in 1649. A portion of them fled to the Island of St. Joseph, then to Michilimackinac, then to Manitoulin Island, then, still pursued by the Iroquois, to Green Bay, then about 1657, a few leagues further west, to the Pottawatomies and a few months later still farther west to the Mississippi. From there menaced by the Sioux in 1660, they came to the region of Black River, Wisconsin, a little later joined the Ottawas at Chequamegon Bay, and about 1670, moved back to St. Ignace, and not long after, down to Detroit, Sandwich and Sandusky, where they lived under the protection of the French and became known as Wyandots, uniting with the Chippewas, Ottawas and other Indians in their Treaties with the United States.

Cheboygan County is named from the river of the same name and has had nearly as many meanings ascribed to it as it has letters. Haines says it is derived from "chi" (abbreviation of Kitchi), meaning great and "poygan," pipe.[39] But another derivation giving the same meaning and more in consonance with the French form of the name of the river, is "Kichibwagan."[40] Verwyst derives it from "ji-bai-gan," a perforated object, hence a pipe. Another derivation is from Chab-we-gan, place of ore, which is neither appropriate nor probable. Hatheway, referring to Sheboygan, Wis., derives the name from Shab-wa-way-kin, which expresses the tradition of a great noise coming under ground from Lake Superior being heard at this river.[41] This, however, seems doubtful, as the Wisconsin name is probably the same word as the Michigan, although the first letter is "S" instead of "C," and this meaning could

[39]Handbook of American Indians, p. 717.

[40]J. M. Peck in his *New Guide for Emigrants to the West* 2d edition 1837, p. 337, says "Seventy miles from Milwaukie is Shab-wi-wi-a-gan."

[41]*Wis. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. I.

not be applicable to both places, and as a rule the Indian names had more or less close applicability to the location. Schoolcraft derives the name from a combination meaning a river or water pass from lake to lake, which would be extremely appropriate for the Michigan river, but not for the Wisconsin one.[42] Still another derivation is from Zeebwa-gan, "cane," or "hollow bone." There is one derivation which should not be omitted, on the authority of Richardson's "Beyond the Mississippi." An old chief who had several daughters, but no son, upon being congratulated upon the arrival of another daughter, ejaculated with the greatest disgust, "She-boy-gin" and strode from the place. And when a town sprang up there it was called by common consent Sheboygan."

Clare County had as its original name *Kaykakee.* The latter word is Chippewa, meaning "pigeon hawk," and was the name of a chief from the Sault referred to in the Treaty of 1826. Clare was another of the Irish names substituted in 1843, and was taken from a county in the western part of Ireland.

Crawford County, which must not be confounded with the Crawford County of 1818, was originally named *Shawono,* from a noted Chippewa chief who lived many years at the Sault, was doubtless personally known to Schoolcraft and who in behalf of his people signed several of the treaties with the United States, or possibly from a Pottawatomie chief of the same name who was a party to several of the Indian treaties with United States. The word Shawono means southerner, and the same word is found in the name applied by others—not themselves—to the tribe known as Shawnees. To the legislature of 1843 which made these changes in the names, there was presented a memorial by Jonathan Lamb, of Washtenaw County, praying that if changes in name were made, one of the counties should receive the name of Crawford, and the petition was granted.[43] The former Crawford County, by the Act of Congress establishing the Territory of Wisconsin in 1834, had ceased to be a part of Michigan, and whether the new county was intended to restore the same name or to perpetuate the name of Colonel William Crawford, who was captured by the Indians and burned at the stake near Upper Sandusky in 1782, is now rather difficult to determine. The original petition has not been preserved, but evidence based upon family tradition seems to render it reasonably certain that Mr. Lamb's desire was to commemorate the Colonel Crawford of tragic fate.

Emmet County still another of the changes to Irish names was originally named *Tonedagana* for an Ottawa Chief who was evidently well known and of some importance as he signed several of the treaties

[42] *Dis. of Sources of Miss. Riv.*, p. 195.
[43] *House Journal* 1843.

with the United States affecting lands in Michigan. In the treaties his name is always followed by the words "the dog" as if they were the translation, but doubt is now thrown upon that meaning. The name Emmett was given in honor of the Irish patriot Robert Emmett.

Grand Traverse County was in 1840 named *Omeena,* the change to the present name being made in 1851,[44] and 1853,[45] the first act being defective in leaving a small unattached and unorganized territory, as Omeena County, and this mistake was remedied at the following session, when the remainder of the county was merged into Grand Traverse. The Indian name means either "the point beyond" and would have reference to the narrow peninsula jutting up into Grand Traverse Bay, or as Verwyst says, a corruption of "ominau," "he gives to him.'" Grand Traverse County takes its name from the bay upon which it borders, which itself was so named from the fact that the early French voyageurs who always traveled in canoes and were compelled to coast the shores on any large body of water, when they passed along the east shore of Lake Michigan, found two considerable indentations of the coast line, which under ordinary conditions they were accustomed to cross from headland to headland, the smaller crossing they called "la petite traverse," the larger, about nine miles across, they called "la grande traverse," or the long crossing, and this name was transferred to the bay. The Indian name of the bay was Gitchi Wekwetong, which means Large Bay.

Huron County was so named for the lake bordering on the north, east and west, and the lake in turn was so called because the Jesuit fathers found the Indians whom they called Hurons, living on the east and south of the lake around Georgian Bay. These Indians called themselves Wendat, and the explanation of the word "Huron" is given in the Relation of Le Jeune, the Jesuit of 1639. He says that about forty years before that, some of this tribe arriving at a French settlement, some soldier or sailor seeing them for the first time, and some of them wearing their hair in ridges which made their heads look like those of boars—hures—led them to call them Hurons,[46] and the name has clung to them ever since. Champlain first gave the name Lac des Hurons to the part which he saw, which was in reality Georgian Bay, but the name in time became attached to the entire lake.

Iosco County was first named *Kanotin.* The latter name was that of an Ottawa chief referred to in the Treaty of 1836, as living in the Grand River district. His name may be derived from the Chippewa word meaning "wind," and it is difficult to see any reason for discarding

[44] *S. L.* 1851, p. 172.
[45] *S. L.* 1853, p. 43.
[46] *Jes. Rel.*, Vol. 16, p. 231.

this pleasing euphonious name. Iosco was apparently a favorite name with Schoolcraft. In 1838 he published Iosco, or the Vale of Norma, a poem about fourteen printed pages reminiscent of his boyhood home in Albany County, N. Y., and in 1839 he published "Algic Researches," consisting of translations and adaptations of Indian tales, and among them is one entitled Iosco, or a "Visit to the Sun and Moon," a tale from the Ottawa, said to have been related by Chusco, an Ottawa chief. It relates the travels and adventures of five young Indian men—the eldest of whom bears the name Iosco—and a young boy. In the "Myth of Hiawatha," published in 1856, and which contains many of the same tales and legends found in Algic Researches, appears this one, and in this version the boy bears the name Ioscoda. In one place in his writings he says Iosco means water of light,[47] but in another he analyzes it into parts of three words meaning "to be," "father," and "plain,"[48] a meaningless combination.

Kalkaska County was originally named *Wabassee.* The latter was the name of a Pottawatomie chief who signed the Treaty of 1821, and the word itself means "swan." Kalkaska was spelled in the Act of 1843, Kalcasca, and in its present form looks like a "sure enough" Indian word, and if it is really that, its probable derivation is from the Chippewa and means "burned over." It is however possible that it is a Schoolcraft manufactured word, but if so, I have not discovered its formula.

Leelanau County had its name suggested by Schoolcraft in 1829 and in his "Algic Researches" is found "Leelinau, an Ojibwa tale," the story of an Indian maid living along the south shore of Lake Superior near Grand Sable, and in one of his volumes he gives the word as meaning "Delight of life."[49] This tale is also repeated in "Myth of Hiawatha" and in that version the heroine says, "From her baby name of Neenizu, my dear life, she was called Leelinau."

Lake County was first named *Aishcum.* The latter name was that of a well known Pottawatomie Chief who was a party to all the treaties with the United States in behalf of his people from 1818 to 1836, his name being spelled in seven different ways, this fact illustrating the difficulty of identifying some of the old Indian names, as each individual in transcribing them might use a different combination in English or French in the endeavor to represent the original sound. The word in Chippewa would mean increasing, more and more, going farther. The name Lake is peculiarly inappropriate to this county as it is an inland county, and contains but few lakes and none of any size.

[47] *Am. Arch.* Vol. 3, p. 509.
[48] *Am. Arch.* Vol. 5, p. 624.
[49] *Am. Arch.* Vol. 3, p. 509.

Missaukee County was named for an Ottawa Chief, who signed the treaties of 1831 and 1833. The meaning of the word is somewhat uncertain, Verwyst saying that it is a corruption of Missisaging, meaning at large mouth of river. Another derivation is from Mississauga, an Indian tribe at one time living at the northern end of Georgian Bay, the word meaning people of wide mouth river.

Mecosta County takes its name from that of a Pottawatomie chief who signed the Treaty of 1836, the word is said to mean "bear cub." The county as originally laid out was larger than at present, including a part of what had been Oceana County, and the four townships which now form the northwest part of Montcalm County.

Montmorency County was originally named *Cheonoquet* for a Chippewa chief who was a party to the Indian treaties of 1807, 1815, 1825, and 1837, his name meaning Big Cloud. It is uncertain whom the name Montmorency was intended to commemorate, and there does not seem to be any one of that name of sufficient prominence in American or Michigan history to justify this action. It is possible some legislator of 1843 thought this a fine, high sounding name, preferable to any Indian name, however melodious or full of meaning. There was a Duke of Montmorency, High Admiral of France, who, in 1620, bought the lieutenant-generalship of Canada and a few years later sold it again without ever having set foot on this continent. There was also a de Laval-Montmorency or Montmorency-Laval, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Canada, an energetic, faithful churchman, who made great efforts to prevent the giving of ardent spirits to the Indians, and who for many years during his bishopric from 1658 to 1684, exerted a very powerful influence in New France. If a French name were to be chosen, it is unfortunate that the name of some one of the early active energetic explorers, rulers, or military men who came in personal contact with this lake region was not used.

Mason County was originally named *Notipekago*. The latter was the Indian name of Pere Marquette River and the county was appropriately named after its most prominent natural feature. The meaning of the Indian name was "River with heads on Sticks" referring to a tradition that at an early period a band of Indians encamped at the mouth of the river was nearly exterminated by some Pottawatomies and their heads cut off and placed on sticks. The present name was to commemorate Stevens T. Mason, the first governor of the State, who came originally from Virginia, was appointed secretary of the Territory by President Jackson in July, 1831, when only twenty years of age, and became acting governor by the resignation of Gov. Cass to become Secretary of War. He rapidly overcame the prejudices against him, ac-

quired popularity and a firm stand in the hearts of the people of Michigan, and was elected by them governor in 1835.

Manistee County took its name from the river which flows through it, and empties into Lake Michigan within its borders. The word is Indian and various meanings have been ascribed to it. Among others are Vermillion River, Lost River, Island in the River. Mr. B. M. Cutcheon, in an address at Manistee, said that one meaning given to the word was "river with islands," which would not be appropriate, and that another and more poetic one was "spirit of the woods." Still another interpretation is "river at whose mouth there are islands." It does not seem that this or similar meanings could be correct, as it does not at all correspond with the fact. Another meaning is, the river with white bushes on the banks, referring to the white poplar trees found there. The name is thought to be in origin identical with Manistique in the Upper Peninsula. Charlevoix gives the name of the latter river as La Manistie. (Verwyst says that Manistique is from Manistigweia, meaning Crooked River). Early maps and references have the same name for the Manistee and Manistique rivers. The Franquelin map of 1684 has what appears to be this river, bearing the name Aramoni. His map of 1688 has it as La Manistre. Bellin's map 1744 calls it Riviere d'oula manities, while Mitchell's map of 1755 shows this river as Manistie, but the one in the Upper Peninsula as Oulemaniti. Schoolcraft in his Travels of 1820, called this river, Manistie. Blois' Gazetteer of Michigan, published in 1838, gives the name Monetee to both rivers. This word probably is derived from "onumunitig" or "oulaman," meaning ochre or red powder, which the Indians used in decoration and face painting. In one of the early English maps of the Upper Peninsula a river is shown apparently to represent the Manistique River, and is called Red Clay River.

Newaygo County was probably named for a Chippewa chief who signed the Saginaw Treaty of 1819. Some authorities give the meaning of the word as "much water," while another gives it as meaning "wing."

Ogemaw County takes its name from the Chippewa word for "chief." One of the leading Saginaw chiefs for many years, and who signed the Treaty of 1819, was called Ogemaw-ki-keto, chief or head speaker.

Osceola County was originally named *Unwattin.* The latter was the name of an Ottawa Chief, as such a one is referred to in the Treaty of 1836. Why such a name taken from an Indian chief of Michigan should be changed to Osceola, the name of a Seminole chief from Florida, even though the latter had a national prominence and his unfortunate experience with the whites and unhappy death in 1838 were then fresh in the mind, is difficult to see. The name Osceola is said by some

authorities to mean "black drink." "Black Drink halloer"[50] is an allusion to the long-drawn out cry given by the attendant at certain ceremonies while each man in turn is drinking, by others, the "rising sun."

Oscoda County has a name of Schoolcraft manufacture, meaning "pebbly prairie" from "os," for "ossin," stone or pebble, and "coda" from "muskoda" "prairie."[51]

Otsego county was at first named *Okkuddo.* The earlier name is said to mean "sickly," but no chief or prominent person of that name is known. The present name was taken from Otsego County and Lake in New York. This would be a Mohawk Iroquois word meaning "clear water." Another meaning is said to be "welcome water,"[52] or "place where meetings are held." Schoolcraft says the first part of the word denotes a "body of water," hence "lake," and the term "ego" means "beautiful," hence "beautiful lake."[53]

Presque Isle County was so named from the narrow peninsula—presque isle—jutting out into Lake Huron toward the southern end of the county, and which was a well known feature to the early canoe travelers under that name. Schoolcraft speaks of it in his Travels of 1820, as a place where by portaging 200 yards they saved a distance of six or eight miles.

Roscommon County was another of the Irish changes of 1843, from *Mikenauk,* the name the county first bore, and certainly not a change for the better. Mikenauk was an Ottawa chief, his name meaning "turtle," who is referred to in the Indian Treaty of 1836, as a chief of the first class. Roscommon is a county in the central part of Ireland.

Tuscola County bears in its name evidences of Schoolcraft's handiwork. The meaning is not absolutely certain as in one place Schoolcraft gives the word with the meaning, "warrior prairie,"[54] and in another he derives it from words or roots meaning "level lands."[55]

Wexford County was originally named *Kautawabet,* and is the last of the Irish changes. The original name was that of a chief of some prominence from Sandy Lake, referred to by Schoolcraft several times in his Personal Memoirs, and who signed the Treaty of 1825, his name signifying "broken tooth." Wexford is the name of a county in the southeastern part of Ireland.

1843. The changes in county names was not the only county legislation had at the session of 1843. The Upper Peninsula was coming into prominence and Michigan began to feel that perhaps it had not made

[50] *Eth. Bull.* No. 30, pt. 2, p. 159.
[51] *Am. Arch.* Vol. 3, p. 609.
[52] *Am. Arch.* Vol. 5, p. 624.
[53] *Am. Arch.* Vol. 4, p. 384.
[54] *Am. Arch.* Vol. 3, p. 509.
[55] *Am. Arch.* Vol. 5, p. 624.

so bad a bargain in accepting the Upper Peninsula as a solace for the strip from Ohio and Indiana, to which it was properly entitled. By the Indian Treaty of 1842, the last of the Indian claims within the State—except certain reservations—were ceded. Something began to be known of the mineral wealth along Lake Superior. Douglass Houghton, the first state geologist, had in 1840 turned his attention to the Upper Peninsula and in his report to the legislature of 1841, he gave the first authentic and trustworthy report about the copper bearing rock of Lake Superior, and very shortly after prospectors and speculators began to flock there. The years of 1841-2-3, were in general years of very hard times. The speculative fever which had been so prevalent had died down. The legislatures of those years were called upon to pass numerous acts extending the time for collecting taxes, and other measures for the relief of debtors. The Upper Peninsula however felt little of this. The United States Government at first did not sell the land, but issued licenses to mine, but people were rushing in, mining companies were being chartered and organized, and on March 9, 1843, an act was approved greatly reducing the limits of the old counties of Chippewa and Michilimackinac, and dividing the rest of the Upper Peninsula into four counties, Delta, Marquette, Ontonagon, and Schoolcraft.

Delta County, as originally laid out, included not only the present county of that name, but also Menominee and part of Dickinson, Marquette, and Iron counties, giving it the shape of an isosceles triangle, in other words, the form of the Greek letter Delta, which thus explains its name. The present form of the county which has been greatly changed from the original, gives no indication of the appropriateness of the name when originally given.

Marquette County was named for Father Jacques Marquette, the Pere Marquette of the river in the Lower Peninsula, and a character who deserves to be commemorated in Michigan, as he is so closely connected with its early history. In 1668 at the age of thirty-one, he undertook to plant a mission among the Chippewas at the Sault. After a short time there and at LaPointe, he established in 1671 his mission at St. Ignace where the Hurons and Ottawas had come. In May, 1673, in company with Joliet, he left under the authority of Colbert, the chief authority over the colonies of France, and of Frontenac, the governor and intendant of New France, to go to seek the great river at the westward, and on June 17th, they entered the Mississippi River and the "father of waters" was made known to the civilized world. Returning to Green Bay, and the following year to the south end of Lake Michigan, he passed there the winter of 1674-5, and with rapidly failing health left in the spring of 1675 for St. Ignace, but death overtook him as he

was coasting the eastern shore of Lake Michigan near the mouth of a small river, afterwards named for him, and on May 18th, at the age of thirty-eight, he passed away, a victim to his unwearied efforts to introduce the light of his religion to the Indians. There seems to be some authority for claiming that his death occurred near the mouth of the Aux Becs Scies River, instead of the Pere Marquette, but the latter from an early date had upon the maps the name of Marquette's River.[56]

Ontonagon County was originally much larger than at present, and also included Isle Royale. It took its name from the river of the same name, emptying into Lake Superior. The Jesuit map of Lake Superior of 1670, shows the mouth of the river with the name Nantounagon. Various derivations and meanings are given for the name. One that it is derived from Nundnorgan, "hunting river." Another, meaning is "lost dish," from Nindonogan. Verwyst says it is derived from Nandonagon, meaning "place where game is shot by guess;" another derivation is from a Chippewa word, meaning "fishing place."

1843. *Schoolcraft* County was named in honor of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, who was a resident of the State from 1820 to 1842, and whose name will be forever associated with his researches in all matters connected with the Indians of the United States, and of whom I have spoken in connection with the counties laid out in 1840.

1845. *Houghton* County was established in 1845 and named in honor of Douglass Houghton first state geologist of Michigan, and a man of great influence in and of great value to the State. Although he died at the untimely age of thirty-six,[57] he had done more than any other man except Cass and Schoolcraft, to bring to the knowledge of the world the great resources and many advantages of Michigan. He came to Michigan a young man, in 1829, and immediately found favor in Detroit, and at once began to take an active part in intellectual movements. It was practically entirely due to him that the State geological department was established, and fortunately for the State he was made the first incumbent of the office in 1838. Energetic, enthusiastic, scientific and practical, he was at different times mayor of Detroit, president of its school board, president of a bank, president of the Michigan State Historical Society. It was an act of simple justice for the State to recognize his value while living, and to perpetuate his memory by attaching his name to a county famous the world over for its mineral wealth.

1855. The legislature of 1855 established the County of *Manitou*, consisting of the Manitou Islands, the Beaver Islands, and the Fox Islands, giving to the county the name of the lower islands, Manitou. At that

[56]Marquette's burial place—See Vol. II, p. 134; Vol. XVIII, p. 502; Vol. XXVIII, p. 408, this series.

[57]Drowned Oct. 13, 1845. See Vol. XXII, p. 662, this series.

time James J. Strang,[58] the Mormon "King," of Beaver Islands, was a member of the House of Representatives from Newaygo County, to which all the Grand Traverse region was then attached, Beaver Island, his stronghold, having a population of nearly 2,000, which gave him great political strength in his district. Several petitions were presented to this legislature praying that these islands be detached from Emmet County to which they then belonged, and the committee to which the matter was referred, after stating "that a feeling of deep distrust and repugnance approaching warlike hostility exists between different classes of people inhabiting the islands and the mainland in that part of the State," "respectfully but earnestly" recommended that a separate town and county organization be given to the Beaver and Fox Islands. In the bill, however, which was reported, the Manitou Islands were added, and the name of the new county reported by the committee as Beaver County, was, upon motion of Strang himself, changed to Manitou. Strang's death the following year, by murder, and the rapid dispersal of his followers, soon removed the necessity of a county organization, and after being for some years attached to other counties, it was finally disorganized in 1895, and Manitou and Fox Islands incorporated into Leelanau County and the Beaver Islands into Charlevoix County. The name itself is an Algonquin word, meaning Spirit, but it refers rather to the mysterious and unknown powers of life and of the universe. Tradition is that many years ago two powerful tribes, one from the Upper Peninsula and one from the Lower Peninsula north of Grand River, were at war. The northern band attacked and as they supposed annihilated the others and then retired to these islands. There were, however, seven survivors, who at night followed, attacked them while asleep, and destroyed nearly all, and then escaped without being seen. The few survivors thought this an act of the spirits, hence called the island, Manitou.

1857. In 1855, the people below Saginaw on the Saginaw River attempted in vain to have a new county set off to include them. At the legislative session of 1857, however, they succeeded in having an act passed taking territory from Saginaw, Arenac, and Midland counties, and organizing it into *Bay* County, but providing that the act should be submitted before going into effect to the voters of the three counties. When the vote was held, it was defeated, if the entire vote of the whole counties was counted, but approved if only that part of each of the counties within the limits of the new county was counted. The question found its way to the Supreme Court in 1858, and was decided in favor of the new county,[59] which took its name from its encircling the

[58]See Vols. XVIII, pp. 628-638 and XXXII, pp. 180-235, this series.
[59]*People vs. Burns*, 5 Mich. 114.

head of the Bay of Saginaw. Its sponsors were ambitious as it had a population of only 3,164 in 1860, but they were justified by the rapid subsequent growth.

1859. *Muskegon* County was established in 1859, and was composed of territory taken from Ottawa and Oceana counties. It took its name from the important river running through it, and emptying into Lake Michigan. The name has passed through several variations. Upon the Franquelin map of 1684, the river appears under the name of Riviére des Iroquois, and in the Mitchell map of 1755, as Maticou River. The first act of the legislature in which the name appears was one of 1837, organizing the township of Maskego. The name subsequently appears in official proceedings, as Maskegon, Muskego, and finally Muskegon. The word undoubtedly is Chippewa and means "swamp" or "marsh," although one authority says it means "tamarack." Verwyst says it is a corruption of Mashkigong, at or to a swamp.

1861. *Keweenaw* County was laid out in 1861, and was taken from Houghton County and included the Manitou Islands of Lake Superior and Isle Royale. The earliest form of this word is found in the Jesuit map of Lake Superior of 1670, Kiouchounaning. The Franquelin map of 1688 has it Kiaonan. Mitchell's map, Quieounan, most of the English maps of the eighteenth century following the spelling of Franquelin. Charlevoix's map has Ricanan. The generally accepted derivation is from Ki-wi-wai-ni-ning, meaning a portage or place where a portage is made. Another version is place where portage ends or the canoe is carried back. Haines says it is probably corrupted from Newgwenan, "back again" or from Kewaywenon "going out and coming back around the point."

1861. *Menominee* County was laid out by the legislature in 1861, as *Bleeker* County, but at the following session, in 1863, was changed to its present name. The explanation is that one Anson Bangs who owned property in what is now Menominee County, then a part of Delta County, but who lived in Marinette County, Wis., was in Lansing during the legislative session of 1861, and for private purposes of his own, without consulting the people who would be affected, obtained the passage of an act to create the County of Bleeker. The name, as seems not unusual in legislative action in regard to counties, e. g., Antim, Ontonojon, Reskkauko, Raykakee, and others, was mispelled, as the Dutch name for which this was intended is spelled "Bleecker." Mr. Bangs had married a Miss Bleecker, whose family probably came from Albany, N. Y., there being a distinguished family of that name located there, and he evidently desired to perpetuate his wife's family name.

The people of the new county were so opposed to this action, however, that they refused to organize under it, but waited until the next

session in 1863, and then sent down Hon. E. S. Ingalls, and had the name changed, and a few other amendments made, and then completed the organization. The present name was taken from the Menominee River, which in turn derives its name from the Menominee Indians, who lived in that vicinity for over two centuries, before their final removal to a reservation in 1850. They were an Algonquin nation, related to the Chippewa, and the word is derived from meno-min, meaning "good grain," the Chippewa name of the wild rice, which grew and thrived in that vicinity and was their chief vegetable food.

1863. At the same session of 1863, the county of *Benzie* was established, being taken from the lower part of Leelanau County. The derivation of this name is somewhat uncertain. One explanation is that it is a corruption of Betsey, the popular name of the river which runs through the county. The word "Betsey" however, is itself a corruption of the French name of the river, Riviere Aux Bec Scies, which means the "river of the saw bill" or "Merganser duck," and is the translation by the early French travelers of the Indian name of the stream, Uns-zig-o-ze-bee, which has the same meaning. Another and more probable explanation is that it is derived from Benzonia, which was settled in 1858, and was the first county seat. This village was settled by a colony from Ohio, and one of its purposes was to found an institution of learning, which was subsequently carried out. The name Benzonia has been stated to be composed of two Hebrew words meaning "Sons of Light," or by another interpretation, "Sons of Life," and by still another, "Sons of Toil." But Professor Craig of the University of Michigan, says that it is most improbable that the word is derived from the Hebrew, and if it were, it could not have any one of the above meanings. If therefore the name was given in the belief it had such meaning, it seems probable that the scholarship was faulty. The county name might have been given as a contraction of the name of this village, the largest settlement in the county, or possibly as a combination of the first syllable of the village Ben, with the last syllable of the river, thus making Benzie.

1867. In 1867, the legislature laid out a new county, which it named *Washington.* To do this it took that part of Marquette County lying west of Range 26, and one mile in width in Range 26, to include the City of Ishpeming. This action in forcibly depriving Marquette of a considerable part of its valuable mining property, naturally did not meet the approval of the people of Marquette, and legal proceedings were promptly taken, which resulted in a decision by the Supreme Court in *People vs. Maynard,* 15 Mich. 463, that the act was unconstitutional for the reason that it made provision for but one township, and as a board of supervisors was necessary to enable a county to exist, and a

board could not consist of one man, the act must fall, and thus the state of Michigan probably lost forever its opportunity to have a county named for the Father of his Country.

1875. *Baraga* County was established in 1875, its territory being mainly taken from Houghton County, and was named in honor of Bishop Frederick Baraga,[60] the great Indian Apostle of the Northwest. Born in Austria in 1797, he came to America in 1830, immediately began the study of the Ottawa language and in May, 1831, arrived at L'Arbre Croche, the site of a Jesuit Mission, then nearly a century old. After spending two years there he went to Grand Rapids, then was for some years at La Pointe on Lake Superior, and in 1843, went to L'Anse where he labored faithfully and zealously for ten years, and in the meantime composed a Chippewa grammar and dictionary. He was made bishop in 1857, and died in 1868. The state performed a simple duty in thus commemorating his name.

Isle Royale Island which had been attached first to Ontonagon County, when it was established in 1843, then in 1845 to Houghton, and in 1861 to Keweenaw County, was by the legislature of 1875 made an independent county under the same name. After a precarious existence of sixteen years, it was in 1891 disorganized and attached to Keweenaw County. The Jesuit map of 1670 shows the island properly located, and of approximately the right dimensions, the whole map furnishing evidences of great care and thoroughness in its preparation, and much more accurate than any of its successors for more than a century. Upon this map the island is named Minong. In the Relation of 1669, Pere Dablon describes the "Island which is most famous for copper and is called Minong. It is large, and is fully 25 leagues long, it is distant seven leagues from the mainland."[61] The Franquelin maps of 1684 and 1688 show it with substantial correctness and with the same name. The first map which I have seen showing the island under its exact present name is that of Mitchell of 1755. A Bowen map of 1747 giving it as Isle Royal. Many of the English maps of the eighteenth century, show two islands, one Isle Royale in the proper location, and another which they call Isle Phillipeaux, generally as lying between Isle Royale and Keweenaw Point, though sometimes it is north or east of Isle Royale; and in the Treaty of 1783, the International Boundary Line runs "northward of the isles Royale and Phillipeau."[62] Carver, writing in 1766, speaks of Isle Royal. The word Minong is said to

[60]See sketch Vol. XXVI, p. 534, this series.

[61]*Jes. Rel.*, Vol. 54, p. 159.

[62]"The existence of such an Island as Isle Phillippeaux or any other which can answer the idea of its situation, has not I apprehend been yet satisfactorily ascertained by any person who has been on this lake." See volume XXIV, p. 508-9 and volume XXVI, p. 631, this series.

mean "great island." Another explanation being that it means an "Island which is intersected in passing from one point to another."

1885. The legislature of 1885 laid out two new counties. *Alger,* which was taken from Schoolcraft County, and *Iron,* which was taken mostly from Marquette County and partly from Menominee. In 1891 its boundaries were changed to its present form by taking more from Marquette County, and surrendering some to the new county of Dickinson. *Alger* County was named for Russell A. Alger, then governor of the State, who subsequently was Secretary of War under President McKinley, and United States Senator, an upright, capable, honorable citizen, and official, to whom great injustice has been done, but who was known to the people of Michigan, and appreciated and honored by them.

Iron County was named because of its iron deposits, which, although known to exist for some years, had first been adequately explored in 1880, and numerous mines had been opened at the time of this action, and is an appropriately descriptive term.

1887. In 1887, the legislature laid out two more counties in the Upper Peninsula, with the idea of reducing to normal size the very large counties still existing there. *Gogebic* County was formed from the southern part of Ontonagon County, and was named for the Gogebic Iron district in which iron had been known to exist for many years, but which had been so far from railroad transportation that it had remained entirely undeveloped until a very few years before the county organization. It seems probable that the word is really the same as the name of the lake which lies partly in this county and partly in Ontonagon County. The name of this lake is Agogebic, which is variously translated. Peter White says it means "smooth rock." Foster and Whitney in their Report on the Geology of the Lake Superior District, translate it "little fish." Haines thinks it means "rocky" or "rocky shore." Another derivation is from Gugwageebic, "place of diving," while others are from Gogeebing, "dividing lake," and again, "a body of water hanging on high." One authority gives the word as meaning "root under which the porcupine hides," or "nest of the porcupines," or that possibly it may come from Gagogebec, a free translation of which is "porcupine lake." In view of the fact that in Chippewa the syllable "bic" means "rock," it seems probable that the meaning connected with rock is the correct one. Baraga in his dictionary gives "ajibik," meaning "rock."

At the same session, *Luce* County was laid out, taken from Chippewa and Mackinac counties and named in honor of Cyrus G. Luce,[63] then governor of the State, who died in 1905, at the age of eighty years.

[63]See Vol. XXXV, pp. 43-53, this series.

A man of sturdy practical sense, excellent judgment, and devoted to the interest of the people, he had served his State in many capacities, as member of both house and senate, governor, and president of the state board of agriculture.

1891. The legislature of 1891 was that rara avis in Michigan, a Democratic body. Finding it desirable to establish a new county in the Upper Peninsula, it took part of Menominee, Iron and Marquette counties and established a county which it named *Dickinson* County in honor of Don M. Dickinson, who had long been a favorite son of Democracy in the State, was Postmaster General in Cleveland's first cabinet, and has been for many years a leading citizen of Detroit, and an able and eminent lawyer.

I have not spoken of counties formed while Michigan was a Territory, which included area not within the present limits of the State, as Iowa County, laid out in 1834, and others.

There are at present eighty-three counties in the State, of which thirty-two have names, of Indian origin, twenty-nine are named for individuals, sixteen take their names from natural objects, rivers, etc., and six have names intended to be of a descriptive character. During the history of the State four counties have been laid out and after a more or less fitful career have disappeared: Washington, Wyandotte, Manitou and Isle Royale. The secretary of the Northwest Territory laid out and named one county, Governor Cass named eleven counties. Governor Cass and his legislative council twenty-seven counties, and the legislature of the State forty-eight counties.

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LANDMARKS OF LENAWEE COUNTY[1]

BY MRS. FRANK P. DODGE

This little paper will be neither logical nor statistical, but what one of my good pioneer neighbors used to call, "Little Reminiscences of a Back Past."

The first mention of the laying out, naming and defining the boundaries of Lenawee County is to be found in a proclamation of Gen. Cass, dated September 10, 1822. Several new counties were laid out at this time, and until they should be properly organized, each was attached to some county already organized, and it fell to the lot of Lenawee[2] to be attached to Monroe. That first description included within the boundaries of Lenawee, the present counties of Hillsdale, Branch, St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien. The present boundaries of Lenawee were defined in 1829, I think. It is rather interesting to note that in a proclamation of 1826, mention is made of land to be attached to Lenawee County, as being territory to which the Indian title was extinguished by the treaty of Chicago,[3] and in a later legislative act, 1829, Indian country, newly acquired by treaty held at the Cary Mission, was attached to Lenawee County. Thus we see that much of our fair county came to us directly from the Indians, and it seems singularly appropriate that its name, Lenawee,[4] a Shawnee word, should signify *Indian.*

The United States Land Office for the sale of Lenawee County lands was opened at Monroe in 1823, and the first land taken up was by Austin E. Wing of Monroe. Musgrove Evans,[5] a surveyor, came to Michigan from New York State that year, intending to engage in the

[1]Read at annual meeting, June 8, 1910.

[2]Lenawee County was detached from Monroe, Dec. 31, 1826.

[3]Chicago Treaty, August 29th, 1821.

[4]Lenawee meaning. See paper by Mr. Jenks on the origin of names of counties of Michigan, this volume.

[5]The first settlement was made at Tecumseh, May 21, 1824. The first settlers were Musgrove Evans, wife and five children, Joseph W. Brown, Ezra F. Blood, Nathan Rathburn, Peter Lowe, Peter Benson and wife, Simon Sloate, John Borland, Capt. Peter Ingals, John Fulsom, James Young, George Spofford, Curtis Page and Levi Baxter. Turner Stetson and his wife who had come from Boston joined the party at Detroit. See *Illustrated History and Biographical Record of Lenawee County* by Knapp and Bonner, p. 11.

survey of public lands then being made and to look for a suitable location. At Detroit he met Mr. Wing who told him of the fine water power and beautiful country in southern Michigan. They accordingly explored the valley of the River Raisin, and selected the spot where Tecumseh now stands. The location was ideal, fine water power, and a beautiful open prairie country with fertile soil, timber within easy reach was abundant. All that remained was to find a miller and a farmer.

Mr. Wing had political ambitions and wished to go to Congress. Even in those days, politicians were not wholly disinterested, and Mr. Wing is credited with the following remark: "If we go into milling and farming, and establish a mill, settlers will know that I am interested, and will vote to send me to Congress. If I am elected, with the aid of Gen. Jacob Brown (Commander-in-chief of the U. S. Army), you can be appointed government surveyor." It was then decided to go back to New York and interest Joseph W. Brown (a brother of Gen. Brown) who was both a miller and a farmer. Mr. Brown looked with favor upon the enterprise and the co-partnership of Wing, Evans and Brown was formed for the enterprise. It is interesting to note in passing, that Mr. Wing's political ambitions were fulfilled to the letter, he went to Congress and Mr. Evans was made a government surveyor.

Early in the spring of 1824, Musgrove Evans with his wife and five children, Joseph W. Brown, and thirteen others, started from Jefferson County, New York, for Detroit. They passed up Lake Ontario and Niagara River to Black Rock, there joined a party from Buffalo and chartered the schooner Erie, ascended Lake Erie and reached Detroit in April, 1824. Here the families were left while the men with a French guide and a pony to carry luggage started through the woods on foot, following an Indian trail. The desirable water power before mentioned, determined the location at Tecumseh and here Musgrove Evans brought his family June 2, 1824. The people of Tecumseh, holding in loving remembrance the founders of their town, last year, June 2, (1909), placed a boulder on the site of that first house in Lenawee County. That boulder bears not only the name of the man who built that first house, but also that of the woman who made of that first house a home, and surely this pioneer mother had no small share in the settlement of Lenawee County. The first hastily constructed log-house had no chimney nor fireplace. The cooking fire was built upon the ground in the center of the house, the smoke going out of a hole in the roof, wind and weather permitting. With this primitive fire and a bake kettle for an oven, Mrs. Evans prepared food for her own family, the workmen in her husband's employ and chance comers and goers,

an average family of fifteen or twenty persons.[6] Mr. Brown brought his wife and five children in the autumn and they were also joined by Mr. and Mrs. George Spofford. A bedroom, chimney and fireplace were added to the original house, and there these nineteen people spent the winter together. Even amidst the hardships of that first winter, the education of the children was not forgotten. A building of tanbark and poles was erected for a schoolhouse, and Mrs. George Spofford taught that winter, being the first to teach in the county. The next year Mr. Brown built the first frame house. It was an edifice with some pretentions to size and style, and besides the family apartments, had others for the use of transients. Thus was opened the first and only public house in the Territory west of Monroe.

In the meantime Tecumseh had been platted as a village, named and made the county seat.[7] A sawmill[8] was built and a store opened. Mr. Evans called the settlement Tecumseh, after the famous Shawnese chief of that name, who, tradition says often visited that locality and sat in council around the fires of the resident tribes. An objection was raised on the ground that Tecumseh was a British Indian, and fought for the British. Friend Musgrove Evans replied, "Thee is mistaken, Tecumseh fought on his own account, and for his own people, Tecumseh was Nature's Indian," and thus the matter was settled. Historians describe this great chief Tecumseh as possessed of a noble figure, a countenance expressive of magnanimity and of moral traits far above his race, a warrior in the broadest Indian sense. He disdained to wear the personal adornments affected by his people, and although holding rank as brigadier-general in the British service adherred to his Indian dress of deerskin coat and leggins. I have stood in Tecumseh Park, Chatham, Ont., and gazed upon the spot where this great chief fell, dying; on the walls of one of Tecumseh's beautiful homes in the place of honor I have looked upon the British flag in which he was wrapped and have been taken in a canoe up the Thames River to his last resting place. These monuments to his memory have stirred within me emotions of veneration and awe. Here was a noble red man, his name and fame have outlived those of many a white man, who came into the new country, made for himself a home, and then passed on leaving no record of his life and work.

I must not pass on without making some special mention of Gen. Joseph W. Brown. He seems to have been a man of initiative and a

[6]See *Early Hist. of Lenawee County*, by Alfred L. Millard, 1876, as by recommendation of President and Governors for Centennial Anniversary, p. 9.

[7]When Tecumseh was chosen as the county seat by legislative act, June 30, 1824, Mr. Wing swung his hat with such vigor that nothing remained of it but a piece of the brim about the size of a dollar.

[8]A gristmill was built in 1836 and the stones were made by Sylvester Blackmar, a miller, from a rock found near the mill site.

natural leader of men. He built the first gristmill and sawmill in the county, established the first stage mail route between Detroit and Chicago; did the first farming, and ground the first wheat, built the first frame house, and ploughed the first furrow in Lenawee County. Although of Quaker descent, he had a natural aptitude and taste for military life and tactics, and was appointed by President Jackson, first a colonel and later a brigadier-general[9] of Michigan militia and by virtue of these commissions acted as commander-in-chief of the Michigan troops called out in the Black Hawk War, 1832, and the Toledo War 1835.

A second settlement was made in Lenawee County by Harvey Bliss, at Blissfield, the year following the settlement of Tecumseh. (His picture can be seen in the portraits of pioneers in the museum at Lansing.) In the same year, Darius Comstock, whose son Addison J. afterward became the founder of Adrian, came from New York State, and took up quite a tract of land south of Tecumseh. In the winter following, Gen. Brown writing back to his mother in the old home said, "The D. Comstock that I mention, is a Friend of a large fortune, and much of a gentleman. His place he calls 'Pleasant Valley.' It is four miles south of us through an open country where you may drive a post coach without cutting a tree. He has a large fine family. A Friend has bought near him, and they bid fair to have a large Friend's settlement." This prophecy was fulfilled, a Quaker Church was built, and that valley to this day is known as the Quaker Valley. As a child I remember seeing the fair of the sect who clung to the Quaker garb, drive into Adrian on a Saturday in the quaint old carry-alls, the elder women in the soft dove-colored gowns and shawls, the quaint bonnet, framing the sweetly placid faces. This Quaker Valley has always held a fascination for me as I drive past its prosperous farms. I always think of it as the *"Peaceful Valley,"* it seems so remote from the strife of the busy world. I love to wander through its grass-grown burying ground. In the older part all were buried in rows, no separation into family groups, no pretentious monuments, only a wee moss-covered marker; all here were equal, all were Friends. In one of these old time rows, I found the resting place of my own Quaker ancestress from the Neuer family home in Hillsdale County. She came to visit among the Friends of the Valley, and spent her last days enjoying the privileges of her church. Indeed they tell me that she was quite gifted in speech, and was often moved by the spirit to bear witness to the

[9]See *Illustrated History and Biographical Record of Lenawee Co.*, by Knapp and Bonner, pp. 66-8. Brown had been commissioned April 21, 1831, brigadier-general of the Third Brigade of Michigan. During the Black Hawk war John R. Williams was major-general of the troops in Michigan. See Vol. XXXI, this series.

glory of God. In this peaceful spot also rests the earthly body of a noble woman whose good works extended beyond Lenawee County and beyond Michigan, Aunt Laura Haviland.[10] I do not need to tell you of her work as a nurse in the Civil War, or as a conductor of the Underground Railroad. Many freedmen were brought to the Quaker Valley, many more found refuge in Canada. Nor did her good work end with the abolition of slavery. In her home in the Valley, she established a freedman's home and school. Gradually were gathered all homeless waifs who came to her knowledge, irrespective of color, and from this Haviland Home, and largely through her influence grew our own State Public School at Coldwater. It has been the privilege of the people of Lenawee County to erect at Adrian in her memory a drinking fountain and over this fountain presides the effigy of the quaint little Quaker lady herself, seated in state, clad in bonnet and shawl, her benign countenance keeps guard over all.

Addison J. Comstock,[11] the son of Darius Comstock, built the first house in Adrian, and thither brought his bride, August, 1826. The house stood in a beautiful oak grove on the bank of the River Raisin. Nearby Mr. Comstock had already built a sawmill. Two years later he laid out and platted the village of Adrian. The plot contained forty-nine lots which seemed to the founders, sufficient for all time to come. The locality had previously been called Logan, but Mrs. Comstock now christened it Adrian for the Roman Emperor. Their son born August, 1827, was the first white child born in Adrian and the infant's death the following October was the first death. The child was buried in a plat of ground subsequently given by Mr. Comstock to the city for a burying ground, but as the city grew up around it, its use was discontinued and some years ago it was converted into a park; but I can still remember the fearsome awe with which we, as children, would on a bright sunshiny day, venture to wander through the tangled grass and wild flowers and decipher the quaint old epitaphs upon the crumbling stones.

These early days were not without their days of relaxation—one came

[10]Aunt Laura Haviland, daughter of Daniel and Sene Smith, was born at Kitley, Ontario, Canada, Dec. 20, 1808. Her father, a native of New York State, was an approved minister in the Society of the Friends. She married Charles Haviland, Jr., in 1825 and came with two children to Lenawee County in 1829. She was one of the organizers of the Abolition Society in the 30's and was so active in her work that slave interests in the south offered a reward of $3,000 for her dead or alive. She died at the home of her brother, Rev. Samuel B. Smith of Grand Rapids, Mich., April 20, 1898. See sketch in *Illustrated History and Biographical Record of Lenawee Co., Mich.*, by Knapp and Bonner, pp. 70-2.

[11]Mr. Comstock was the first postmaster at Adrian, his salary consisting of the revenue coming from the route from Adrian to Monroe. The first quarter's receipts were $8.60¾ and netted the postmaster over office expenses 90¾ cents. Even then the postmaster took advantage of ox teams which took five days for the trip. *Hist. of Lenawee County*, by A. L. Millard, pp. 13, 14.

with the first 4th of July celebration in 1828. A large crowd of thirty or forty persons was assembled amid the roar of an anvil. Mr. Comstock read the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Ormsby, the first doctor in Adrian, delivered an oration, then the marshal of the day led the procession through the principal streets, overgrown with hazel brush to Mr. Comstock's house where the ladies of the village served dinner. Bonfires and a dance ended the festivities of the day. Another great day for Adrian was the celebration in honor of the completion of the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad[12] to Adrian in 1836. Great was the rejoicing of the people for at last a market was opened direct with Lake Erie and the East. An event long remembered in the little settlement of Palmyra, a few miles east of Adrian, was a visit from Governor Stevens T. Mason; to be sure the visit was accidental, but an event, nevertheless. In 1837, Gov. Mason and party were obliged to spend a Sunday at Palmyra, having missed a connection with the Palmyra and Jacksonburg road, Saturday night. A copy of the Michigan Whig, an Adrian publication, dated August 26, 1840, gives a description of a mass meeting in the Harrison & Tyler presidential campaign with an account of raising the campaign log cabin, the logs for which were drawn from all parts of the county, each township coming with ox team. The township of Fairfield came with the most unique pageant, to quote from the paper, "A Harrison Buggy" constructed in true log cabin style. The first two or three logs mounted on wheels twenty-six feet long. On these a rustic vehicle was constructed which held forty or fifty persons; the whole was drawn by thirty-four yoke of oxen.

The other parts of the county were rapidly settled, but from the time of the settlement of Adrian, a strife grew up between that place and Tecumseh for the first location of the county seat. Tecumseh had to her advantage, two years growth, a larger population, and the possession of the county seat, but the geographical position of Adrian, nearer the center of the county and the completion of the Erie and Kalamazoo River Railroad, decided the question in favor of Adrian and the change took place in 1838. A story is told of a conversation which took place during that time of rivalry, between Darius Comstock and Gen. Brown. Said Mr. Comstock, "Does thee really think, Joseph, that thee has a better place at Tecumseh for the county seat, than we have at Adrian?" "No" said the General "but we have a much better water-power, and we will keep the county seat also, if we can."

One great factor in the settling of the county, particularly the Northern portion, was the opening of the government, or the Chicago Road, or as the old settlers always called it, the Chicago turnpike from Detroit

[12]In 1837 these trains were advertised to run daily between Toledo and Adrian and to connect with stage lines for Michigan, Chicago and Wisconsin Territory. See paper following on location of boulder.

to Chicago, some one who remembered the old days said that during the 30's wagon loads of settlers were constantly passing along the turnpike. This great highway with its stagecoaches was the great link with the outer world, and along it grew up the prosperous farms and substantial buildings. At Clinton one of the old stage houses is still standing on the old Chicago Road. The Woman's Club of Clinton has marked a boulder with the date of the surveying of the road, 1827, and the name of the surveyor. A little later a government road was surveyed from Monroe through Tecumseh to Cambridge township where it joined the Chicago Road. The new road was known as the Monroe Turnpike. In the spring of 1830, the first stage went west from Tecumseh along an independent line from that place to White Pigeon.

The early association of Lenawee County with Monroe County makes the following letter, written from Monroe in February, 1819, of especial interest to us. It was loaned me by a relative of the writer. Its quaint and rather stilted phraseology bears witness of a more leisurely age than ours.

Michigan Territory, Feb. 7th, 1819.

Dear Uncle and Friends:

With pleasure I now improve a few of the fleating moments allotted me by divine Providence in writing to far distant friends, through the goodness of God we are at present enjoying a tolorable degree of good health, and I hope that these few lines will find you all enjoying the same Blessing.

Our removal to this country was somewhat sudden, therefore we had no opportunity of visiting you before we came. We have a very pleasant country. Although the ways of the inhabitants are not so agreeable, being chiefly French, yet there are many English People daily moving in and the prospect is that many more will move here as soon as the lands are surveyed. The River Raisin on which we live is a beautiful stream of water, about as large again as Mud Creek and abounds with fish of almost every kind. This River lies South of Detroit, about thirty miles, and is navigable at all seasons, about eight miles from its mouth for vessels of about forty Tons Burthen, in the spring and fall it is navigable fifty miles up it. The face of the country is very level for twelve miles up the River, and the timber is chiefly oak and hickory. Above that the land is very different being a great deal higher though not hilly, it is covered with all kinds of timber, such as sugar maple, white maple, white wood, basswood, ash, oak, hickory, black walnut, butternut, Balm of Gilead, mulberry, sycamore and

paupau (paw-paw).[13] There are growing on the bottom lands of the river, five kinds of ash (to-wit) white, black, blue, hoop and prickley ash. The soil of the uplands is of a dark snuff colored loam and that of the bottom land is a black sand and covered with rushes from two to four feet in length, they are uncommonly thick.

The winters are very light, we have not had more than an inch in depth of snow here this winter, and at present there is no frost in the ground. People are all busy about their ploughing. I think I never saw so fine a country for to raise stock, in my life. I imagine there are more than two or three hundred head of cattle in this place that have not seen a lock of hay or a kernel of grain this winter, and they are now good beef. The old inhabitants are a very indolent set of people, the lower class of which depend almost wholly on hunting for their living. Those of a higher class make good dependence on the fur trade with the Indians which is tolorable good at present. Many of the old French settlers have beautiful orchards in which they raise abundance of apples, pears and cherries which fruit is very natural to this country. There are many inconveniences attending new comers into this country, considering the time it has been settled. The French being very jealous of their rights and, likewise very cautious of their dealings with the Yankies, as they call all English people, having been many times cheated by many of them. It is expected that their land will be surveyed and ready for sale in the course of a year. The state price is two dollars per acre. There is no society here at present, except the Roman Catholic. We are in hopes to have a lodge established here shortly, and we have some small hopes of having a minister here next summer. In short if any man has a few extry Dollars by him I think that he cannot do better than to lay them out in this country.

I have nothing more to write at present. Mother, Sally and my wife wishes to be remembered to you all. I should be very happy to receive a letter from any one of you, and I hope that after you receive this that you will oblige us with a line—

Yours

JOSEPH BRADISH.

Addressed to Wm. John Bradish,
Palmyra,
Ontarie Co., New York.

Post Mark New Salem Hills 2/8 (second month, eighth day).

[13]This is variously spelled pa-paw, claiming preference by Webster, paw-paw, better known to us and from which originated the name of the county-seat of Van Buren from the Indian fruit found along the banks of the rivers. See Vol. III, p. 635, this series. The fruit is scientifically called pa-pa-ya.

Eliza Calvert Hall, in her charming, "Aunt Jane of Kentucky," has said of the pioneers, "Did you ever think, how curious it was for them men to leave their homes and risk their own and the lives of their little children and their wives, just to git to a new country? It appears to me they must have been led, just like Columbus was when he crossed the big ocean in his little ships. I reckon of the women and children had had their way about it, the bears and the wildcats and the Indians would be here yet. But a man goes where he pleases and a woman's got to follow." I have often thought the same thing. What could our pioneers ancestors have hoped for. They were prosperous farmers in their pleasant New York state homes, for it was from New York that most of the Lenawee County settlers came, and they could only hope to be prosperous farmers in the new country after years of hardship and toil. Perhaps they *were* "led," as Aunt Jane says, and that this our beautiful Michigan was the promised land; and their star of hope was the long looking into the future, the building of a new state for their children, with the privileges of broader education, and a nobler manhood, and then if the women were loath to come, they had promised to obey and followed where their lords led, not as a clog in the wheel of progress but as a sturdy helpmate. It always brings a tear to my eye when I think of my own pioneer grandmother, who unwilling to overtax the precious teams, walked the five miles through the Black Swamp west of Toledo, and carried her year-old babe in her arms. I don't know how many other miles she walked, but the story of that journey to the promised land says that only "granny," and the three-year- old rode all of the way.

I have as my heritage, many stories of that eventful journey which began in Niagara County, New York, on "May Day," 1835. Twenty-one days later the little caravan reached Madison township, Lenawee county. There were several families in the little company and we can bring to our fancy the pleasure of the first of these twenty-one days together through the older settled Ohio, the out-of-door life, for they drove all the way, in the beautiful spring weather, the stopping at night at the wayside taverns. But as the journey neared its end, the country grew rougher, the roads at times almost impassable, often through that dreadful swamp must the teams be put together to draw a wagon from the mire; the forest grew more dense. The thought of founding a home in that wilderness weighed heavily upon the heart of the mother, but it was "granny," the blessed Quaker grandmother who turning her back upon kindred and friends had joined her fortunes with her children. It was "granny" who was the patron saint of that journey; her placid Quaker calm met all the trials of that journey with a cheerful spirit that gave courage to all. I am not telling this pioneer story because it

is unique, but because it is the pioneer story that I know best of all, and it is really not a Lenawee County story after all, for my grandfather, William Weaver, stayed only one year in Lenawee County, and then went on to the newer Hillsdale County, where government land was still to be had. Hillsdale had only just been separated from Lenawee County, and the pioneer experiences were all pretty much alike. The founding of that new home in the wilderness, is a veritable romance. Tinged with the sentiment of declining years I have often heard its incidents, from first my grandfather and then my father. The latter was but three years old when he made that memorable journey but to his last day he retained a very vivid recollection of it all, and only the charm and fascination of his boyhood life in that new country remained. If there were hardships, time had softened them into pleasures. Nature had provided bountifully for the new comer, but he must help himself. There were whole forests of building material oak, hickory, pine, black-walnut, and the first thought was shelter for the family and the faithful horses. That first house was built without one board or one nail; logs chinked with mud, slabs for flooring, bark for the roof; the chimney built up of stones and topped with sticks. The crowning glory of the house was the fireplace, in the warmest corner of which was granny's chair. That fireplace was the center of social and domestic family life. At night all gathering before its cheerful blaze to hear the news of the day's events. Before that cheerful blaze too, was prepared the family food. Oh, the stores of the good things cooked upon that swinging crane, in that bake kettle; of the bread toasted upon the loaf before the blaze; the potatoes roasted in the ashes; the spareribs dripping in the pan. Often would the stick chimney catch on fire and frighten the children, if father were too far away to be called, but as the last survivor of that memorable migration tells me, "Mother was nimble and could climb pretty well and tear off the top sticks when needed. She was full of resources and so brave always; we children expected she could care for us no matter what happened." As soon as the family was sheltered, ground must be cleared and crops put in. But nature helped to feed the pioneer, the wild strawberry, the whortleberry, the grape, the sap of the maple, and it was a land literally flowing with honey for the youngest lad one day followed a honey bee and all that was necessary was to saw off the tree and carry home the bee hive, and thenceforth was the family supplied with honey.

For neighbors there were the original owners of the soil a tribe of gentle, friendly Potawatomie Indians. Old Baw Bese, the chief had his summer camp near the new home, and his winter camp on the shore of Bawbese Lake. Old Baw Bese had two wives, the young new wife rode behind him on his pony, the old wife walked and carried the burdens.

The twelve-year-old lad played daily with the Indian boys riding their ponies and playing their games. Besides Baw Bese were Metean, Ne-Magin-a-swot. Metean was called the Peace chief from his mild disposition. My grandfather always lived in harmony with the Indians. He treated them with kindness and justice; they looked up to him with respect and veneration, and often brought him gifts; wild turkey, duck, fish or honey. If the honey were strained, grandmother would not touch it, her New England housewifery spirit bringing forth the query, "Who knows how clean their hands were when they strained it." One day grandmother and grandfather were gathering huckleberries when an Indian from the other side of the swamp called, "Weber, Weber, come ober," after repeated calls grandfather went over, and there found with the young Indian and his squaw, a young pappoose strapped to a board in the usual way. The young father as proud as any other young father. Grandfather, whose love for the little ones had not been dimmed, and by the struggle to care for his own small brood of seven, admired the baby, and then began calling, "Mother," the Indian took up the word and called "Muder, Muder, come ober." So mother came over to admire the newcomer. This is only to illustrate the friendliness of this gentle tribe, which a mistaken government not long after, sent away from their pleasant camping grounds to a new home beyond the Mississippi.[14]

A very important member of the pioneer family was old Spank, the farm dog. He came all the way from the old home in York State. On the journey he was guard, police, surveyor, and when the new home was reached, constituted himself the special body-guard of granny and the children, forcing and leading them home one day when they lost their way coming through the woods from a distant neighbor's. For social relaxation on the long winter evenings, grandfather and grandmother would sometimes visit the neighbor's. One night returning from such a visit, they were chased by wolves. Grandmother was seated in the rear of the primitive sledge, her back supported by a log chain. Grandfather stood and lashed the horses into a run, but faithful old Spank kept the wolves at bay, striking at them when they came too close, and always returning to run by grandmother's side. Do you not think he was worthy of the place he has kept in the family history?

Just one more personal story. When the year-old babe reached the new home she cried for the cradle that perforce was left behind, and refused to be comforted until her father one day brought home an Indian sap-trough he had found in the woods. In this improvised cradle no happier child ever slept the dewey sleep of youth. We hear much now-

[14]By treaty at Chicago, Sept. 26, 1833, the Chippewas, Ottawas and Potawattomies ceded to the U. S. most of their reservation south of the Grand River.

a-days of the perniciousness of rocking our babies, but I am sure this child's brain was not addled by the process, for with womanhood she attained great intellectual strength and in later years in a Wisconsin seminary, had among her pupils a lad whose subsequent career is familiar to you all, Senator Robert La Follette. Only recently this dear old lady said to me, "So I've always said I felt that having been rocked in an Indian sap-trough for a cradle, my first moccasins the gift of an Indian, having been fed on sassafras roots, wintergreen berries, thorn apples, ground cherries and wild things generally, I could very reasonably be considered indigenous to Michigan soil."

I have in my hand two original letters which are of interest to us at this particular time when the whole nation is paying tribute to the memory of a Michigan soldier, Gen. George A. Custer. I have selected these from several more personal in the possession of the family of Capt. Charles M. Walker, late of Adrian. The first is a letter written by Gen. Custer from headquarters at City Point, Va., July 3, 1864, and addressed to Senator Zachariah Chandler.

The second letter is one addressed to Mr. Walker and written by Gen. W. R. Shafter, Nov. 24, 1867:

Camp Michigan Cavalry Brigade
Headquarters 1st. Brig., 1st. Sis. C. C.
City Point, Va., July 3, 1864.

Hon. Z. Chandler, U. S. A.:

Dear Sir:—I hope you will pardon me for again calling your attention to the case of Mr. Chas. M. Walker of Lapeer, Michigan, whom I desire to have appointed Captain in the Commissary or Quartermaster's Department. He has been with this Brigade since the Army crossed the Rapidan on the commencement of the present campaign. Although holding no appointment or official position under the Government, he has served on my staff as Volunteer Aide-de-Camp, and has participated in every engagement in which the Michigan Cavalry Brigade has borne a part. And he has throughout shown himself to be a brave, gallant and thoroughly patriotic officer, having particularly distinguished himself by his courage and energy in every one of the thirteen encounters. He had his horse twice shot under him at Cold Harbor, and two horses shot under him at Trevillion Station while serving on my staff. He has most fearlessly and heroically exposed himself at all times.

He would prefer to receive the appointment of Captain C. S., and this would be my preference also, could it be arranged, as he would be enabled to take the field with me. There will soon be a vacancy in that Department in this Brigade, the officer now holding the position, having been ordered elsewhere. If this appointment cannot be secured,

Mr. Walker would rather obtain one as Capt and A. Q. M., than return home. In this department there is now a vacancy in the Brigade. I assure you that the appointment of Mr. Walker would produce most universal satisfaction, both amongst the officers and men of the Brigade.

As for myself I shall esteem it a great personal favor if you would use your influence to assist him in obtaining the place.

I am very respectfully,

Your sincere friend,

G. A. CUSTER,

Brig. Genl., U. S. Vols., Comdg. Mich. Cavalry Brig.

Ringgold Barracks, Texas,
November 24, 1867.

My Dear Charles:—The Spirit moveth me to write you to-day and I obey its dictates. 1st, Because I want to hear from you, and again because I want to know something of the officers of the old 7th.

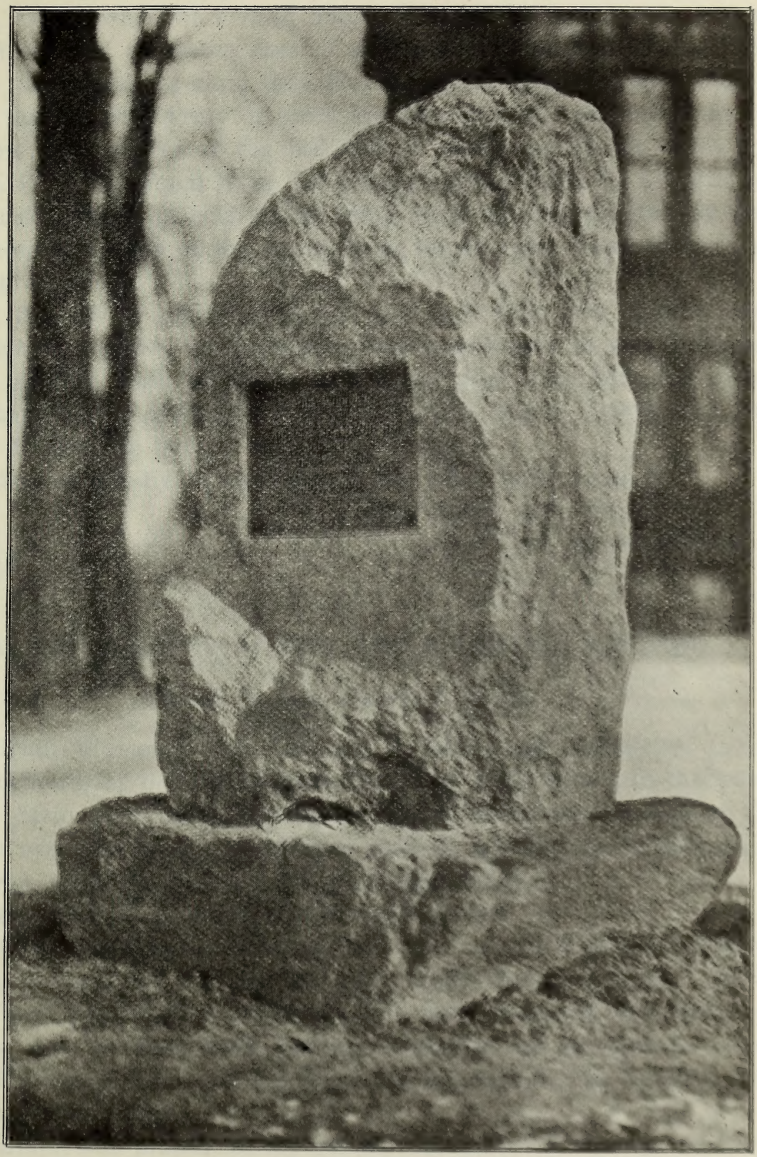
Where is Bob Curtis, Col. Grosvenor, the Adjt. Tom Hunt, Genl. Baxter, Amos Hicock and last but not least, how are you. I am the Lt. Col., 41st Infty. Bat., Col. U. S. A., and am now and expect to be for a long time in command of this Post. There are but two companies here now; will eventually have four. It is a fearful place to live in, the entire population being Mexicans. You can go a hundred miles on this frontier and not meet a person that can speak English. In the town here, of four hundred people there are but two or three Americans. You remember the tales Bob Knaggs used to tell of Texas. I thought he used to stretch the truth. *He didn't.*

We have been having the fever here fearfully (in Texas), although among the officers and men of the post we have had but little. Two Actg. Asst. Surgs. have died here with it and the Q. M. Clerk. I had it, but got along after a while. In the town, however it had been different, not far from two hundred have died (about half).

Are you getting ready for war again and what view do you take of the situation? From what I recollect of your political opinions I judge you to sustain Congress.

I say nothing of myself as I cannot well sustain the policy of the President without denouncing Congress and Vice Verse. My mind is however fully made up as to the rights of the questions that are before the country, and should blood again flow, I hope to be able to do my duty to my country. Could I see you I should nave no hesitancy in giving you my views, but I do not like to write them. I am going over to New Orleans next week to meet and bring my wife and little girl across the Gulf.

There is some prospect of my going North next spring to stay a year,



TERMINAL, ERIE AND KALAMAZOO RAILROAD AT ADRIAN.

as Supt. Regtl. Rectg. Service. If I do I hope to see some of my old and valued companions in arms. You recollect Hinks of the 19th Mass.? He is Lt. Col., 40th, and I *rank* him. By an act of the last Congress where officers had the same *date* of appt., their rank was to be determined by the length of time they had served *as Commissioned* officers either in the Regular Army or since the 19th day of April, 1861, in the Volunteers. The object of the bill was to make the eleven Cols., and eleven Lt. Cols. appointed *from* the Regular army, rank the appts. from the Volunteer, eleven of each grade being from the Volunteers. It done it, as almost *every* one of the appts. from the Regular Army had served for a long time.

It was the *junior* officer of Vols. appt. Lt. Col., but I shall rank every other Vol. Appt., as my service was *continuous* in the U. S. Service from August 22nd, '61, to the date of my appt. July 28th, '66, which was a longer period than any one of the other appts. served, and consequently I rank the party.

Remember me kindly to any and all the *7th*. Believe me,

Very truly, your friend,

W. K. SHAFTER.

MARKING TERMINUS OF ERIE AND KALAMAZOO RAILROAD

ADDRESS OF MRS. FRANK P. DODGE

The Adrian Women's club, through its historical committee, to-day was commemorating one of the most important early events in the transportation history of early Lenawee and the west, the arrival of the first train over the Erie & Kalamazoo road at Adrian, which took place November 2, 1836, just seventy-five years ago to-day.

The ceremonies took place in the court house.

It is at the court house grounds that the Adrian Woman's club unveiled a great boulder to mark the spot where the road ended. At an unveiling and presentation ceremony held this afternoon, the historical committee, led by Mrs. Mary Colvin, presented to the county, represented by a committee from the board of supervisors, the boulder with appropriate inscription.

The boulder was placed at the northwest corner of the square, within a few rods of the old terminal and passenger depot.

The flat stone forming its base was secured from the farm of C. E. Whaley in Adrian township and was donated to the historical committee by him. The larger stone was also secured in Adrian township and came from the farm of Charles Dental, who also donated the stone. The stone work and setting is the work of the Michigan Granite Co., of

Adrian, and the bronze plate was furnished by the Detroit Mausoleum works. The inscription reads as follows:

This Boulder
Marks the Terminal of the
Erie & Kalamazoo R. R.,
The First Railroad in the West.
The First Train
Reached Adrian from Toledo
Nov. 2, 1836.
Erected by the Adrian Woman's Club
1911

Before the advent of the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad, which was chartered to run from Toledo to the navigable waters of the Kalamazoo river, (hence its name,) Salt in Adrian was worth fifteen dollars per barrel and other heavy supplies in proportion, but after November 2d, 1836, the merchant's advertisements in the old "Watchtower" show a great reduction. One advertisement reads "Pure Syracuse salt reduced to the very low price of $9 per barrel." That's what the road did for the settlers in this region at that time. Settlers came to Adrian for supplies at one time from White Pigeon and Goshen and many times one hundred ox teams have camped out over night around the present court-house square, waiting to load up with goods and supplies.

The Woman's club met at 2 o'clock at Everiss' hall, marching from there to the court house, where the ceremony of unveiling and presentation was carried out.

Rev. E. A. Krapp opened the service with a prayer.

Mrs. Frank P. Dodge then read a paper.

The honor of constructing the first full fledged railroad in the United States may fairly be given to Maryland. The Baltimore & Ohio was really the pioneer railroad. It was chartered in 1827, begun in 1828 and the first section of fifteen miles opened in 1830. Horsepower and even sails were first used but in 1831 steam was chosen for motive power. The first locomotives, imported from England were found to be too heavy for the strap rails and America began immediately to manufacture her own locomotives, the West Point Foundry Works taking the lead. The earliest New York railroads were built near Albany. In 1831 the road from Albany to Schenectady was opened, the New York Central to Utica in 1836 and finally to Buffalo in 1842. Other short lines followed. Meanwhile echoes of these momentous events reached a little village in the southeastern corner of the territory of Michigan, almost an outpost of civilization—Adrian—a little hamlet whose population was but a handful. But the sturdy pioneers of this little settle-

ment in the wilderness were men of birth, breeding and initiative. All were of New England ancestry and nearly all were natives of New York state. They were quick to see the advantage to their village of better transportation to Toledo, or Port Lawrence, as it was then called, situated upon Lake Erie, which was their point of contact with the outside world and most of the immigration entered the state by way of that port. But Port Lawrence was thirty-three miles from Adrian and the only road a mere track cut through forest and swamp during portions of the year so deep with mud and water as to be impassable even with oxen. If they could but reach Port Lawrence they would have ready access to the rest of the world. And so in the minds of a few of Adrian's adventurous spirits was conceived the idea of a railroad to Port Lawrence.

This enterprise, second to none in its importance and effect upon the early growth of Adrian and vicinity was undertaken and accomplished by private enterprises by a few men of moderate means. It is doubtful if the true importance and magnitude of this undertaking have ever been fully appreciated. On April 22, 1833, Addison J. Comstock, Darius Comstock, George Crane, Joseph Gibbon, Dr. Caleb N. Ormsby, E. C. Winter and some others from Port Lawrence obtained from the legislative council of the territory of Michigan, approval of the incorporation of the "Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad Co." with a nominal capital of $1,000,000. This road was to extend from Port Lawrence to the headwaters of the Kalamazoo river. It was thought that the Kalamazoo river was a navigable stream and that communication could thus be had with Lake Michigan. It will be seen that the name of the road came from the proposed joining of Lake Erie and the Kalamazoo river. When projected it was supposed that the road would be entirely in Michigan but the settling of the boundary line after the Toledo war left eleven miles of it within the Ohio line. The builders were pledged to begin work inside of three years and finish the road to Adrian inside of six years. One-half of the road was to be built within fifteen and the remainder within thirty years. The book of subscription for stock was opened at Adrian in March, 1834. The amount required to organize, $500,000 was soon sold, the company fully organized by May and work begun. The builders were better than their pledge, for the road reached Adrian in three years, being completed by April, 1836, when a celebration took place.

The road never went beyond Adrian. The first train reached Adrian, November 2nd, 1836, and we are to-day celebrating the 75th anniversary of that event. On that second day of November, seventy-five years ago, a cannon at Port Lawrence announced the departure of the first car on the first railroad west of Schenectady, N. Y.

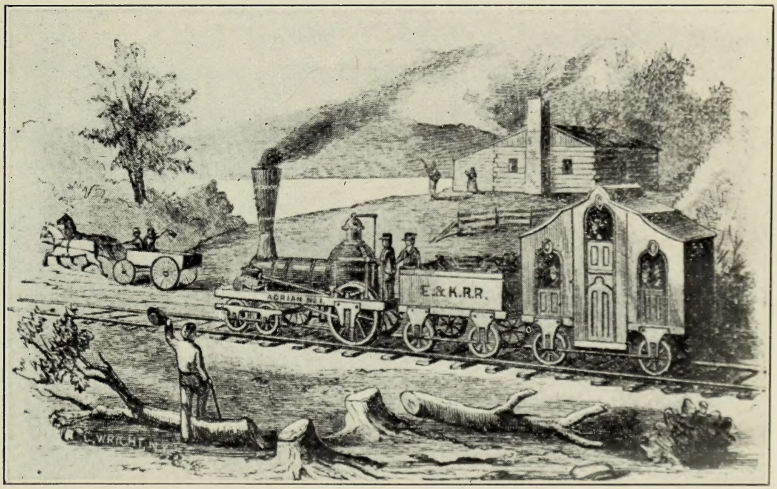
The arrival of the car at Adrian was the occasion of general rejoicing and celebration. There are still living in Adrian, several persons who were residents of that early Adrian. Mrs. Louisa Morey (then Mrs. J. L. Cooper, whose husband was a "draper and tailor") remembers, in spite of her 101 years some of the events of the day. Cannon boomed, the militia paraded, the band played, the people went wild with excitement and the festivities lasted far into the night. Adrian was an important place that day. Tecumseh with her larger population had no railroad and neither had Detroit with her 9,000 inhabitants and Adrian was justly proud.

The present Toledo & Western electric road follows the roadbed of the old Erie & Kalamazoo railroad for several miles east of the city. The early road entered Adrian at a point about where the Wabash station now stands and came down what is now Maple avenue, but which for many years was Railroad street, until changed by someone who either did not know or did not value its historic name.

The road terminated at the bank of the Raisin river, the station, freight and warehouses being on what is now the court house grounds. Soon this square became a busy place and buildings, long since gone, faced it from every side. The National hotel stood on the north side of Railroad street opposite the station. The American hotel occupied the lot where the county jail now stands. Warehouses stretched along the west side of main street from Railroad to front. One who remembers those early buildings and the burning of the Field warehouse a number of years later, describes the latter as a large rambling two-story building, with panel windows.

In Knapp and Bonner's record of Lenawee county is found the following statement: This first train on the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad was brought in by John Barragar. He drove his horses tandem between the wooden rails. It was a slow, tedious and unpleasant trip of thirty-three miles. The Cottonwood swamp was under water most of the year, the mud between the rails almost impassable. "If the fates were propitious" the journey could be made from sun to sun but it often required the most of two days to make the trip one way.

When built, the road was constructed with wooden rails of 3x4 oak spiked upon heavy stringers. In many places the stringers were made from tall trees cut down and flattened on two sides, some of them were seventy-five feet in length. In the spring of 1837 a strap rail about five-eighths inch thick and two and one-half inches wide was spiked to the wooden rail. The spikes were short and easily loosened allowing the sharp mitred ends of the rails to curve up above the wheels and frequently to penetrate the floor of the coach. This difficulty was finally obviated by planking the under sides of the coach. The first locomo-



ERIE AND KALAMAZOO PASSENGER COACH—ADRIAN.

tive arrived in August, 1837. These early engines were given the dignity of an individual name; the first was called the Adrian, the next the Toledo, the third the Tecumseh and the fourth the Lenawee. These were the only engines until after the lease to the Michigan Southern. One who remembers them recalls with amusement, the tiny locomotive that daily passed her kitchen door. It was indeed tiny, of very uncertain horse power and the frame work of wood. It had but one set of drive wheels, the boiler was but seven feet long, the fire box stood upright and the smoke stack was the most prominent feature of the engine.

An interesting time table of the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad appeared in the Toledo Blade of January 20, 1837. It announced the arrival of the first locomotive and stated that the company will soon be ready to transport the merchandise accumulated in its Toledo warehouses. An advertisement addressed to "Emigrants and Travelers" states the "Erie & Kalamazoo railroad is now in full operation between Toledo and Adrian, there connecting with a line of stages for the west Michigan City, Chicago and Wisconsin territory. Emigrants and others destined for Indiana, Illinois and western part of Michigan will save two days and corresponding expense by taking this route in preference to the more lengthened, tedious and expensive route heretofore traveled. All baggage at the risk of the owners."

(Signed)
EDWARD BISSELL.
W. P. DANIELS.
GEORGE CRANE.
Commissioners Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad Co.
A. HUGHES,
Supt. Western Stage Co.

No time for departure of trains is given. The passenger rate established in 1836 was, Toledo to Adrian, twelve shillings, fifty pounds baggage free. The freight rate, Toledo to Adrian was four shillings per hundred pounds. Salt one dollar per barrel.

The first passenger coach was called the "Pleasure car" and is described as a topheavy affair always jumping the track. Passenger trains consisted of an engine and one coach, carrying about twenty persons. The seats were benches along the sides of the coach and the entrance door was in the side. There were no steps, the coaches being so low as to be accessible from the ground. Later double decker coaches were introduced, the upper deck used for women, was furnished with sheepskin covered seats while the lower deck for the use of the men had only wooden seats. Three cars would carry thirty-two passengers, sixteen on each deck. The first engines were about twenty-horse power and

six cars a good sized freight train, the freight cars were small, holding only about two tons. The first train crews consisted of a fireman and engineer. The fuel was wood taken from the forests enroute. Water for the engine was procured from the ditches. Later there were two firemen, one who shoved the wood into the engine and one who rode in the tender and passed the wood to the real fireman. It was some years before the engines were provided with cabs. Rapid transit was not a feature of early travel, indeed it seems not to have been desired, for a train crew was once called into the superintendent's office and reprimanded for reckless running when they had made the distance of thirty-three miles in three hours.

It is only meet that some special mention be made of the men who accomplished all this for Adrian.

Darius Comstock had come to Michigan from Lockport, N. Y., in 1825 and settled in Raisin Valley, building his home, which he called "Pleasant Valley" on the ground long used by the Raisin Valley Seminary. He had among other enterprises in New York taken and fulfilled a contract for excavating rock and building a portion of the Erie canal.

Addison J. Comstock, the founder of Adrian, came to Michigan from Lockport with his father in 1826, took up land where Adrian now stands. His first house stood upon the grounds now occupied by the Toledo & Western station and yards and what is now called Wolverton Park was part of his land. In New York he had worked with his father on the Erie canal and perhaps this work opened their eyes to the possibilities of transportation.

George Crane came to Palmyra, Michigan in 1833 from Palmyra, N. Y., where he had long been a competent and reliable surveyor and engineer. In 1835 he built a fine brick mansion—the first brick house in the township of Palmyra, the brick being manufactured on his own farm. The story is told that in surveying and building the railroad, he laid out the line west of Palmyra in such a way that it might be for several miles in full view from the porch of his house which stood up on an eminence facing the east. This house, still an attractive place, is in the possession of Mr. Crane's descendants. The wives of two of his descendants are members of the Adrian Woman's club, Mrs. Mary L. Colvin, whose husband, Hervey Colvin, was a grandson and Mrs. George N. Jones, whose husband is a great grandson of Mr. Crane. Mr. Crane retained his interest in the road throughout its active existence. He was a stockholder and director and also one of the three commissioners who had charge of locating, constructing and equipping the road and he personally surveyed and laid out the line from Ottawa Lake to Adrian. As an official of the road he signed the lease when it passed into the control of the Michigan Southern Railroad company.

Dr. Caleb N. Ormsby was the first physician in Adrian and a prominent citizen for years, building the first frame house in the little village.

Joseph Gibbon was a friend, as were several of the others in the venture. He was an early resident of Adrian, a surveyor by profession although little data is to be found regarding him.

E. C. Winter opened the first drygoods store in Adrian in 1829 on the corner of Maumee and Winter streets. He was for many years a successful trader with Indians and whites.

As a separate corporate body the E. & K. R. R. Co. exists to-day, but its operation as an independent railroad covered only a period of twelve stormy and troublesome years. At first it was immensely successful financially and paid thirty per cent dividend the first year, but the dividends gradually decreased until in 1840 the road was hopelessly bankrupt. It had experienced several kinds of management, a board of directors, commissioners, receivers, trustees, a receiver at Toledo and a commissioner at Adrian. It is difficult to understand this financial trouble the road was in a good locality, needed and desired, but the country had been going through a time of financial stress and this probably affected the situation. Finally the eastern firms furnishing the locomotives and iron settled for twenty cents on the dollar and in 1848 the road was sold to Washington Hunt of Lockport, N. Y., and John Bliss of Massachusetts. It was then stocked at $300,000 and on August 1st following was leased in perpetuity to the M. S. R. R. Co. Its meetings are held every year and its stockholders draw an annual rental of $30,000. In the meantime the State of Michigan had taken a hand in the railroad game and in 1838 had laid out the Michigan Southern R. R. which was to extend from Monroe on Lake Erie westward across the lower tier of counties to Lake Michigan. This road was completed to Adrian in 1840, thus giving Adrian two railroads while Toledo had but one. It reached Hillsdale in 1843 and at that point the state sold to the Michigan Southern corporation. The road finally reached Chicago in 1852 and with the absorption of various short lines became the main line of the L. S. & M. S. Ry. When made a part of the M. S. R. R., the Erie & Kalamazoo track down Railroad street in Adrian was abandoned. Wilma Jones, the great great granddaughter of George Crane who surveyed the road, unveiled the boulder that marks the terminal of the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad.

After the song, Michigan, My Michigan, Mrs. Mary L. Colvin made the presentation address.

The Adrian Woman's club became interested in the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad through the study of the early history of Michigan. The fact that this road running from Port Lawrence, now Toledo, to Adrian

was the first in the west, constructed and in operation before Michigan became a state seemed of enough importance to call for a permanent memorial. The change of name of the street following the old road bed, which had been known as Railroad street, seemed to make a memorial almost necessary if the early history of Adrian was to be preserved.

Frank Schiebel, of the supervisors' committee, made the following response:

"Mrs. President and Ladies of the Women's Club of the City of Adrian, and Ladies and Gentlemen:

"On behalf of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Lenawee, it affords me very great pleasure to accept this splendid memorial which has been so kindly dedicated by the Women's Club of the City of Adrian, to mark the spot where the old Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad terminated.

"The time has been well chosen, for it was just seventy-five years ago today, November 2d, 1836, that the first railroad train made its advent into this city and ended its eventful journey, upon the spot where this memorial now stands."

The exercises closed with the singing of America.

THE EARLY RAILROADS OF SOUTHERN MICHIGAN[1]

BY CLARENCE FROST

The greatest problem that confronted the old pioneers in their efforts to establish a home in the wilderness was the lack of public highways and the means of transportation. Southern Michigan was considered one of the most difficult regions to settle mostly on account of the great cottonwood swamp, which emigrants encountered shortly after entering the State. This swamp was about twenty miles across and in the spring time it was almost a complete barrier to emigration.

At the close of the war of 1812 the government sent surveyors into this territory with the idea of giving two million acres to the soldiers of that war. They returned with the report[2] that the country was bad and that the upland was composed mostly of sand-hills while the lowland was practically all swamps; numerous lakes abounded and these were surrounded by extensive marshes many of which were covered with a sort of pine called tamarack, and that not one acre in a hundred, if

[1]Read at annual meeting, June 7, 1910.
[2]See Report of Edward Tiffin in Vol. XVIII, p. 660-661, this series.

one in a thousand would, in any case, admit of cultivation. The act saved the country from the speculators and gave it to the actual settlers. The first roads through the forests were the trails made by the moccasins of that once powerful tribe of Potawatomies. Then the government came to the settlers relief and in 1825 ordered the Chicago turnpike to be built. This road was to commence at Detroit take a westerly course passing through Ypsilanti, Saline, Clinton, Jonesville and so on to Chicago, making a distance of two hundred eighty-three miles. The road was completed in 1830, but for a number of years it was almost impassable during the rainy season. Brother David Woodard of Clinton relates that he has drawn many an emigrant wagon out of the mire with his ox team when the mud was not only hub deep but wheel deep, and the wagon box would plow in the mud. In the early thirties, two territorial roads were established. One began at La Plaisance Bay at Monroe and extended westerly through Dundee and Tecumseh and intersected the Chicago turnpike at Cambridge Junction. The other started at Swan Creek, now Toledo and passed through Adrian and then touched the northern shore of Devil's Lake on its western course. Many plank roads were promoted but only one materialized. That being the Adrian and Bean Creek,[3] which was commenced in 1849 and finished the following year. It commenced at Adrian and extended northwesterly for about twenty-five miles to Gambleville, now called Somerset, where it intersected the Chicago turnpike. It was maintained by tollgates and did good service for about ten or twelve years.

Most of the emigration entered the State by way of Toledo, which city has been known by four different names. Its maiden name was Swan Creek, afterwards it was called Port Lawrence, then Vistula[4] and finally Toledo. On the twenty-second of April, 1833, the legislative council of the Territory of Michigan approved the incorporation of the Erie & Kalamazoo Railroad Company[5] with a nominal capital stock of $1,000,000. The road was to commence at Port Lawrence, passing through Adrian and terminating near the headwaters of the Kalamazoo River. They were to begin it inside of three years, finish it to Adrian in six years, one-half of it to be built in fifteen years and the remainder to be completed within thirty years. The part of the road west of Adrian was afterward abandoned. The road was first constructed with

[3]Bean Creek on early maps was called Tiffin River. It rises in Devil's Lake. The Adrian and Bean Creek Plant Road Co. was organized May 4th, 1848, with a capital stock of $75,000. The first plank was laid in the spring of 1840. See *Bean Creek Valley*, by James J. Hogaboam, *History and Biographical Record of Lenawee Co., Mich.*, by Knapp and Bonner, Adrian, 1903, p. 25.

[4]Vistula. See Vol. XVII, p. 511, second edition, this series.

[5]Erie and Kalamazoo R. R.—There is an account of this railroad in the *Annual Report of the Railroad Commissioners* for 1877.

wooden rails which were set in notches made in the cross ties and was completed in this form in the fall of 1836. On the morning of November 2nd, 1836, the boom of a cannon might have been heard at Port Lawrence announcing the departure of the first car on the first railroad constructed in the western states. Horses were the motive power and they were driven tandem with relays every four miles. Another cannon at Adrian announced the arrival there. History does not record the time it took to make the thirty-three miles but undoubtedly it was a record run for those days.

The first passenger coach was called the "Pleasure Car." It was a very diminutive affair, two stories high. The next coaches were a little larger and passengers entered them from the side, there being no end doors. A running board similar to the summer street cars was used to get from one coach to the other. In the spring of 1837, a strap rail about five-eighths of an inch thick and two and one-half inches wide was spiked to the already wooden rail and an engine was installed, but the spikes were only about two inches long and very tapering and gave very poor service. The trouble was caused by the spikes becoming loosened so that the end of the rail would curve up so as to rise above the wheel and then they would penetrate the floor of the coach and endanger the lives of the passengers. These loosened rails were called "snake heads" and were a serious problem to early railroading. The difficulty was finally overcome by decking the lower side of the coach with heavy planking. (By the way, I have secured a piece of the original strap rail together with the spikes that held it in place, also some of the original bank-bills which I am pleased to exhibit as a reminder of early railroading.)

The engines were also of a very diminutive nature and of a very uncertain horse power. They had but one set of drive wheels and the boiler was only about seven feet long; the fire box was upright and the smoke-stack was the most prominent feature about it. Their motive power must have been very limited as I have heard several passengers relate about their being requested to get out and push in order to get up the grades.

In 1838 the Erie & Kalamazoo built the Palmyra and Jacksonburgh branch as far as Tecumseh with a turntable there. The road was also extended to Clinton but on that part only horse cars were used until the road was installed with heavy T rails. The road remained in that condition for nearly twenty years when it was extended to Jackson. The Erie & Kalamazoo had a very checkered career for about twelve years, when in 1848 it was sold to Washington Hunt of Lockport, N. Y., and George Bliss of Massachusetts and on the 1st of August the following year they leased it in perpetuity to its rival the Michigan South-

ern Railroad Company, but the Erie & Kalamazoo still exists and draws its yearly rental of $30,000 a year. In 1838 the State laid out the Michigan Southern to be completed as State work and was to commence on Lake Erie at Monroe and extend across the lower tier of counties to Lake Michigan. It was completed to Adrian in 1840 and in the fall of 1842 it was finished as far as Clayton with strap rails. The wood work was completed to Hudson but no more strap rails could be procured until the following spring. This was too much for Hudson, so they procured strips of hard maple which they spiked on the stringers and Hudson saw the cars running during the winter. In 1843 the road was finished to Hillsdale where it remained until 1846 when it was sold to the Michigan Southern Railroad Company then incorporated. They made very little progress during the next four years, only going as far as Jonesville, about five miles, but the next two years it was pushed very rapidly. After leaving White Pigeon it diverted from its original course, took a more southerly route, consolidated with the Northern Indiana and was finished to Chicago in 1852. During the early fifties the strap rails were nearly all abandoned and T rails were used in place of them. I have a map of the western states published in 1850, the States then consisted of Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. The most prominent thing on the map are the stage routes. The canals are given quite a showing but the railroads had not materialized much at that time. Chicago had only one short line extended to Elgin, Illinois; Detroit had one line to Pontiac and another extending across the State to New Buffalo on Lake Michigan. Adrian had the Erie & Kalamazoo and the Michigan Southern extended as far west as Hillsdale. Sandusky was the great railroad center as three roads entered it from the south and west, but Cleveland had no sign of a railroad and there were but few roads in the eastern states at that time.

Nearly four-score years have elapsed since these scenes were enacted and the strides of science have been wonderful, but when we come to look into the future we have very little conception of the improvements that will be made. All we can do is to hail the hereafter and let the future generations enjoy the fruits of the labor of those who have gone on before them.

GENEALOGICAL SKETCH AND HISTORY OF THE BISSONETTE FAMILY

BY G. BISSONETTE

Pierre Bissonette, holding the rank of major in the French Army, was sent by the government of France to Canada in command of French troops in the early regime of Canada. Tradition tells us that Major Bissonette did not return to France, but was married and settled at a place called La Pointe au Cèdre (Cedar Point) on the St. Lawrence River and raised a family of fifteen children. One of the descendants of this family, Etienne, with his brother Francis,[1] moved to the Island of Montreal and settled at a place on the island called in French *La pointe au Tremblé* (Trembling Point). They went into the mercantile business bringing their goods from France, trading with and buying furs from the Indians, and had a number of men in their employ called *voyageurs* or *courier de bois,* who would go in their canoes up the different rivers with goods and barter them with the Indians for furs and pelts which they brought down to Montreal and sent to France. After being in Montreal a number of years and hearing of the great fur countries of the lake regions, they determined to remove to that country. Packing up their goods in bateaux they went up the Ottawa River, across the portage to Lake Nipissing, down French River and across Georgian Bay to Lake Huron, down River St. Clair to Detroit and established their headquarters' trading post in Detroit. After a number of years, they established another base of supplies at what was then called Upper Sandusky, now Fremont, Ohio. Francis Bissonette was sent there and took charge. He had raised a family of children and in after years one of his sons, Joseph, was guide and interpreter to Gen. John C. Fremont among the Indians in his celebrated Rocky Mountain exploration expeditions. Two of his daughters were Sisters of Charity in Cleveland, Ohio, and a great many of his descendants still live in that section. So much of Gen. Fremont's success depended on Joseph's knowledge of the Indians and the country traversed, that in the written history his name is given and his services publicly acknowledged.

[1]Etienne and Francis were sons of Francois Bissonette and Marguerite Guay. Francis was born March 6th, 1723, and married Angelique Vitry, 1754. Etienne was born December 31st, 1729, and married Catherine Vitry, January 8th, 1753. Francois was son of Jean Bissonette and Charlotte Davenne. He was born Feb. 5th, 1700, married Marguerite Guay, Feb. 14th, 1722 at Quebec. He died at Soulanges, June 30, 1756. Jean was the son of Pierre Bissonette and Marie D'Allon. He was born July 24th, 1669 and married Charlotte Davenne in 1692. Pierre was a carpenter by trade and was born in 1626. *Tanguay's Dictionnaire Genealogique.*

Etienne Bissonette from Detroit headquarters made a number of trading voyages down Detroit river across the head of Lake Erie up the Maumee River, taking his goods across the portage to the Wabash River, down that river to Vincennes, Indiana and returning to Detroit with his bateaux loaded with furs. In those days going from Detroit to Vincennes was like going around the world to-day. From one of these voyages he never returned. It was supposed that he and his crew of men were murdered by the Indians. Nothing was ever heard from them until a great many years after. Etienne left his family at Detroit who mourned for him and getting no tidings, his eldest son, Joseph, determined to seek another location. Getting on one of his French ponies, he went down the Indian trail along down Detroit river, and finally came to the River Raisin. He was so well pleased with the looks of the country that he determined to go up the river. On the Indian trail on the north side of the river, he saw that the borders of the stream were lined with big trees with large grapevines running clear to the top, all loaded down with grapes. He saw the soil was rich, and covered with a dense growth of heavy oak, ash and hickory. On the way up he met a band of Indians who asked him where he was going; he told them that he was looking for land to settle on. The Indians then bartered with him for a trade for his French pony. He finally made a deal with them for 300 7-10 acres of land located on the south side of the river four and one-half miles above Monroe running from the river three miles south, three acres wide. They then asked him if he had any more ponies, he told them that he had a number of them, and also had a number of cows and oxen. The Indians bartered with him for another trade for a yoke of oxen. They offered him another tract of land one-half mile above, containing 400 9-10 acres of land. He received the Indians title for the same, and years afterwards the Indian title was confirmed by the United States government by two land patents issued and signed by James Madison, President, and James Monroe, Secretary of State. Those patents are still in existence in a good state of preservation and are on file in the museum at Monroe. The bargain was that Joseph should retain the pony until he returned to Detroit and moved from there to Monroe, which accordingly soon after was done. He delivered the pony and yoke of oxen to the Indians, and ever after that time he had the confidence, good will and friendship of the Indians, and his word and promise was as good with them as his bond. When he told them anything, they knew that what he said could be relied upon. While removing from Detroit to Monroe, Joseph brought his mother, Catherine, his two younger brothers, Stephen and Gabriel, his two sisters, Louisa and Mary with him. A short time after arriving at Mon-

roe, he wooed and won the affections of Eunice,[2] daughter of Francis Roberts, who owned a farm one mile above Monroe. The union was a happy one. They lived in peace and harmony to a ripe old age, and were known and respected by every one far and near. The latchstring to the door of their house was always on the outside. There were no locks in those days, and every one was welcome to enter. The main part of the house was built of hewn timbers, with whitewood siding, and was large and commodious, with a large fireplace at one end. The lower part was all in one room, twenty by thirty feet high. The heavy oak batten door was on the north side of the house between two windows. On the south also between two windows hung a large mirror by the side of which was a crucifix and a chaplet. In the southeast corner stood their bed with a valance all-around the outer side and end, with a curtain above the same, enclosing the bed entirely. At the left and head of the bed, stood a large black walnut commode with panneled doors. The trimmings and nails were forged out of brass, and all the family underwear and woolen sheets were chucked in it. In the northeast corner stood a large cupboard made out of the same material and a large square black walnut table stood in the center of the room. A bureau made of cherry stood under the mirror. Black walnut lumber was plentiful in those days, and was of no more value than any other timber. The chairs were all homemade with splint bottoms. These with a couple of rocking-chairs constituted the furniture of that room. The room upstairs was the same size, with the exception of not being quite so high, and was used for a dormitory, with a partition through the center, one side for women, and the other for men.

Beside the main building there were three additions nearly as large as the main room. On occasions the home of Joseph and Eunice Bissonette was the scene of many lively and pleasant times during the lifetime of the couple, especially at Christmas and New Years when it was the custom among the French people to visit the old homestead. The relatives from Detroit, Sandwich, Vienna, Sandusky and other places would come to the old home in cutters and on skates across the head of Lake Erie, arriving the day before Christmas. The river in front of the house and a half mile each way from the paper mill west to the big bend would be filled with relatives on skates, and others racing with their horses and cutters. Big fires would be built near the paper mill dam, one in front of the house, and one at the big bend on the ice. The sport was kept up for a week or ten days. For weeks before Christmas preparations were made for the occasion. Bushels of doughnuts and quantities of cake and pies of all kinds, bread and

[2] *Tanguay and Ste. Anne's Records of Detroit* say that Joseph married Agnes Roberts, daughter of Antoine Roberts and Therese Drouillard, November 18th, 1793.

biscuits were prepared in advance. On New Year's morning, bright and early, the male relatives would be out in the front yard (while the old people were yet asleep) and come up to the door and fire a volley to awaken the sleepers, then file into the house, the women coming in from upstairs and from other parts of the house, when all would kneel and the leader, who would be chosen, generally the oldest son, would say: "Father and Mother, we, your children, come in this New Year's morning to wish you a Happy New Year, and to ask your blessing for the ensuing year," which, of course was heartily given. They also prayed for God's blessing upon them all.

The children of Joseph and Eunice were eleven in number. The names were as follows: Joseph, Alexander, Mary, Pelisha,[3] Catherine, Anthony, Julia, Gabriel, David (who died young), David (second) and John. Eunice Roberts Bissonette was the sister of Polly Roberts Knaggs,[4] wife of James Knaggs, the celebrated American spy and scout in the war of 1812. Stephen and Gabriel, the two brothers of Joseph who came with him from Detroit were soldiers in that war, and were scalped by Gen. Proctor's Indian allies, at the battle of Frenchtown during the massacre of the Kentucky troops under Gen. Winchester on the River Raisin.

When Eunice Roberts Bissonette died, the funeral procession was two miles long. She was loved, respected and mourned by everyone for her noble deeds of charity and good qualities of heart towards distressed humanity.

Gabriel, son of Joseph and Eunice Bissonette, a member of this society, was born Sept. 12, 1810, and during the war of 1812, Joseph sent him and three of the younger children and his wife to Detroit, for protection from the roving band of Indians who were murdering and plundering the citizens in all directions. While in Detroit the news of the ending of the war was received, and immediately preparations were made to celebrate the event. Platforms were erected all along Jefferson avenue for the people to stand upon to view the procession as it passed. They were made out of crotches driven into the ground, with poles put across from one crotch to the other, and planks on top of the poles. Gabriel, his mother and the other children stood upon one of these platforms viewing the procession of thousands of infantry, cavalry, artillery-men and citizens, carrying all sorts of banners with mottoes inscribed thereon, expressing their delight at the ending of the war, and in ridicule of England. While in Detroit Gabriel had a good view of the Queen Charlotte, the British Man-of-War captured by Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, which was then lying at anchor in De-

[3]Pelisha or Pelagie. See *Ste. Anne's Record of Detroit.*

[4]Polly Roberts Knaggs (Pelagie) was the second wife of James Knaggs. See *Knaggs Genealogy*, by Ross.

troit River. Shortly after the celebration, Joseph, who had remained upon his farm during the absence of his family, the danger being over, went to Detroit and brought his family home. Gabriel was a great favorite among the Indians of the Potawatomie tribe, and after returning from Detroit, Chief Pawnett[5] adopted him as a member of that tribe and deeded to his father Joseph one square mile of land near the Macon in trust for Gabriel until he was of age.

Father Richard of Detroit was well acquainted with Joseph and used to visit him quite frequently when in Monroe. On one of these visits to Joseph's house, he was informed in regard to the land. Father Richard said to him, "Why you have got more land now of your own than you know what to do with. You had better deed this land to the church," which was done. Joseph supposed the land would go for the benefit of St. Mary's Church of Monroe. When the deed was made out it went to St. Anne's Church of Detroit. The church had the land for a great many years, Bishop Borgess had employed the Hon. Isaac P. Christiancy in legal matters. When settling with Judge Christiancy for his claim the Bishop deeded this land to the judge.

Gabriel when a young man before marriage, and after the Potawatomies had been removed by the federal government from Monroe to South Bend, Indiana, decided to go and visit his tribe. Accordingly he mounted his pony and rode to South Bend. The tribe got wind that he was coming, and made great preparations to receive him. Runners were sent out to intercept his approach to the camp and upon being located the tribe was notified by wireless telegraphy. That is to say members of the tribe had been stationed at certain distances apart from the camp, and when he was discovered approaching on his French pony, the other members gave an Indian yell, which was repeated by the inner members and in less than two minutes the tribe was apprised of his approach two miles distant, and the whole camp turned out and met him and escorted him into camp in regular Indian style. They sumptuously regaled him for a month on venison, wild turkey and roast coon with plenty of other entertainments, dancing and hunting excursions, etc. James Knaggs accompanied him on his visit to the tribe to get some money which was due him from the Indians.

After returning home to Monroe, Gabriel went on one of the steamboats running to Detroit, to visit relatives and friends there and at Sandwich. When returning home he missed the boat, and determined to walk home, forty miles. Arriving at Trenton he saw a young woman at a well drawing a pail of water. Being thirsty, he ventured to ask her for a drink. She stepped into the house and brought out a dipper

[5]Wing's *Hist. of Monroe*, p. 121, gives the name "Ponette." Mr. Wing states that it was Shawenaw-Bah who adopted Gabriel.

and handed it to him; and they talked a few minutes together. Thanking her, lifting his hat and bowing very politely he bade her goodbye and started on his way home.

Some time after arriving home, Gabriel took a contract to build a barn for Mr. Sacket who lived on a farm one mile up the river, and while working upon the barn a young woman arrived at Mr. Sacket's. Gabriel recognizing her as the young woman he had met at the well at Trenton and being smitten with her charming ways and personal mien, now determined to lay siege to the fortress of her heart, and, get possession of her affections. The battle was of short duration as she capitulated and made an unconditional surrender. The visitor led his prisoner to Trenton and over to Grosse Isle, and was bound in matrimonial wedlock at her sister's house, Amy Jenkins Davis Greene, mother of George H. Greene,[6] formerly and for a great many years prior to his death, secretary of this Society. Mary Sibley Davis Bissonette was the daughter of David and Betsey Davis of Trenton, who were among the first settlers of Marietta, Ohio, coming there from New York with Col. Sibley,[7] a member of what was called the Ohio Company,[8] and afterwards removing to Detroit with the colonel, and later to Trenton, Michigan. Gabriel after spending a short honeymoon returned to the old homestead, and took charge of the farm, relieving his father of all further responsibility.

In the year 1835, a dispute arose between Ohio and Michigan in regard to a strip of territory commencing at Lake Erie, including what is now Lucas County, and running west to a point on Lake Michigan. Ohio claimed the strip and Michigan claimed it. Ohio was preparing to enforce her claim by the use of arms, when acting Governor Stevens T. Mason to meet this step of the authorities of Ohio, ordered out the Michigan forces. Gabriel Bissonette held a commission as Captain of Company F., Second Regiment of State Militia. They were the first upon the ground of the disputed territory at Toledo. The field and staff officers were absent and he, being the ranking officer upon the ground, assumed command of the regiment. The Ohio forces had rendezvoused at Ashtabula, Trumbull County, Ohio, but luckily the whole matter was settled by Congress giving Ohio the disputed strip of territory, and in lieu thereof giving Michigan the Upper Peninsula, then considered to

[6] See sketch in Vol. XXIX, p. 477-480, this series.

[7] Col. Solomon Sibley was born in Sutton, Mass., Oct. 7, 1769, studied law and in 1795 went to Marietta, Ohio. In 1796 he went to Cincinnati, was in partnership with Judge Burnette and finally Jan. 15, 1799, went to Detroit. He married Sally Sproat, October 31st, 1802, in Washington Co., Ohio. See *Old Northwest*, Vol. 3, p. 176, also sketch Vols. XXXV, p. 448 and XXXVI, p. 137, this series, *Hist. of Sutton, Mass.*, p. 721.

[8] See note in this volume on Mr. Paxson's paper "The Gateway of the Old Northwest." Also Vol. XXXVII, p. 437, this series.

be of little worth, but now worth untold millions. Captain Gabriel Bissonette received his commission as captain from Gov. William Woodbridge.

Whenever there is a gathering of pioneers, and old settlers in Monroe, they are sure to have Captain Bissonette present at the meeting, to delineate to the audience the valor and martial deeds and sanguinary conflicts that took place between the Michigan troops and the "Ohio turkeys." How the latter came boldly marching up to the Michigan camps and haughtily and defiantly threw down the gauntlet and dared the troops to mortal combat, and how the Michiganders accepted the challenge and with a terrific yell rallied to the right and left and surrounded and captured the enemy, and marched them into camp and how blood flowed like water, and how all were decapitated. How the necks of champagne bottles were broken and what a hilarious time the Michiganders had feasting on Buckeye turkeys. The captain was an expert with the rifle in those days. None could excel him in the chase after game, as he was quick and keen of sight. If a deer rose from its bed, it would not have time to make a leap before he would bring it down, or if on a run he was a sure shot.

When a boy in his teens he was an expert with the bow and arrow, and used to take great delight in killing muskrats. Usually he would go to Plumb Creek near by on a moonlight night, get in the shade of a big tree near the waters edge, and watch. Pretty soon a rat would come swimming along and when right near he would let the arrow fly, which would stun the rat, and with a long pole with a hook attached he would reach out and haul it in without making any noise. Pretty soon another rat would come along when the same thing would be repeated, until he had got all the rats that he wanted to carry home. He would skin them and stretch the skins on the side of the barn, and his mother would cook or bake the rats and the whole family would have a feast on muskrat. He used to have the sides of the barns covered with deer, coon, mink, muskrat, wolf and other skins of wild animals, and sell them, and in that way kept himself supplied with pocket money, when a young man. After getting married he became a successful farmer. He farmed in accordance with the New York Genesee Farmers' creed.

"Your land sown with the best of seed,
Enclose and drain it with all speed,
Let it neither dung or dressing need,
In stock secure the choicest breed
And in peace and plenty, let them feed,
And you will soon be rich indeed."

His father Joseph, gave to each of his sons when they were married 100 acres of land, a horse, saddle and bridle. The old homestead fell to Gabriel. He raised a family of eight children. Charles A., David, Betsey, Mary Eunice, Martha 1st, who died young, Martha 2nd, John and Sarah. Gabriel was well and favorably known by all the prominent business men of Monroe, Judge Bacon, Robert McClellen, Isaac P. Christiancy, William H. Boyd, Col. Oliver Johnson, Charles Johnson and others, among whom his word was as his bond. He was upright and honest and a man of strong convictions. He died at Monroe in the year 1896, having attained the age of eighty-six years.

Charles A., his oldest son, a member of this Society, was a member of Co. B., 1st Michigan Regiment of Engineers and Mechanics and served three years in the service of his country in the Civil War between the states. Enlisting in Grand Rapids, Sept. 12, 1861, and receiving an honorable discharge therefrom. He and his brother David have been residents of Grand Rapids since 1852.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE DIOCESE OF GRAND RAPIDS

BY REV. ROBERT W. BROWN[1]

One hundred years ago the entire territory of the present Diocese of Grand Rapids was a vast unbroken forest with scarcely a white settler to be found anywhere. Indians were numerous, some of whom had been converted to the faith by the early Jesuit Missionaries.

It was during the latter half of the seventeenth century that the first Catholic priest visited the territory of our Diocese. A Mission was established at Arbre Croche, near the present village of Harbor Springs, probably by the great Jesuit Missionary Father Marquette. It was occasionally attended from Point St. Ignace during the remainder of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Father DuJaunay[2] resided at this Mission for some time about 1763.

From 1678 until the beginning of the nineteenth century little is known of the history of the Missions of northern Michigan. The early

[1]Read at the annual meeting of the Society, June, 1910, instead of a paper by Rev. Joseph Schrembs, Rector of St. James' Church, Grand Rapids, Mich.

[2]Father Peter (Pierre-Luc) du Jaunay went to the Miami Mission on the St. Joseph River in 1738. In 1742 he was at Michilimackinac. In 1752 his name appears on the baptism records at Ouiatenon. He came to Detroit in 1754. He had charge of the Mission at Michilimackinac from 1742-1765 and then returned to Montreal. In 1766 he was charged with the mission of Pointe-aux-Trembles of Quebec and died Feb. 17, 1781. *Tanguay-Repertoire General du Clerge Canadien.*

Missionaries were under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen, France, until Bishop Laval came to Quebec as Vicar Apostolic of Canada and the Northwest. He was consecrated October 8, 1658, by the Papal Nuncio at Paris. Michigan remained subject to the Bishop of Quebec until 1789, when Rev. John Carroll, D.D., was appointed first Bishop of Baltimore. The bull. appointing him a Bishop was issued Nov. 6, 1789.

When the Diocese of Bardstown[3] was established in 1808, just one hundred years ago, Michigan was included in its confines until the Diocese of Cincinnati was erected in 1821. Rt. Rev. Edward Fenwick, D.D., was consecrated its first bishop. He was the first bishop to administer Confirmation within the territory of the present Diocese of Grand Rapids. This was in 1827 and he came again at the end of May, 1831. The only Mission at that time was the one at Arbre Croche which had nearly died out when it was visited by the scholarly Father Richard[4] of Detroit, in 1821. He took with him a petition from the Indians to the President of the United States in which they besought him to send them a blackrobe.

The next priest to visit them was Rev. Francis Vincent Badin,[5] the first priest ordained in the United States who found a log chapel 25 by 17 on the summit of a hill built by the Indians in anticipation of his coming. In 1829 Father P. S. Dejean,[6] a French secular priest became the first resident pastor of Arbre Croche. He built a church 30 by 54 ft., and a schoolhouse and a pastoral residence combined. This building was 46 by 20 ft. Toward the end of 1830 he returned to France. The next priest to be placed in charge of Arbre Croche was the saintly Rev. Frederic Baraga[7] who afterwards was made first Bishop of Marquette. He arrived at the Mission on May 28, 1831, and remained until about September 8, 1833. During the brief time this indefatigable worker wrought a marvelous change among the Indians of Arbre Croche and vicinity.[8] He went from here to the Grand River

[3]On April 8th, 1808, the Diocese of Baltimore having grown too large for one bishop, Pope Pius VII issued a bull erecting four Sees—New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown, Ky. This fourth See was to include in its diocese the states of Kentucky, Tennessee and the territories northwest of the Ohio River, extending to the Great Lakes and along the boundary of Pennsylvania. The Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget was appointed to the See of Bardstown. An Arch Episcopal See was erected at Baltimore and the Rev. John Carroll became archbishop. *Shea's Life of Archbishop Carroll.*

[4]See Vol. I, pp. 481-494 and Vols. XXI, pp. 432-447, this series.

[5]Mr. Badin blessed this chapel, July 19, 1825, and dedicated it to St. Vincent of Paul. See *History of Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, by Shea, p. 384.

[6]Dejean was a priest of the Diocese of Rhodez and spent some years on the Huron River before going to Arbre Croche. He was sent in 1827, but did not become resident priest until 1829. See *Idem* p. 385.

[7]See Life in Vol. XXVI, p. 534, this series.

[8]See *"Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga,"* by Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O. F. M.

Valley where he began an Indian Mission where Grand Rapids is now located. He was succeeded at Arbre Croche by Rev. F. Sanderl[9] C. S. S. R., Superior of the Redemptorists[10] in the United States.

On March 8, 1833, Pope Gregory XVI. erected the See of Detroit and appointed Rt. Rev. Frederic Rese its first bishop. He was consecrated Oct. 6, 1833. At that time there were only two priests laboring in that part of the Detroit Diocese which now embraces the Diocese of Grand Rapids; viz., Father Sanderl at Arbre Croche and Father Baraga at Grand Rapids. Father Baraga built the first church there and labored zealously until February, 1835, when he was succeeded by Rev. Andrew Viszoczky, a Hungarian missionary who came to Grand Rapids and ended his days there in 1852. In 1837, owing to ill health and discouraged by difficulities, Bishop Rese resolved to resign. He went to Rome after the third Provincial Council of Baltimore and was relieved of the burden of his administration. He finally died at Lappenburg, Belgium, December 29, 1871, having retained his title of Bishop of Detroit until his death. He was succeeded in the administration of the diocese by Rt. Rev. Peter Paul Lefevre, D. D., who was consecrated Bishop of Zela and coadjutor of the Bishop of Detroit by Bishop Fenwick in St. Johns' Church, Philadelphia, on Nov. 21, 1841.

The See of Milwaukee was erected by Pope Gregory XVI on the 28th day of November, 1843, and thereafter the Diocese of Detroit was limited to the State of Michigan. At that time the entire State of Michigan contained twelve churches, fifteen priests, as many schools, and a Catholic population of 25,000.

Rev. F. X. Pierz had charge of Arbre Croche. This pious, zealous, and energetic missionary had been assigned to Abre Croche when the Redemptorist Father Sanderl left in 1838. In 1836 he lived for some months at LaCroix (Cross Village) where he labored very successfully among the Indians. He remained at Arbre Croche until 1852 attending many missions from there. Father Verwyst in his biography of this remarkable priest tells us that beginning his missionary career at fifty years of age he labored for thirty-eight years among the Indians, enduring all the hardships incidental to such a life and then retired at the age of eighty-eight years and died in Laibach, Austria, at the advanced age of over ninety-three years. In 1847 Father Pierz had increased his fold to 1,842 Christian Indians and Bishop Lefevre divided

[9]Fr. Simon Sanderl was at Green Bay in 1836. In May, 1833 he baptized a child in the new church at Menomoneeville (Shantytown). After two years at Arbre Croche he was recalled by his Superior at Vienna and Baraga returned to the mission. *Wisconsin Hist. Soc., History of Catholic Missions among the Indian tribes of the United States* by Shea, p. 389.

[10]The Society of Missionaries of the Most Holy Redeemer was founded in 1832, by St. Alphonsus Liguori in Naples with the approbation of Pope Clement XII. See *DeCourcy's Catholic Church in the United States* by Shea, 1856, p. 151.

his Missions and gave Rev. Ignatius Mrak, afterwards Bishop of Marquette, charge of LaCroix (Cross Village) Middle Town, Castor Island and Manistee.

In 1852 the Diocese of Detroit had so increased that it contained forty churches with thirteen others begun, thirty-two priests, twenty-four schools and a Catholic population of 85,000.

In the following year the Upper Peninsula of Michigan was erected into a Vicariate Apostolic with the saintly Bishop Baraga in charge. Since Bishop Baraga spoke the Indian language fluently and the northern Missions were so far from Detroit, Bishop Lefevre arranged with Bishop Baraga to have the latter take charge of the Northern Indian Missions of the diocese of Detroit. Hence we find Bishop Baraga exercising Episcopal jurisdiction and confirming occasionally for some years in these Missions.

A Directory of 1854 mentions the following priests laboring in what is now our Diocese:

Grand Rapids—Revs. Edward Van Paemmel, Charles DeCuenick.

Little Traverse—Rev. Eugene Jahan.

LaCroix (Cross Village)—Rev. Ignatius Mrak.

Lower Saginaw (now Bay City)—Rev. H. J. H. Schutjes.

When Father Viszoczky[11] died in 1852 he was succeeded by Rev. Edw. Van Paemmel and Father DeCuenick was his assistant. From Grand Rapids as a center a number of missions were attended. Father Baraga had begun a mission at Muskegon in 1832, and blessed its first church on April 20, 1834. From that time on it was attended from Grand Rapids until it received its first resident pastor, about 1858, in the person of Rev. G. Steinhausen. St. Joseph's, a log church, was built in Wright in 1850, and thence attended occasionally from Grand Rapids. Grand Haven, Alpine, Tallmadge, Cascade and Grattan were among the missions supplied from Grand Rapids in those early days. The Rev. H. J. H. Schutjes came to Saginaw Valley in 1852 as the first resident pastor of St. Joseph's Church of Lower Saginaw, now Bay City. He likewise attended Upper Saginaw, now Saginaw, until August, 1862, when Rev. R. Vander Heyden was appointed pastor of St. Andrew's Church, Saginaw.

Father Schutjes was a native of the Netherlands and was born in 1826. He was a man of marked ability and great zeal. Saginaw Valley owes much to this early missionary priest. He died March 18, 1897, in his native country. Before Father Schutjes had come to the Saginaw Valley it had been visited as early as 1829. Father Richard had made

[11] *Shea* in his *History of Catholic Missions*, p. 402, states that the Rev. Andrew Viszoczki was an Hungarian who died Jan. 2nd, 1853, after a missionary career of eight years.

missionary excursions going as far north as Harbor Springs. Members of religious orders went there from time to time to administer to the spiritual wants of the scattered Catholics, Fathers Kundig,[12] Louis, Peter Kindekins, Vicar General of the Detroit Diocese, and others.

From 1848 to 1852 attempts were made to give regular service to the settlements along the Saginaw River. Father Monaghan stationed at Flint, Father Kindekins, brother of the Vicar general, and Father Kilroy paid visits during this time. Although not mentioned in the Directory of 1854, Bishop Lefevre had sent Rev. Julian Macijewski as resident pastor to Wright, who remained there until 1858. During the last year Father Macijewski attended Wright from Alpine. It was attended from St. Mary's, Grand Rapids, from 1858 until 1867, when Rev. J. Rhode became the next resident pastor. In 1858 Rev. H. Rievers, who had been assistant at St. Andrew's Grand Rapids, was made first resident pastor in Grattan, a large flourishing country parish in Kent County.

From 1860 the development of the northern part of the Lower Peninsula was more rapid. Rt. Rev. Casper H. Borgess had succeeded to the See of Detroit after the death of Bishop Lefevre in 1869. He was consecrated April 24, 1870, Bishop of Calydon and coadjutor and administrator of the Diocese of Detroit. At the death of Bishop Rese in 1871 he became Bishop of Detroit. Feeling that the territory of his Diocese was too extensive, he petitioned for a division. It was decided that Grand Rapids was the most suitable location for the new See. The Diocese of Grand Rapids was established by a Papal brief dated May 19, 1882. It comprises the counties of the Lower Peninsula of the State of Michigan north of the southern line of the counties of Ottawa, Kent, Montcalm, Gratiot and Saginaw, and west of the eastern line of the counties of Saginaw and Bay and adjacent islands.

The Rt. Rev. Henry Joseph Richter, D.D., was appointed by the Holy See as first Bishop of Grand Rapids. He selected St. Andrews as the Cathedral Church of the new Diocese. He was born April 9, 1838, at Neuenkirchen, in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg. At the age of sixteen he came to America and settled in Cincinnati, Ohio. He attended St. Paul's school for a time, and later St. Xavier's, St. Thomas at Bardstown and Mt. St. Mary's at Cincinnati until 1860, when he was sent to Rome by his Superiors, and entered the American College, where

[12]Father Martin Kundig was a German priest who conducted the first German services in the Catholic Church in Detroit, Oct. 1833. He was active in his efforts and care for the people during the second appearance of Cholera (1834) in Detroit. Through his efforts a hospital was started. He was superintendent of the County Poor House after the cholera epidemic and in appreciation of his valuable services the state voted him $3,000 in 1837. From 1839-1842 he was pastor of the Holy Trinity Church of Detroit and still kept up his interest in the Poor House. See *Farmer's History of Michigan* and *Original Manuscripts in Burton Library.*

he successfully completed the philosophical and theological course in 1865. He was made a doctor of divinity and ordained a priest by Cardinal Patrizi on June 10th of the same year. He returned to Cincinnati in October and was appointed professor of Dogmatic Theology, Philosophy, and Liturgy in Mount St. Mary's Seminary. The following year he was made vice-president of that institution. As a professor and an officer of the seminary he was always exact in fulfilling his duties, and ever alive to the best interests of both the seminary and its students. In 1870 he was commissioned by Archbishop Purcell to found a new parish on Price Hill, Cincinnati, and built a combination church and school building, which was dedicated in honor of St. Lawrence. By his prudent zeal he wisely laid the foundation of one of the most flourishing parishes in Cincinnati to-day. He was likewise made chaplain of the Sisters of Charity at Mount St. Vincent's Academy, and left his impress on their work of teaching, an impulse for higher and better achievements, which is still felt in that community of successful teachers. He was also a member of the Archbishop's Council, and one of the Committee of Investigation of the Archdiocese.

When the Holy See established the Diocese of Grand Rapids, May 19, 1882, among the names proposed for Bishop of the newly erected See was that of Dr. Richter, who was selected by his Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, on January 30, 1883, preconized in the Public Consistory held March 15, and consecrated and enthroned in St. Andrew's Cathedral on April 22, 1883, by Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati.

When Bishop Richter took charge of the Grand Rapids Diocese he found the following priests under his jurisdiction:

Grand Rapids:

St. Andrew's—Rev. P. J. McManus.

St. Mary's—Rev. J. G. Ehrenstrasser.

St. James—Rev. James C. Pulcher.

Alpena—Rev. E. M. Dekriere.

Au Sable—Rev. C. J. Roche.

Bay City:

St. Boniface—Rev. Joseph Ebert, C. P. P. S.

St. James—Rev. Thomas Rafter.

St. Joseph—Rev. M. N. Thibondeau.

St. Stanislaus—Rev. Aug. Skorzik.

Beaver Island—Rev. Peter Gallagher.

Berlin—Rev. Michael Dalton.

Big Rapids—Rev. Henry W. Grimme.

Cadillac—Rev. M. P. Willigan.

Cheboygan—Rev. P. J. Desmedt.

Cross Village—Rev. J. R. Weikamp, Rev. Bernardine Abbenk, Rev. Anthony Baumgarten.

East Saginaw:
St. Joseph—Rev. Richard Sweeney.
St. Mary's—Rev. F. T. Vander Born.
Sacred Heart—Rev. Joseph Reis.
Grattan—Rev. Thomas D. Flannery.
Harbor Springs—Rev. P. S. Zorn.
Ludington—Rev. L. P. Paquin.
Manistee—Rev. D. Callaert.
Midland—Rev. James Byrne.
Montague—Rev. L. Baroux.
Mt. Pleasant—Rev. James J. McCarthy.
Muskegon—Rev. Edward Van Paemmel[13]
Petoskey—Rev. Gustave Graf.
Posen, Presque Isle County—Rev. A. Bogacki.
Saginaw City—Rev. R. Vander Heyden.
Traverse City—Rev. G. Ziegler.
West Bay City—Rev. H. J. H. Schutjes, Rev. L. D. Guerin.
Wright—Rev. Joseph Breuck.

The Committee of Investigation consisted of Revs. H. J. H. Schultjes, J. G. Ehrenstrasser, P. J. McManus, James J. Pulcher, Thomas Rafter. In the following year Rev. C. J. Roche was appointed Vicar General. There were thirty-three churches with resident pastors, seventeen schools with 2,867 pupils, and a Catholic population of about 50,000.

No sooner had Bishop Richter taken charge of the new diocese then he began to give his entire attention to the upbuilding of each and every part of it. Feeling the need of more priests he fostered vocations to the priesthood with a special care, giving financial assistance to many students, even as early as the second year in the classical course. No young man of the Diocese of Grand Rapids having signs of a real vocation has ever been turned away because he lacked means. He retained, and carefully fostered the annual collection for the seminarians during the month of October, so well begun by Bishop Borgess of Detroit. Notwithstanding the generous support given to the many diocesan students, the surplus of this fund has steadily grown until now we have a balance of $29,796.60 September 1, 1907, whilst the number of priests in the Diocese has increased from thirty-six to one hundred and thirty-one at the present time. The great benefit derived from religious clergy in a diocese is conceded on all sides. Mindful of this, Bishop Richter early called the Redemptorist Fathers to form a new Parish in Grand Rapids. In 1888 St. Alphonsus Parish was founded, and from

[13]Rev. Edward Van Paemmel was at one time pastor of the St. Vincent de Paul church, Detroit, having succeeded Rev. M. Willigan, who in turn succeeded the Rev. A. F. Bleyenbergh, first pastor. The church was dedicated Dec. 8, 1866. See *History and Directory of Churches of the United States*, Vol. I, Detroit, 1877.

small beginnings they have developed a flourishing congregation with a fine school and a magnificent Gothic church building nearly completed.

Being solicitous for the welfare of the many Indians scattered over the northern part of the diocese, the Bishop invited the Franciscan Fathers to take charge of Petoskey and Harbor Springs. They accepted and assumed charge in 1885. They have done a great pioneer work in caring not only for the numerous Indian Missions, but also in establishing many mission churches among the scattered white settlers. Some years previous to their coming the Indians had been mostly cared for by Rev. P. S. Zorn, whose life of great self-sacrifice and burning zeal in behalf of the Indians deserves more than the passing notice which this sketch will permit. At present the Franciscan Fathers have charge of Petoskey, Harbor Springs and Beaver Island, each with a resident pastor, besides fathers who attend sixteen missions and nine stations.

At the death of Rev. M. U. Thibondeau, St. Joseph's Church, Bay City was without a pastor. The people were poor, the parish buildings dilapidated, and there was no one who cared to undertake the serious task of providing for the spiritual as well as material wants of St. Joseph's. This was in 1888. At the solicitation of the Bishop the Holy Ghost Fathers took charge, and to-day St. Joseph's is in a very flourishing condition, both spiritually and financially. Its schoolhouse, residence, and the new church nearly completed, are a credit to Bay City. When Very Rev. C. J. Roche, resigned as Vicar general, 1888, the Bishop made him a dean and gave him charge of St. John's of Essexville. This congregation was largely composed of immigrants from Holland, with a mixture of French, etc. In August, 1900, the good Father Roche was accidently drowned on his way to Kawkawlin where he was building a new church. Finding it difficult to supply this congregation with a pastor who could speak Dutch, and ever solicitous that no one should suffer spiritual shipwreck for want of a pastor suited to his needs, he offered Essexville to the Premonstratensian Fathers,[14] who accepted, and have since then ably provided for this mixed congregation to the satisfaction of all concerned.

The Church has always been the great educator in all ages, and every intelligent Catholic realizes that the future prosperity, yea, the very existence of the Church, depends upon her educational work—hence Catholic schools are a necessity. Every good Catholic Bishop must labor in season and out of season for Catholic education, or be remiss

[14]One of the severely ascetic religious orders founded by St. Norbert in 1119, at Premontré, France, following the rules of Augustine, forbidding the eating of flesh and practicing fastings and scourgings. For centuries the order was rival of the Cistercians but in recent times it has become almost extinct. It was suppressed in France in 1790, but reestablished in 1856. It was introduced into the United States in 1846. The Premonstrants were sometimes called Norbertines and in England, White Canons.

in his sacred duty. To Bishop Richter his schools have ever been as the apple of his eye. Under his watchful care schools have multiplied everywhere. At present we have sixty-four parochial schools with 13,057 pupils and 290 teachers. Following the provisions of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, he appointed an efficient school board, who have charge of the examination of the teachers, and exercise a general supervision over the schools. Realizing that much of the religious training is counteracted by our public high schools, Bishop Richter has always urged the necessity of establishing Catholic high schools wherever possible. Common sense ought to dictate to any one that since religious training is a vital necessity, it ought not to cease when the greatest mental development is just begun, but should keep pace with the secular branches. An important step in this direction was taken when, under the leadership of the Bishop, in September, 1906, all the Pastors in Grand Rapids united their forces to establish a Central Catholic High School for boys and another for girls. This enabled these high schools to furnish a complete academic course of four years, enabling every student to prepare for any course at any college he may select. The Bishop not only insists that every pastor visit the school at least bi-weekly, but he himself visits all city schools every year, and gives them his personal attention, even to the minutest detail. Nor is the care confined to the general membership of the Church. His zeal extends to every one needing his special help and care. The orphans are well housed and fed and carefully taught in two diocesan orphan asylums—St. Johns, located at Grand Rapids, and St. Vincent's in Saginaw.

Another charity which appeals to all classes is that done by the Little Sisters of the Poor. Ever on the alert to improve the conditions of the Diocese, the Bishop early called the Little Sisters of the Poor, who responded by coming to Grand Rapids in 1884. God has blessed their work, and a splendid home for the aged on Lafayette street is the result of their hard work and the generosity of the public. Hospitals to care for the sick have been multiplied on all sides. Besides the well equipped hospital in Saginaw, conducted so efficiently by the Sisters of Charity, there are hospitals in Grand Rapids, Big Rapids, Manistee, Bay City, Muskegon and Cadillac, all conducted by the Sisters of Mercy, whose skill as nurses and managers of hospitals is known throughout the diocese. Many a weary soul suffering from spiritual maladies, as well as bodily infirmities, has found comfort and a healing balm through the gentle ministrations of the good Sisters. Among the many charities we must not fail to mention that of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, who established a house in the city of Grand Rapids, March 19, 1904. Their life of self-sacrifice in reclaiming the wayward is indeed effective. The reformations accomplished must be

ascribed to the marvelous transforming power of the grace of Christ working through his humble handmaids.

All these charities, as well as our schools, could not be carried on were it not for our noble self-sacrificing sisterhoods, and no one appreciates their work more than Bishop Richter. He is ever a kind father, a wise counsellor, an impartial and conscientious superior to each and every one of them. The Sisters of St. Dominic, the Sisters of Mercy and the Ursuline Sisters are diocesan, whose mother houses are respectively in Grand Rapids, Big Rapids, and Muskegon. The Sisters of St. Dominic have charge of St. John's Orphan Home and the Catholic Central High School for Girls, in Grand Rapids, the Holy Rosary Academy in Bay City, and twenty-eight parochial schools. The Sisters of Mercy have charge of six hospitals and ten schools. The Ursulines have an Academy and a parochial school in Muskegon. The Sisters of Charity (Mt. St. Joseph's, Ohio) conduct the Catholic Central High School for Boys and the Cathedral School, Grand Rapids; St. James School, Bay City and St. Bernard's, Alpena. The School Sisters of Notre Dame have five schools in Grand Rapids, and besides teach the Indian School at Harbor Springs. This latter work they performed gratis. The Sisters of Providence have two schools in Saginaw, and the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Monroe, Mich.) teach St. Mary's School, Cheboygan. The Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity (Alverno, Wis.) teach the parochial schools at Petoskey and Cross Village.

It has always been the policy of Bishop Richter to provide all Catholic nationalities seeking a home in his diocese with priests capable of speaking their language, hence we find many of these national or linguistic churches in all parts of the diocese working harmoniously side by side with territorial churches. With this object in view it has likewise been his policy to select the members of his council and the various boards from the different nationalities so that all interests may be safeguarded.

In 1897, Rev. J. M. Benning was appointed Vicar General, who served until July, 1900, when he resigned and entered the Capuchin Order. Rev. Joseph Schrembs[15] was appointed to succeed him as pastor in

[15]The Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs has recently been appointed bishop of the Toledo diocese, by papal bull, received by him Sept. 11, 1911. He was installed in Grand Rapids, Oct. 4th, and Bishop Richter delivered the sermon. He was born in Ratisbon (Regensburg) Bavaria, March 12, 1866, came to America in 1877, and began study at the abbey of St. Vincent, at Beatty, Pa. He taught school two years in Kentucky and was adopted as a student of the Grand Rapids diocese by Bishop Richter in 1884. He studied five years at Montreal and was ordained priest in Grand Rapids, June 28, 1889. Since that he has filled assignments at Saginaw, West Bay City and Grand Rapids. In 1900 he took charge of St. Mary's parish at Grand Rapids, in 1903 was made vicar-general of the diocese and in 1906 was raised to the dignity of domestic prelate. He was consecrated auxiliary bishop of the diocese of Grand Rapids, Feb. 22, 1911. See *Detroit Free Press*, Aug. 10 and Sept. 12, 1911.

January, 1903. His Holiness, Pope Pius X, made him a domestic prelate, and he was invested by Bishop Richter March 22, 1906.

In January, 1903, the deaneries were established, namely, Grand Rapids, Bay City and Muskegon. Rev. M. Matkowski of Grand Rapids, Rev. Thomas Rafter of Bay City, and Rev. J. Roche Magnan of Muskegon, were appointed Deans. Rev. J. Roche Magnan, R. D., an able and most worthy priest, died after a lingering illness July, 1904. On December 15, 1907, Rev. John G. Sanson was appointed to succeed Dean Magnan, and two new deaneries were created—one at Manistee, and the other at Alpena. Rev. Joseph M. Steffes was appointed for Manistee and Rev. Thomas D. Flannery for Alpena. On the same day five irremovable rectorships were established, and the pastors then in charge made irremovable rectors: namely, St. Mary's and St. James', Grand Rapids; St. James', Bay City; St. Bernard's, Alpena; Guardian Angel, Manistee.

The following priests have served as consultors to the Rt. Rev. Bishop: Very Rev. C. J. Roche, Revs. John G. Ehrenstrasser, James C. Pulcher, Henry W. Grimme, Thomas Rafter, Marianus Matkowski, J. Roche Magnan, Very Rev. Joseph Benning, Revs. Edward Kozlowski, Edward Caldwell, Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, V. G., Revs. Robert W. Brown, John G. Sanson and John A. Schmitt.

We have as yet said nothing of the character and the personal worth of our beloved Bishop. This work we will leave for another time. We know his piety, his zeal, his compassion, his sense of justice, his impartiality, his learning, his splendid citizenship, his loyalty to the Holy See, and especially his deep solicitude for the honor of God and the welfare of the flock entrusted to his charge. May God preserve him yet many years is the prayer of his priests and people.

In order that the rapid development of the Diocese of Grand Rapids may be the better understood, the first and last official reports of the statistics of the Diocese are appended.

Diocesan Statistics.	City of Grand Rapids.	Country.	Whole Diocese.
Priests in actual service	3	35	38
Priests not able to attend, etc	.....	.....	.....
Students of the Diocese	.....	.....	6
Students adopted since the arrival of the Rt. Rev. Bishop	.....	.....	6
Parochial churches	3	30	33
Total amount of Sunday collections in churches	$1,452 42	$6,079 24	$7,531 66
Total amount of pew rent in churches	9,235 34	37,645 59	46,880 93
Authorized debts	20,491 76	39,049 62	59,541 38
Catholic families	1,231	11,102	12,333
Catholic population (allowing 4¾ members to each family) (a)	5,847	52,735	58,582
Unmarried adults (not included in families) (a)	653	5,765	6,418
Total Catholic population	6,500	58,500	65,000
Baptisms of adults	20	78	98
Baptisms of children	321	3,477	3,798
Marriages	65	558	623
Deaths	132	970	1,102
Orphan Asylums	.....	1	1
Hospitals	.....	2	2
Academies	.....	2	2
Parochial Schools	2	15	17
Male teachers (religious)	.....	.....	.....
Male teachers (lay)	1	4	5
Female teachers (religious)	10	47	57
Female teachers (lay) (b)	.....	4	4
Total number of teachers (b)	11	55	66
Pupils enrollment (b)	617	3,631	4,248
Pupils average attendance (b)	572	3,144	3,716
Ordinary revenues of schools	$2,070 19	$4,179 17	$6,249 34
Ordinary expenses of schools	3,642 01	11,826 04	15,468 05
Cost per capita, enrollment	5 90⅔	3 25⅜	3 64⅛
Cost per capita, average attendance	6 36⅘	3 76	4 17¼

(a) Low estimate.
(b) Cross Village not recorded.

Diocesan Statistics.[16]	City of Grand Rapids.	Outside City of Grand Rapids.	Whole Diocese.
Priests	27	108	135
Students	.....	.....	73
Churches with resident pastors	11	81	92
Missions with churches	2	94	96
Stations	1	35	36
Pew Rent	$31,999 21	$148,564 32	$180,563 53
Sunday and Feast Day collections	11,197 68	28,159 21	39,353 89
Catholic families	3,757	19,416	23,173
Baptisms of Adults	83	266	349
Baptisms of children	870	4,125	4,995
Total baptisms	953	4,391	5,344
First communions	534	2,748	3,282
Confirmations	731	2,608	3,339
Marriages	181	898	1,079
Deaths	291	1,580	1,861
Parochial schools	11	61	72
Boys' Central High School	1	.....	1
Girls' Central High School	1	.....	1
Teachers (lay)	.....	12	12
Teachers (religious)	80	237	317
Pupils	3,628	11,096	14,724
Orphan asylums	1	1	2
Home for the aged	1	.....	1
Hospitals	1	6	7

[16]References consulted: John Gilmary Shea—*Church History of the United States;* Rev. Verwyst, O. F. M.—*Life and Labors of Bishop Baraga, Daily Eagle* of April 22, 1883; *Archives of the Diocese of Grand Rapids; History of the Diocese of Marquette.*

EARLY SCHOOLS OF KALAMAZOO

BY MRS. JOHN DEN BLYKER[1]

The pioneers' work has long since been ended, but we will not forget him to whom we are largely indebted for our institutions of learning. In those days the conditions were chaotic and schools depended largely on the fostering care of public spirited friends for existence. The number of colleges, private seminaries and literary societies, throughout the State were few, though considering their recent existence and the embarrassments they had to encounter consequent to a new settled country, they prospered amazingly. To be sure Congress had made in 1785[2] liberal provision for the education of the masses, and later the government of the North West Territory reiterated the provisions of this act. The "School System" began over a hundred years ago by a law passed by the "Legislative Council." Many of these records were destroyed by the occupancy of the British in 1812 and 1813. The University of Michigan was created by an act in 1817. The earliest school law put into operation was enacted in 1826.[3] The early settlers in this vicinity were largely from New England; an education was considered of paramount value, so efforts were put forth along these lines. Many had enjoyed collegiate advantages, so their highest ambition was to have their children share like opportunities. From way back in the days of the "Boy" who was the territorial and the first state governor, Stevens T. Mason, who vetoed an iniquitous bill which nearly deprived us of the government lands that had been set apart for the University and schools. Had this passed, the University of Michigan would have been robbed prior to its birth. On the first day of September, 1833, the first steps were taken to establish schools in Bronson, at which time the commissioner of common schools for the township of Arcadia was appointed. The five school districts, including Bronson,

[1]Read at the midwinter meeting by Mrs. John den Bleyker née Anna Balch.

[2]On May 20, 1785, Congress adopted "An Ordinance for Ascertaining the Mode of Disposing of Lands in the Western Country." "There shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." *History of the University of Michigan* by Hinsdale and Demmon, p. 18.

[3]On May 20, 1826, Congress authorized the Secretary of Treasury to set apart and reserve from sale out of any of the public lands within the territory of Michigan to which the Indian title had been extinguished, a quantity of land not exceeding two entire townships for the use and support of the university within the territory and for no other use whatever, to be located in tracts corresponding with any of the legal divisions into which the public lands were authorized to be surveyed, not less than one section; one of which township should be in lieu of the township dedicated to the purpose by the Act of 1804.

Cooper, Oshtemo, Alamo and Richland, had been set apart the year before (1832). A district was organized at Bronson, a building constructed of slabs for temporary use. This first school was taught presumably by Mr. Barnard, others give Miss Eliza Colman[4] the precedence; this primitive building not only served the purpose of school and church, but also sessions of court, when it was closed, to accommodate the dignitaries of the law. It stood on the south side of South street, near the corner of Henrietta. A little west of the slab structure, a frame building was completed in the fall of 1834 or 1835. These school buildings stood upon a plat of ground set apart by Bronson and Richardson, as a burial place. It was, however, never used for that purpose. The Jewish Synagogue stands upon a part of the same ground. In October, 1834, a disastrous cyclone passed over Bronson and it would almost seem as if the storm fiend, finding stern winter close upon him, was revenging himself by a last expiring blow. After unroofing houses, it strode across Main street, snapped away the tops of great oaks and rushed upon the house of Mr. Hays (where the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railway station now is) toppled the chimneys, the falling bricks injuring two of his daughters. Articles of furniture were found on the east side of the Kalamazoo River. After the storm, Mr. Hays was obliged to find a place of shelter until his home could be made habitable. The only refuge that could be found was this new schoolhouse, then incomplete. The family used the rear of the building to live in and Judge Fletcher of Ann Arbor the front part for holding a session of the Circuit Court, the partition being suspended sheets and blankets. A few weeks elapsed before their house was again ready for occupancy. (David Hubbard and family at the same time occupied the old slab schoolhouse.) For a number of years, it was the only public building save "taverns." It still was used indiscriminately for holding town meetings, lyceums, courts, schools and religious services, occupied by no less than three denominations. Me-thinks I hear you ask how were they lighted? The old tallow dip, the lard oil lamp and later the sperm oil; gas was first used in Kalamazoo in 1857. On the third of March, 1836, both the township and the village name was changed to its present one. The following year a second district was formed out of the east half of district number one, the dividing line running north on Henrietta to South street, west on South to the alley running to Main street, opposite the Kalamazoo House, now the Kalamazoo City Bank, thence northwest to Burdick street on a continuation of Portage street, thence to the bounds of the village on Burdick street. It was particularly specified that the "Kalamazoo House" should be in this new district. Number two was now changed to district number eight, in order not to have duplicate

[4]Miss Eliza Coleman later Mrs. Rodney Seymour.

numbers in the township. A school was taught for some time in an old bakery building on the north side of East Main street, near the river, a few rods east of Kalamazoo avenue. In 1848 a brick building was erected on the point of land between Kalamazoo avenue and Main street. This was the famous "Klip-Knockie" region. The signification of the name is difficult to determine (this was sold in 1862). District number eleven was formed from the western half of number one, two lots on the north side of South street between West and Park, originally donated for public purposes. Sally Bronson really held the title to this. Prior to dividing the district, steps had been taken towards erecting a school building on these lots, but there was some disagreement, the unfinished building sold to the Baptist denomination, removed to the southwest corner of Church and Main streets and converted into a church. The nucleus of the school library, fifty volumes, was disposed of for five cents a volume to Mr. A. T. Prouty. On the same ground from which the incomplete building was moved, a brick structure was erected at a cost of $606.80. During the process of erection, the basement of the Methodist Church was utilized for school purposes. 1848 another division was made and number eleven divided and number twelve created, the western part of this district forming the new. On the southwest corner of Cedar and Locust streets, was built the "Red School House" and used until 1859. The early districts were each independent of the other, one might have a fine school and another an indifferent one and still another at times none at all. This condition of affairs continued until the original numbers of 1833 lost their significance. In 1851 districts numbers one, eight, eleven and twelve which were within the corporate limits, were consolidated under the jurisdiction of the president and trustees of the village and made district number one. The first director of the new regime was Hon. Nathaniel A. Balch,[5] who had for years been director of the old district number one. At the annual meeting in 1852 it was voted that the director be empowered to employ "one or more male teachers and as many female assistants" as should be necessary to secure full and good instruction to all scholars contained in the village and school to continue at his discretion not to exceed ten months. Accordingly, George L. Otis,[6] who afterward ran for governor of Minnesota, was

[5]See sketches, Vol. III, p. 138 and XI, p. 297, this series.

[6]George L. Otis was born at Homer, Cortland Co., N. Y., Oct. 7, 1829. He removed with his parents in childhood to Barry Co., Mich., where he grew to manhood. He attended the college at Kalamazoo and the academy of Oswego, Tioga Co., N. Y. He was admitted to the bar of Kalamazoo in 1855 and that year went to St. Paul where he afterwards resided. He was a member of the first Minnesota legislature, 1857-8, and also 1866. In 1867, he was elected mayor of St. Paul, and again in 1869. That year he ran for governor of Minnesota on the Democratic ticket but was defeated by Horace Austin, the Republican candidate. He died at St. Paul, March 29, 1883. *History of St. Paul, Minn.*, by C. C. Andrews, 1890. (Second part, p. 95.)

engaged E. L. Whittemore and the Misses Frances and Alice Whaley. The latter part of 1853, Dwight May, Esq., was appointed to succeed Mr. Balch. The old Baptist Church was rented as it had been moved (prior to building a new church ediffice) to the south side of Water street, between Church and Rose streets. This became the first graded school of Kalamazoo. From 1847 to 1856 was a period of agitation as to the best systems on which to conduct the schools. A petition was in 1847 presented and signed by Mr. Luther H. Trask and 138 others to the board of inspectors, praying for the establishment of a "Union School." The petition was granted, but the next meeting rescinded the action. For a period of six years the matter rested but in 1853 the subject was again resumed with vigor and the agitation continued. The greatest difficulty, seemingly, was selection for a site for the building. The legislature helped them out of their dilemma, and passed a law that in case the electors disagreed (it needed a two-thirds vote) the trustees might purchase the site. Early in 1857 a tract of five acres of land was purchased from Mr. Arad C. Balch for $6,500. Upon this the "Old Union" was built, the same year the contract was let for its construction and the corner stone laid by the "Masonic" fraternity on the thirtieth of July, 1857, and fully opened and dedicated fifty-four years ago this month, (January, 1911). Mr. Frank Little was appointed by the village trustees, superintendent of schools, vice Dwight May, esq., resigned. Mr. Little held this office nearly a year when he was succeeded by Prof. Daniel Putnam, becoming superintendent of all the schools and principal of the high school. By an act of legislature, February twenty-second, 1859, the schools were transferred from the control of the village board and placed in charge of six trustees which constituted the first board of education. In 1857 the district came into possession of the building formerly occupied and known as the "old branch" of the university, it having been removed to the north side of Willard, between West and Cooley streets. School was here continued for thirteen years, when it was sold to Bush and Patterson. Still again in November, it was leased and refitted and used until 1876, when the pupils were transferred to the Frank street school. Thus for nearly forty years, it served for educational purposes, and then was dismantled and became a dwelling, a small one-story building on the west side of Portage was known as the Portage School owing to the village extension in 1861. This was the initiative of what is now the Lake Street School. Between 1861 and 1871 the colored children were placed in a separate school. In 1871 it was discovered that the plan presented legal difficulties, the school disbanded and the pupils were distributed as before. This was afterwards called the East school and used for the primary department until it was placed at Frank street. Thirty-five years

ago the Lovell street building was erected; the following year the Alcott School, on the east side of South Burdick street, was virtually donated by W. W. Alcott. The Frank Street School in 1870 erected a brick structure, which three years later, became over-crowded. Arrangements were made for a school building of one room to be used until the Woodward Avenue could be built. This first grand idea was to have a one-story building, with no running up and down crowded stairways and no danger of exposure by fire. The plans of the building, the internal arrangements and system of school work, may be called the joint effort of the last Professor Austin George and board of education. The High School and Vine Street School, have each risen phoenix-like and yes, one of them twice, and to-day they share their fine heating plant. The Burdick, the North West all needing enlarging, the fine Portage street with its High School near the southern city limits, the old East Avenue and the kindergarten building idle because they have been supplanted by the crescent-shaped buildings on the heights, the different play grounds, the gymnasiums, all bespeak the growth of a city as nothing else can. Compare the conditions way back in 1833, climbing through the different decades where the small district and more primitive select schools first had their incipiency, with our schools of 1911.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The first parochial school was organized in Kalamazoo by Father Shortis[7] in 1851. It was a log house with a lean-to or shed which afterwards was occupied by the Butler family as a dwelling house[8] on Ransom, about a half block from North Burdick street. Two Sisters of the Holy Cross from Bertrand had charge of it, with about forty children in attendance. The Sisters retired after some time and were succeeded by a Miss McGowan who conducted the school for several years. Some misunderstanding arose about her salary and she sued the parish for $100. The case was settled satisfactorily. This was during the administration of Father Shortis who erected the first church in Kalamazoo. When Father Label came here, he entered into an arrangement with the public school, then called common schools, whereby he taught the Catholic children their prayers and Catechism after the school hours

[7]Father Shortis was a priest of the congregation of the Holy Cross (C. S. C.). In the early days he was a professor in the University of Notre Dame. Kalamazoo was under the jurisdiction of Father Sorin and his helpers for a number of years. They resided at Notre Dame and attended this parish from there. Father Shortis was an Irishman and during the last years of his life was chaplain of St. Mary's. He collected money for and superintended the erection of the first Catholic church in this city (Kalamazoo). His portrait now ornaments one of the stained glass windows in the vestibule of the present St. Augustine's Church. (Rev. Father O'Brien of Kalamazoo.)

[8]This building was destroyed about 1900. (Rev. Father O'Brien.)

in the public school building, now used as a dwelling house on Willard street. There was an understanding whereby nearly all the Catholic children of the town attended this school. Father Label was a frequent visitor, and a great factor during those years in maintaining order. When teachers found pupils very unruly he was always sent for, and it is said that his appearance had the proper effect. It may be of interest to the people of Minnesota, and for that matter all of the United States who imagine that the Faribault system,[9] as it was called, originated in Minnesota, to know that this system was in use and properly appreciated by the people of Kalamazoo thirty or forty years previous to its so-called discovery.

After his death Father Quinn erected a three-story frame building on the corner of Willard and Cooley, establishing a Sisters' School in 1872. This was in charge of eight Sisters of Charity who came from Cincinnati. Three hundred and thirty-two children were enrolled in the beginning of the year 1873. A misunderstanding came about, the following year the Sisters retired. They were succeeded by lay teachers. Among whom is found the name of Miss Lizzie Carder, who evidently was not a Catholic. In 1875 the Sisters of Providence from St. Mary's of the Woods took charge of the school. Again, there was trouble, and they returned to Terre Haute, Ind. The pastor then in charge succeeded in securing teachers from Ireland, who did not prove a success. The Sisters from Monroe were next in charge and remained so until 1891, when the school passed under the control of the Sisters of St. Joseph, and the new school building now known as Lefevre Institute was inaugurated. In 1890 St. James' School was organized in the southern part of the city, and fifty children were in attendance. A number of Catholics in the Irish settlement surrounding the school moved away from the city and the school was abandoned. In 1904 St. Joseph's School was organized, and has an attendance of about two hundred at the present time and is very successful. About twenty Sisters are now engaged in the Catholic schools in the city instructing more than six hundred pupils. No tuition fee is charged. The expense of maintenance is defrayed by the respective parishes.

THE MERGING OF MICHIGAN AND HURON INSTITUTE AND THE BRANCH OF THE UNIVERSITY[10] INTO WHAT IS NOW KALAMAZOO COLLEGE

April 22nd, 1833, a charter was granted to the Michigan and Huron Institute. The petitioners for this did not confine their plan to the

[9]The Faribault plan was the detaining of the Catholic pupils in the common school building, after school hours, and giving them religious instruction there, at that time. This plan was adopted by Father Label during the major share of his pastorate in Kalamazoo. (Rev. Father O'Brien of Kalamazoo.)

[10]See Vol. V, p. 418, this series.

culture of the youth of a single town or county but made it exceedingly broad, hence they gave it the expansive name, so as to include the youth between these two great boundary lakes; the upper peninsula was not then embraced in the territory of Michigan. Of the trustees, three-fifths were to be Baptists. In those days nearly all institutions of learning were under the patronage of some religious denomination. This feature however proved unsatisfactory and in securing this there is no religious character or sectarian test to be found. Among these thirty-three trustees were Hon. Epaphroditus Ransom, first governor at Lansing; Ezekiel Ransom, the governor's father, the only Revolutionary soldier whose remains lie buried in "Mountain Home Cemetery"; Horace H. Comstock, for whom Comstock is named, whose wife was the niece of J. Fennimore Cooper, author of "Oak Openings"—the plot being laid in the surrounding region; Col. Anthony Cooley, who painted "View of Kalamazoo in 1832," and "First Court held in Kalamazoo" the same year; Col. F. W. Curtenius; Hon. Caleb Eldred, president; Rev. Thomas W. Merrill, (one of the pioneers if not the pioneer in the work) secretary. The executive committee was Hon. Caleb Eldred, Rev. William Taylor, Jeremiah Hall, Col. Anthony Cooley, Col. H. B. Huston, Ezekiel Ransom, esq., Z. Platt, esq., Nathaniel A. Balch, A. B. principal of the Academic Department, Samuel H. Ransom, general agent, Col. Roswell Stone, superintendent of the boarding house. This institution was incorporated for the purpose of promoting a knowledge of all those branches of education usually taught in academies and colleges. The charter did not locate the Institute but its establishment must occur within four years. The trustees had a tedious and weary struggle determining this important matter. The village of Bronson became in September, 1835, the Institute's permanent home. The Institute Addition as it is now called, consisted of a tract of twenty-four acres in a beautiful burr oak plain, eighty rods south of the Courthouse. It included one row of lots on the north side of Cedar to Vine, between Park and West streets. The entrance to the Institute's grounds was on Jail, now Park, near Lovell street, which was a boundary line. The students either let down the bars or climbed the fence on their way to and from the school building which was in the vicinity of what is now Walnut street. Originally the Institute was established upon the manual labor plan, and was designed to furnish the diligent student with the means, in part, of supporting himself. The course of study embraced the elementary and higher branches of English, mathematics, and Latin, Greek and French languages. Tuition for the ordinary branches was four dollars, for higher, five dollars per quarter. Board was furnished at the institution at one dollar and a half per week; number of pupils, fifty-seven.[11] A two-story frame structure was erected in 1836. The

[11]Michigan Gazeteer, 1838.

first teachers were Nathaniel Marsh, graduate of Hamilton College, and Walter Clark. In 1837, Nathaniel A. Balch, A. M., graduate of Middlebury College, became the principal of the Academic Department. By an act of the legislature, 1837, the name was changed to Kalamazoo Literary Institute. Within a year from its location, the Baptist Convention of the State of Michigan was organized, September, 1836. In constituting it the Baptists of the Territory, recognized the successful effort in the establishment of the institution and urged the importance of placing it on a still higher basis with all the corporate powers of a college. In 1837, the committee reported the refusal of the legislature to charter such an institution. Mr. Balch was called to Marshall to assume charge of Michigan College and David B. Alden of Brown University became his successor. The Kalamazoo Literary Institute, as it was now called, was not allowed to occupy the field without a rival. Its younger sister, the University of Michigan, proposed to cover the entire territory. The branches of the University were established in 1837-1838; the first at Pontiac, Kalamazoo and Detroit for the male department, and the male and female departments at the Monroe branch all went into successful operation. These branches were to bear the same relation to the central institution that the gymnasia bear to the German universities. Provision was made for the establishment of an institution in connection with each branch for the education of women in the higher branches of knowledge, to be under the same general direction and management as the branch with which it was connected; also a department for training teachers for primary schools. Public spirited citizens subscribed a sufficient amount to erect a two-story frame structure on the northeast corner of Academy square, which had been dedicated to educational purposes. The first principal of the Kalamazoo branch was George B. Eastman.

There was one serious drawback to the new enterprise, the few students, as the public in general regarded it in the light of an opposition school. The Institute had far the largest patronage. Although the speculative year 1836 had burned itself out, business matters were prostrate and the financial condition of the Institution was depressed. The regents of the University, albeit the school at the University of Michigan was not opened until October, 1841, with only two professors[12]

[12]Rev. George P. Williams, professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy and the Rev. Joseph Whitney, professor of Languages. Prof. Williams had been principal of the Pontiac Branch and Prof. Whitney of the Niles Branch. Their salaries were $500 each a year and they were given houses on the campus free of charge.

and six freshmen[13] (twenty-four years after her charter) grasped the situation and made overtures to the trustees of the institute for combining interests. The terms of compromise were somewhat after this manner; the trustees of the institute to choose the teachers, the regents would ratify the choice, thus making them the officers of the branch and promising financial aid sufficient to keep the institution alive. They suggested the branch building be used for recitation and school purposes, the institute building for dormitories and boarding. This plan of double acting engine was probably carried into effect in 1839, and was far more gratifying than had been anticipated. It was under the charge of David B. Alden, who had already been some time at the head. Mrs. Thirza West,[14] who afterwards became his wife, was the first to have charge of the girls department. In 1840, William Dutton, graduate of Brown University, succeeded to the principalship. His three years of service are always remembered with grateful respect (his name is commemorated by the street on institute plat which bears it). He resigned to enter the ministry but died not long after. In 1843, when the Institute was nearly ten years old, Rev. James A. B. Stone was settled as pastor of the Baptist Church and principal at the branch. Mrs. Stone assumed charge of the girls department. The regents of the University withdrew their pecuniary aid, which at no time had been as large as the promises made. So the partnership with the branch was terminated in 1845. The Baptists, who had begun the work were convinced that they must carry it on. A commanding site was chosen and purchased by John P. Marsh, Samuel H. Ransom, Thomas W. Merrill, Leonard Slater, Mrs. Delia Bulkley and a few others at a cost of $750. The erection of the building was aided in 1846 by the institute conveying to the convention, which was now in session, its land in the village, (the institute buildings having been burned) in consideration of the right to occupy the first story for literary purposes and a site for a separate building, should it erect one. The institution, within a year, soon assumed larger dimensions embracing a Theological Seminary, which was begun exclusively under the proprietorship and management of the Baptist convention of the state of Michigan.

Meanwhile through these years, the Kalamazoo Literary Institute had been carrying on its literary work, thus the institute and seminary were conducted upon legally independent lines until the policy of maintaining a Theological Seminary was relinquished. After the University

[13]The six pupils were William Brigham Wesson of Detroit, who entered as a Sophomore in 1841 and left next year on account of ill health, Judson D. Collins of Lyndon, George E. Parmelee of Ann Arbor, Merchant H. Goodrich of Ann Arbor, Lyman D. Norris of Ypsilanti and George W. Pray of Superior. *History of the University of Michigan* by Elizabeth M. Farrand, 1885, p. 47.

[14]Formerly Miss Thirza M. Hart, who married Mr. Alden in 1840.

withdrew from the bipartite educational treaty, not needing the branches longer they were discontinued. Those who ccontributed funds to erect the branch building, claimed it as personal property, alleging it reverted to them on account of a non-user on the part of the University for whose use it was built. When the college building was sufficiently completed for occupancy, Mrs. Stone had removed her school to the dark basement of the Baptist Church, the branch building used as practice rooms for music and drawing classes. It was an exceedingly queer conceit to dedicate four adjoining squares for such dissimilar purposes. There was propriety enough in having the churches beside the Court House so that the lawyers might not entirely forget that there was a higher bench still, but why the jail should be adjacent to the Academy, was something none were ever able to reconcile. It was outside the pale of the eternal fitness of things. The old log building occupied a site near the mound and was used for the incarceration of violators of the law. It only remained a few years and the historic old branch beneath the shadowing oaks, though far from an imposing edifice was left the sole architectural structure. But plain and unpretending though it was, pleasant associations gather around its whittled pine benches and cracked dingy walls, fond recollections of the stage that ran across the south end of the building, where the boys declaimed, or rather essayed, their first efforts in elocution, in such time honored selections as "Marco Boy" or "Hohenlinden" and "The boy stood on the burning deck." Those Wednesday afternoons were golden when the girls went from the regions above, to add to the discomfiture and laugh at the boy who was attempting to edify with his original composition. The upper room was theoretically and hypothetically the exclusive domain of those whom the college boys are pleased to call "co-eds." That was forbidden territory to the boys, but some times they even ventured across the approaches to this citadel. The little recitation room in the northeast corner up stairs all recognized as neutral ground. Vexed questions of diplomacy were here settled, or arrangements made for a picnic or maybe once in a while a sly flirtation. A prospect was on foot to convert Academy and Jail squares into a park, this also would include Church street, which ran directly between the squares. The right of conversion had been purchased from the successors of the original proprietor of the plat, for the benefit of the village, but this gave the village no legal claim to Academy Square, now Bronson Park, so long as it was used for the purposes for which it had been dedicated. But twenty consecutive years was likely to make the title permanent. Just before the expiration, the village trustees gave official notice to remove the building from the square. The young men were already domiciled in the not yet complete new building on the hill. No attention

was paid to the warning, so one night while men slept, a few wakeful ones with strong horses in their service, removed the old branch building into the highway and left it standing, where it was found the following morning. Word was sent to the Principal, Rev. J. A. B. Stone, by the village trustees, "If they were liable for damages they would remove the building with all its contents and the educational machinery onto the college grounds or whatever site might be designated." "Return it to the square" was the response. This they declined to do. The building stood some weeks in Academy street, an eyesore to the public as well as to all parties concerned. The college was in great need of the building. Mrs. Stone was obliged to rent other quarters in the then dark basement of the Baptist Church and the old branch was moved to Willard street between West and Cooley streets. In 1855 the fuller charter privileges were granted, still retaining the original charter of the Michigan and Huron Institute, and it has conferred degrees as a co-educational institution, thus making this the oldest literary Institute[15] in this State (the present seal of the college bears date 1833.) A woman's department was incorporated with the college. It had previously existed for some ten years as a private school with Mrs. L. H. Stone as principal, Misses Sheldon, Wilcox, Cornelius, Woodbury and Mrs. Graves as assistants and the grand event was the opening of Kalamazoo hall in 1859. From that time forward the college board assumed its support and control. An exceptionally able and devoted faculty was constituted. President J. A. B. Stone, Edward Anderson, A. M., professor of Greek; T. R. Palmer, A. M., professor of mathematics; Daniel Putnam, A. M., professor in Natural Science; Liberty E. Holden, A. M., professor of rhetoric and principal of the preparatory department, with G. A. Graves and Chandler Richards instructors; Mrs. L. H. Stone, principal of the woman's department, with Mrs. Martha Osborn, Miss Ella Fletcher, Miss Jennie S. Finney and Mr. and Mrs. James Hubbard as assistant teachers. Much had been accomplished in these decades. The two edifices had been erected, as the Institute and as the college literary work had been successfully maintained and in its theology a useful company had pursued their courses. No high school had been organized in Kalamazoo, so that both the Institute and the private school had a good local patronage. Dr. Stone filled the office as president for eight years until November, 1863, when he resigned. Mrs. Stone also retired and Professor Anderson became acting presi-

[15]The writer uses the word Institute in the sense of Academy and not College. The University of Detroit was started in 1817 by Father Richard with Rev. John Monteith as president, who filled seven professorships and received the munificent salary of twelve dollars per annum, while Father Richard, with six professorships, was given eighteen dollars and seventy-five cents. This University resulted in the one at Ann Arbor, started in 1837.

dent. In 1864 great enthusiasm greeted John M. Gregory, LL.D. His first policy was the payment of all indebtedness and important additions to the endowment fund. At the end of three years he resigned. In 1868 Dr. Kendall Brooks was called to the presidency, which office he filled for nineteen years, during which the Ladies' Hall enterprise was matured, aided materially by Miss Chase, whose death occurred not long after its completion, Mrs. H. G. Colman, and others. The children were enlisted in the work by Mrs. Kate B. Ford, and altogether about eight thousand dollars was raised by the women, which with a balance paid by the college, left the hall free from debt, and it was made over as college property. At the jubilee meeting of the Baptist Convention in Detroit, 1886, the educational property held by the convention was conveyed to the college. A second payment of debt and new endowment raised. After several disappointments and a year's delay, Monson A. Wilcox, D.D., was inaugurated president at a meeting of the Baptist convention in October, 1887, and the college freed from debt. In June, 1891, President Wilcox closed his service and Rev. Theodore Nelson was called. In September he began his work, but in a few months he was forced to withdraw and died in May, 1892. The presidential duties were performed by Prof. S. J. Axtell. Since 1892, Arthur Gaylor Slocum, LL.D., has been its president. During his official term, Bowen Hall has been constructed. We trust with the culmination of the Hundred Thousand Dollar movement, Kalamazoo College will be placed on a substantial support, its seventy-eighth birthday occurring in 1911.

MICHIGAN SEMINARY

A corporation was formed on the fifteenth of December, 1856, consisting of gentlemen of various religious denominations for the purpose of founding a school for young women, to be called the Michigan Female Seminary. Its object was to establish, endow and control a seminary of learning for the education of young ladies in the higher branches, having reference to the entire person, physically, intellectually, morally and religiously and was to be essentially modeled after Mt. Holyoke Seminary, now College, of Massachusetts, and the Western Female Seminary at Oxford, Ohio. The control of the institution was vested in a board of twenty trustees, "subject to the ratification of the Synod of Michigan or of such other Synod as shall have jurisdiction and within whose limits said Seminary is located." This provision insured the complete and permanent control of the institution by the Synod. A tract of thirty-two acres of land was chosen for the site on the east side of the Kalamazoo River, among the burr oaks, truly an academic grove. A spirit of old classic mythology seems to pervade the place.

One can think of a genius loci and nymphs and dryads hiding among these oaks, that half embowered this seat of learning and half hid the entire village with their beautiful foliage.

It was a beautiful spot on the slopes and uplands of the bluff, which fall gradually to the river. The original plan was to construct the buildings in the form of a Latin cross; the style to have been Norman. The work of construction was commenced in 1857, and continued until 1860, when work was suspended and not resumed until after the civil war. In 1866 Rev. John Covert was appointed to take charge of the work. Mr. Luther H. Trask was appointed superintendent of affairs. The centre building was opened on the thirtieth of January, 1867, with Miss Jeanette Fisher, principal, (now Mrs. Jeanette Fisher Moore.)

The institution was crowded at the outset above its capacity, all eager to avail themselves of the high standard of intellectual work. The South wing, built of wood, was erected in 1874, two stories high, intended to accommodate thirty-two pupils. The average number in attendance for twenty-seven years was from sixty to one hundred. By the generous bequest of Willard S. Dodge, the seminary funds were materially enriched and in 1892 the wooden wing was superseded by Dodge Hall, making the seminary more attractive and more homelike. It was equipped with all modern improvements, elevator, electricity, etc. There were instruments for the pursuance of scientific research, astronomical, chemical and philosophical apparatii, its gifts from the Orient, its pictures and foreign photographs the contributions of loyal friends. The seminary had its days of prosperity and hard struggles. It had its friends loyal and true. It had its teachers devoted, capable, noble and self denying. It had its daughters and the ties which still bind them together as the Alumnae of Michigan Seminary are indeed unsevered. In 1907 the doors were closed after forty years of service, and today their Alma Mater stands alone in the midst of a frowning world, yet happy in the consciousness that a great band of noble women have gone forth from her halls to stand valiantly for the right.

Only the fitful wailing of the breeze
Where birds have carolled 'mid their Cloisters green.
I ask the meadow lands and forest trees,
If they are sad at thought of what has been.

PRESENTATION OF THE PORTRAIT OF HON. ARTHUR HILL

BY WILLIAM DONOVAN[1]

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure you will regret that the gentleman from Saginaw who was to have presented the portrait of the late Hon. Arthur Hill, coming from Mrs. Hill and the former business associates of her husband, is not able to be here this evening. I have been asked to perform that duty, and I will say to the members of this Society that it is a pleasurable honor, and yet a painful one to me. It was my good fortune to know Mr. Hill very well, from his early boyhood days until the close of his life. We entered the University of Michigan together as members of the same class, we studied the same studies for four years, and we went from the university as members of the class of 1865. In 1862, in our sophomore year, we were employed on a United States Lake survey during five months, from the first of June until the last of October. We were paid during that time $1.00 per day each, our subsistence in camp and the expenses connected with our transportation to and from the scenes of our labor. The money earned by Mr. Hill that summer, which amounted in all to about $150, represented his first business effort. His young life and his whole career was a lesson of industry. His ability turned opportunity into achievement.

It was my pleasure, therefore, to know him very well during almost forty- five years, which this year completes, since our graduation, and only recently has he finished his life's work and gone to his reward. It has been my pleasure to meet him every year once or twice, from the time we left the university until the time of his death, and it was like him to always lay aside the cares and responsibilities of his busy life and refer to the good times we had when we were at the University together. He was always glad to hear of the success of his fellow members of the class, and always sad to know that one of them had laid down his life's duties.

His influence and business interests, in which he was so eminently successful, radiated from Michigan, as his boyhood and manhood home, until his colossal enterprises extended to both eastern and western continents. The people where he began his work, however, saw him day by day, and year by year. He was a great reader, a close student of literature, and a closer student of men. He was a gentleman of fine scholarship, whose culture was always an inspiration to his life and power. He was possessed of a fine, genial personality, and yet he showed

[1]Read at annual meeting, June 7, 1910.

great strength in his judgment and strong confidence in his purposes. He had fine executive ability, and was a good judge of a man and his character. Let me say, my friends, he had the respect of every man, woman and child with whom he came in contact, and was highly considered in the Saginaw Valley. He was a good student of Michigan and its history, and no man was ever more generous or more loyal to his own home and community interests which were ever dear to him.

He loved Michigan, his native State, whose conditions he knew and understood. His grasp of Michigan's institutional and other needs was strong and our great State made fortunate selection when it elected Hon. Arthur Hill to the regency of our great University. It was my fortune to have had my last visit with him at Ann Arbor, as he was there to attend his last meeting with the board of regents. How fitting it was that from the opening of his early life as a student until his death he should have given out of the brilliancy, potency, and uplift of his life so much to our great University.

I have great pleasure, Mr. President and members of the State Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan, in presenting this portrait to you in memory of his life and service as a citizen of Michigan. And I am intensely pleased to know that the distinguished head of our great University is present to speak to you of his life and character and pay tribute to his eminent ability.

ARTHUR HILL

BY JAMES B. ANGELL, LL.D.[1]

Arthur Hill was born in St. Clair in 1847. His parents were James H. and Lucretta (Brown) Hill. When he was eight years of age his father removed to Saginaw. The lad was prepared for college in the public school and was graduated from the University in 1865 with the degree of civil engineering. The scientific training he received was an admirable preparation for the kind of business in which he was engaged through life. After graduation he spent a few months in railroad engineering in Minnesota and then pursued studies for a time in the Law Department of the University of Michigan.

For some years he was a "land-looker" for his father, who was engaged in lumbering. He used to give graphic accounts of his tramping through the woods of Michigan and of his manifold experiences in camp life. He shrank not from its hardships. He gained at once a

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June 7, 1910.

robustness of constitution, and a kind of knowledge, which were both to stand him in good stead in his subsequent career. After seven years of this life he and his older brother formed a partnership of Hill Brothers to carry on the lumbering business, in which he was to be engaged till the day of his death. The style of the firm was afterward changed to Arthur Hill & Co. After the forests of the Saginaw Valley were in great degree exhausted, the firm extended its operations widely and rapidly to Minnesota and Canada and finally to the Pacific slope.

In 1890 the firm organized the Saginaw Steel Steamship Co., later the Michigan Steamship Co., and later still the U. S. Steamship Co. All of these vessels were employed on the Pacific. A large amount of capital and great energy and intelligence were required in the conduct of these commercial enterprises. One venture of the firm is often cited as an example of the sagacity of Mr. Hill and his associates. The great Galveston flood of a few years ago drove the British Steamship Roma ashore and carried her a mile inland. They bought the ship for a small sum, dredged a channel to the sea, repaired her and set her afloat again for useful service and at a cost which made the purchase a profitable transaction. In all his great undertakings he associated with him only men of high character and intelligence, whom he chose with unerring discrimination. His great business success was due to his marked capacity, his unimpeachable integrity, and his great industry.

But he did not allow himself to be so absorbed in his private affairs as to be forgetful of great public interests. In political questions he acted with the Republican party. It was his delight to be of any service in his power to the city in which he dwelt. He was three times elected Mayor of Saginaw and in that office studied its welfare most assiduously. He served for five years as President of the School Board which recognized his service and his generosity by giving his name to the High School.

In 1893 Mr. Hill endowed temporarily four scholarships to aid worthy graduates of the High School of his city in meeting their expenses at the University. He named these scholarships after four of his friends who had long served on the school board. The following extract from his letter to the city authorities in making this gift, is so happily expressed and so reveals the spirit of the writer that I quote it:

"I have attempted here, gentlemen, to do homage to friendship, and to unselfish public service, but this is only incidental to my desire to quicken the intellectual pulse of the youth of the city which has been my home from early boyhood. And I trust it will not be deemed unbecoming when I say, that whether the days that lie before me be many or be few, there enters into them with this act a singular serenity, growing out of the nature of the thing done.

Looking forward, I see from time to time, some humble scholar—and true scholars are humble, all—with eyes lifted across these scholarships to that lofty mountain peak of learning, our great state University, and I see that scholar, having higher aims, gaining higher ends.

Not that scholastic learning is everything, for the chiefest attribute to a complete nature is a heart generous beyond mere giving. But the student who goes up to one of our great seats of learning becomes one of the heirs of the best thoughts of the best men of all the ages, and both mind and heart are enriched thereby. And the student meets there the intellectual elite of the nation. Friendships are formed which endure as long as life, and to consort on equal terms with these choice spirits develops chivalry, humanity, as well as intellectual brightness.

The field of university teaching continually broadens, so that today the leading mechanical arts are taught in all their essentials and, moving along these new paths, the student constantly finds new sources of an honorable livelihood.

And so it is that, year by year, when the mellow October days shall come, I have the hope that some bright-faced young man, or sweet, clear-eyed young woman, will have found in this modest provision an inspiration and a purpose and will enter the college portals to their great and lasting gain.

If this shall be, then, in their persons I shall tread the old halls again and, garbed in perpetual youth, shall realize my present dream of immortality."

In 1901 Governor Bliss appointed Mr. Hill Regent of the University to fill the vacancy caused by the death of William J. Cocker.[2] When that term expired in 1905, he was elected by the people for the term of eight years. With his devotion to his Alma Mater he said when he was appointed regent that he preferred the office to any that could be offered to him. He proceeded at once with his usual thoroughness to make a careful study of the life and needs of the institution. No member of the board ever served with more fidelity and conscientiousness than he. His judgment was so sound and his decisions were so carefully made that his opinions usually carried great weight with his colleagues. More than once his generosity came to the help of the University in time of need. In 1899 he was appointed one of the State Board of Forestry Commissioners. Owing to his great interest in forestry the establishment of the school of forestry in the University, which now has more students than any other such school in the country, was largely due. He manifested his deep interest in it by giving to the University the Saginaw Forestry Farm lying just west of Ann Arbor. With all his

[2]Regent from 1888 until 1901 when he died suddenly at Ann Arbor, May 19.

engrossing business cares he was ever considering plans for increasing the attractiveness and usefulness of the University.

Mr. Hill was a man of unusual social gifts. He was a most agreeable companion. He had traveled widely both in Europe and in Asia, and his mind was richly stored with the fruits of his observations. There was a heartiness in his welcome which made it a delight to meet him and a warmth and constancy in his friendship which made you cherish it as a treasure. His will shows how public spirited and generous he was. His public bequests are as follows: $200,000 to the University for an auditorium; $200,000 to his city for an Industrial School; $50,000 to the Saginaw General Hospital; $25,000 to the East Saginaw Home for the Friendless; $25,000 to the Saginaw (West Side) Young Men's Christian Association; and $25,000 for the perpetual maintenance of the scholarships above described.

In his private bequests he remembered, in addition to his family, a large number of his personal friends.

Till within a few months of his death he seemed so vigorous and so vital, he had so many beneficent plans in mind that we who knew him well looked for years of fruitful and generous life for him, life which we were confident would have been a blessing to the University, to the state and to the nation. In the fulness of his strength and in the midst of his benefactions he was taken from us and there remains to us only the sad consolation of paying this poor tribute to his memory.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTHERN MICHIGAN FROM 1815 to 1835*

BY GEORGE NEWMAN FULLER

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I wish to think over with you, hastily, the larger aspects of southern Michigan settlement between the years 1815 and 1835, and then, with this as a background, to go somewhat leisurely over one of the areas of settlement where we can observe, at close range, the actual occupation of the land by settlers.

First, I would call your attention to a definition of settlement which in my mind distinguishes this period essentially from any that precedes it; according to which, settlement is the process of establishing permanent homes, under civil government, with a purpose of developing those resources of the new country which are necessary to the

*Delivered at midwinter meeting at Kalamazoo, Mich., in January, 1911.

maintenance of civil society. It can, I think, easily be shown that the practical starting point for this kind of settlement in Michigan is not very far back of the close of the War of 1812. The spirit of the French period was distinctly hostile to agricultural colonization. The fur-trader demanded the preservation of the forests in order to protect his fur-bearing animals. The Jesuit would keep the frontier distant in order to preserve control over his Indian converts. In the half-feudal militarism of the period there was little place for local civil institutions. As for population and permanent home-building, Michigan had developed, after more than a century, at its most favorable point for population, only about three hundred families.[1] The activities of the French period were on the whole more akin to exploration. But little different was the period of British occupation. The French soldiers at the posts gave place to English soldiers. A few British traders were added to Detroit. A considerable number of French Canadians came to the shore lands above and below that point. But there was no inland settlement, and there was no real agricultural development. And the early American period saw few improvements. In 1810, after five years of the history of Michigan as a separate Territory of the Union, there was not a farm cultivated by a white man five miles from the territorial boundary;[2] and fourteen years after that, a year only before the opening of the Erie Canal, there were besides Detroit but nine villages in the whole Territory.[3]

The period prior to where we begin, as distinguished from the practical, hardworking period of which we are to speak, was a romantic period of missionary work, of fur-trading and of military occupation. Perhaps it is in part this charming romantic element, seen through the haze that distance lends, which makes every native of Michigan love this period and which has led so many to write so much about it. That is natural and wholesome. But neither our love for its romance, nor the bulkiness of the literature that has been written about it, ought to be allowed to misguide us into overestimating its material significance for Michigan as an agricultural commonwealth of permanent home-builders under American institutions.

It may help to clearify our definition somewhat if we take a moment to get hold of some of its concrete elements. There are at least four groups of these elements as they appear to me, blending into one another and yet fairly distinguishable, which correspond to four phases in the process of settlement.

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[1] *Farmer, History of Detroit*, I. 334.
[2] Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 222 and map op. 226.
[3] *Ibid.*, 224.

They center about

1. the sources of population and initial immigration,
2. governmental preliminaries,
3. active pioneering, and
4. institutional growth.

The first group of elements has to do with

1. whence the settlers came and why from those localities,
2. why they left their old homes,
3. why they came to Michigan in particular,
4. how they reached Michigan, and
5. what qualities, habits and institutional ideals they brought with them.

The second group of elements is concerned with what the government did to make ready the way. It involves such elements as

1. the military protection of the frontier,
2. the extinguishing of Indian titles,
3. the surveying of the lands,
4. the institution of land offices and the regulation of land sales,
5. the laying out of the counties,
6. the organizing of local government, and
7. the building of roads to the interior.

In a third group are a great variety of elements which are concerned with the actual occupation of the land, a group of local influences due to environment and to the preferences and the prejudices of individual settlers, and which govern the location, the distribution and the founding of settlements.

A fourth group characterizes the period of subsequent development, when, with immigrants still coming in great numbers, institutions begin to take on a marked and permanent character. The elements there are mainly

1. checks and stimuli of institutional growth,
2. the rate and amount of growth in different economic periods,
3. comparative tendencies to centralization or concentration of population,
4. the interaction of rural and urban growth especially with reference to internal improvements, and
5. the distinguishing social, economic and cultural features of large centers of population.

Let us attend first to the physiographic and economic factors in Michigan's invitation to settlers; and here I need not stop long before such an audience as this is. Michigan had in these respects an excep-

tional combination of advantages. Her comparatively large area, her position near the older settled regions and easy accessibility for them, her extensive water boundaries opening into all parts of the peninsula by numerous rivers and streams, insured ease and variety of settlement. The natural drainage of wide areas of the best pine and hardwood lands, with navigation for small craft and unsurpassed water power for sawmills and flourmills as well as other manufacturing, invited industry. Adjacent to her heavier timbered lands were a variety of openings, plains, and small prairies. With the exception of abundant small lakes, some considerable patches of sand and occasional dots of not irreclaimable marsh lands, there was a continuous area of soil of the finest quality for grazing and agriculture of almost every variety that is suited to a north temperate climate. The copper, iron and other items of value in the upper peninsula did not of course become a part of Michigan's resources until after the settlement of the Ohio boundary dispute. Michigan salt and coal did not attract serious attention in a commercial sense until very much later. In the early days it was the surface advantages of the southern half of the lower peninsula that were the real inducements to Michigan settlers.[4]

In the coming of settlers to Michigan we have a very good illustration of the way in which the presence of a great natural line of transportation may determine whence immigration shall come to a region. Michigan lay most easily opened to the people directly eastward, and this was true especially when steamboats began to course the Great Lakes. When we look through the county histories and the volumes of the Michigan Pioneer Collections we find that a vast majority of the Michigan settlers who came before 1835 had their last place of residence in western New York; if we look a little closely we find, what is still in keeping with the same physiographic fact, that a large proportion of these settlers were not born in New York but in New England, and chiefly in Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut. Some are found to have come directly from New England without sojourning in New York. Very few comparatively are found to have came from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Ohio, and of these a large per cent were born in states farther east. Still fewer are found who came from Kentucky and Tennessee; scarcely any from the Gulf or South Atlantic states. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that places so near to Michigan as southern and central Illinois, Indiana and Ohio were peopled very largely from these latter sources upon which Michigan scarcely drew at all,[5] a contrast in sources of population that has a counterpart in a contrast of physiographic conditions. No great natural lines of communication lead

[4]Blois, *Gazetteer of Mich.*, 20-28; Tackabury, *Atlas of Mich.*, 9-14.
[5]Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, maps op. pp. 210, 236, 246.

from the south to Michigan. Instead of that the great open prairies acted as a sort of buffer to the expansion of population from that direction while that immigration which did come northward in this period was intercepted and assimilated by the rich lands on the south of this barrier.[6]

We do not have far to seek to explain why the settlers who came to Michigan in this period left their old homes in the East. One can not read long in the newspapers or other local literature of that day in New York and New England without becoming aware of at least the general nature of the changes in the old conditions of life that were resulting in widespread unrest and consequent immigration. These changes bore especially hard upon the small farmer.[7] Navigation by steam and the cheap and easy transportation by the new canal across New York brought the surplus of the western farms into competition with the products which the New York and New England farmer had to sell in the eastern markets. The result was that prices were lowered not only for the products of the farms but for the farms also. And it was a competition whose severity continually increased. It was felt grievously by those who were producing on a small scale and at an inconvenient marketing distance from the Canal. In this situation were the small farmers in the northern and southern New York counties whose chance was small of long holding out in competition with their large-acred neighbors. The very taxes paid by them in-so-far as they went to help keep the Canal in repair operated to decrease the value of their farms and the prices of their products. Many of the small farmers turned to grazing and dairying. Others sold their farms to persons who were going to engage in these industries while yet they could realize enough for them to get a start elsewhere. In the struggle many lost their farms, even their homes and their credit.[8] In varying degree Pennsylvania and the other middle Atlantic states were affected by the same causes.[9]

New England was preeminently the home of the small farmer,[10] and grain farming in New England was especially unsuccessful in the decade following 1824.[11] Many farmers turned to raising sheep, an industry which had long been gaining importance and which throve

[6] *Bulletin Univ. of Wis. Hist.*, Series I, No. 4, p. 540.

[7] *Bulletin Univ. Wis. Hist.*, Series I, No. 4, pp. 331-337, containing a good brief discussion of these changes to which the writer is indebted for direction to the references appended.

[8] Hulburt, *Historic Highways*, XIV., 152-177.

[9] *Sen. Deb.* 23 *Cong.*, 1 Sess. 825, 1187, 1803; *House Deb.* 23 *Cong.*, 1 Sess. 4039, 4188.

[10] Hunt's *Merchant's Mag.*, V., 201; *The New Englander*, LII., 338; *Atlantic Monthly*, XXVI., 333.

[11] Goodhue, *Hist. of Shoreham* (*Vt.*), 59.

especially after the protective tariffs of 1824 and 1828.[12] But sheep raising, to be most profitable, required large areas of unfenced land, therefore the larger farmers who had gone into the business offered to the smaller farmers prices for their land which under the circumstances of competition with the West the latter could not afford to refuse. Thus many small farmers in prospect of being made landless, and probably also much influenced by the interests of growing and ambitious children, looked anxiously about for new locations of promise.

To all these discontented yet always hopeful men of the East, the rich government lands of Michigan, selling since 1820 at $1.25 per acre, must have been an alluring temptation. We can ourselves feel some enthusiasm as we read the glowing letters from successful pioneers, the enticing circulars of speculators, and the newspaper portrayals of the golden opportunities in the "West." The ease of getting to the west, and the fact that by this very ease of transportation eastern markets were brought practically as near to the West as they had once been to parts of New York and New England probably helped to decide their minds. That many of these people did come to Michigan, and that they came in rapidly increasing numbers is shown by the Territorial census of 1834, which gives to Michigan a population of 87,278.[13] This was a gain during the four years from 1830 to 1834[14] of more than double the gain in the ten years from 1820 to 1830.

The qualities, the habits and the ideals of Michigan settlers in this period were therefore essentially those of New York and New England; before an audience whose ancestors they were the briefest allusion to them will suffice. These people, unlike the hunter type of pioneer to be found in some of our southern states, were a sociable, home-loving people, fond of close neighbors, and thus a clearing in the Michigan forest was likely soon to become the nucleus of a village or city; cohesion was assured to the social body by the tendency to form lively, sympathetic relationships between settlements and with the outside world. They were a people intensely democratic, and healthfully so, in co-operation and mutual service, which is seen typically in their local government; the town-meeting found in Michigan its first home in the West.[15] Being in the main young people with few of the conservative elements of population, which usually cling to the older settled sections, they had the characteristic venturesomeness of youthful radicals; this is well illustrated by the improvement schemes of the early days and by the $5,000,000 loan;[16] in private enterprise it comes out in the building of

[12] *Boston Patriot*, Oct. 3, 1810.
[13] Blois, *Gaz. of Mich.*, 150.
[14] *U. S. Cen.* (1830), 153; *Ibid.* (1820), 41.
[15] *Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud.* I., No. 5, p. 10.
[16] Campbell, *Outlines of Pol. Hist. of Mich.*, 487-500.

the Erie and Kalamazoo railroad at a time when Stevenson's "Rocket" was still new even in England. They had a much needed quality in their power to endure hardships, which was born of lives of toil on the farm and of a firm faith in the future. They had the domestic virtues, and with these that strength of will and hard common sense that give stability to commonwealths in crises. Essentially Puritan in spirit, the church and the school were to be expected among the earliest of the "firstlings" in almost every settlement. Of this spirit were to come the colleges at Kalamazoo, Albion, Olivet, Hillsdale and other present day Michigan colleges of the denominational type.[17] Religious and educational leaders were to be among the strongest forces in political life. I need only mention such names as Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce, so intimately associated with the beginnings of the University of Michigan and of the state's public school system.[18]

Time could be spent with pleasure in elaborating these phases of pioneer life; but we must hasten on to another group of settlement elements. I want to speak, briefly, of the salient checks and stimuli to growth in this period which were common to all of Michigan—the effects of the War of 1812, the early unfavorable reports about Michigan lands, the treaties extinguishing Indian titles, the establishment of the land offices, the building of roads, the epidemics of 1832 and 1834 and the Black Hawk War. A word only to each of these.

The War of 1812 was temporarily a set-back to settlement. Fear of the Indians drove the settlers either into Detroit or out of the Territory, and normal conditions did not return until towards 1818.[19] The war made money scarce, and in time this made it impracticable in many cases for intending settlers to secure amounts sufficient to buy farms. The large quantities of depreciating fiat money which came into circulation also added embarrassment to settlers.[20] But the war was ultimately of some benefit. It impressed the military need of better roads, and through this lesson it led directly to the first improvements of roads to connect Detroit with the Ohio valley.[21] Moreover it left in Michigan soldiers from Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Virginia who in common with those returning home told their friends about the opportunities in Michigan.[22] It was largely responsible for giving to Michigan Territory the services of Lewis Cass who as governor from 1815 to 1831 used his great energies to promote settlement.

[17] *Cir. of Bureau of Educ.*, No. 4, (Wash., 1891), 124, 133, 138, 145.
[18] *Ibid.*, 34-5.
[19] *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Coll.* (abbreviated elsewhere to *M. P. H. C.*) IV., 311, 319; V., 458, 463; VI., 360, 374; McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 84.
[20] Farmer, *Hist. Detroit*, I., 847.
[21] *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, II., 257.
[22] *Ibid.*, II., 265; *M. P. H. C.*, XXII., 482.

The false reports about Michigan lands at first seriously embarrassed settlement. In a letter which James Monroe wrote to Thomas Jefferson prior to the organization of the Northwest Territory he said, "A great part of the territory is miserably poor especially that near the Lakes Michigan and Erie * * * The districts, therefore, within which these fall will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy * * *."[23] According to the official report of Mr. Edward Tiffin, the commissioner of the general land office, which he made in 1815 regarding Michigan lands, there "would not be more than one acre out of a hundred, if there would be one out of a thousand that would, in any case, admit of cultivation," for "the intermediate space between the swamps and lakes, which is probably nearly one-half the country is, with a very few exceptions, a poor barren, sandy land, on which scarcely any vegetation will grow, except very small scrubby oaks."[24] These evaluations found their way through geographies and other literature, into the minds of eastern people who wished to know about the best places to settle in the West.[25] The words "Interminable Swamp" appeared across the interior of Michigan on maps which they would consult.[26] For the time being the tide of immigration turned aside from Michigan with its "interminable swamps" and favored Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

But in the long run these false reports conduced to Michigan's good. They saved some two millions of acres of her very best lands in the southeast from the slow settlement which has usually been incident to military bounty lands. It came about in this way. In 1812 Congress passed an Act authorizing a large survey of bounty lands for compensation to the soldiers of the war then in progress. A part of this was to have been surveyed in Michigan, but in 1816, apparently on the basis of Tiffin's report, though the Act does not mention it, Congress ordered Michigan's proportion to be surveyed elsewhere. It is probable that Tiffin's surveyors worked during the wet season in what was then the southeast corner of Monroe county and also in the rear of Detroit. Thus the bounty lands would have been located in this region if a thorough survey had been made and the real quality of the land discovered. Instead of that fate these lands were early taken up by actual settlers and these early settlements, which made the first frontier anywhere removed from the water, became the basis for the further extension of the frontier, accelerating the settlement of the interior. As time went on the false impressions were removed gradually by let-

[23]Hamilton (ed) *Writings of James Monroe* I., 117.
[24]*Amer. State Pap., Pub. Lands*, III., 164-5.
[25]*M. P. H. C.*, XXII., 542.
[26]*Ibid.*, I., 381.

ters from these pioneers, by returned travelers, by later reports of the United States surveyors and by the Michigan newspapers.

The Indian titles to the lower peninsula were, with slight exceptions, extinguished by four great treaties in 1807, 1819, 1821, and 1836. The first of these ceded the southeastern part of Michigan, west as far as the principal meridian and north well into the Saginaw region. Within two years, near the beginning of our period, by the treaties of Saginaw and Chicago in 1819 and 1821, the great belt of country comprising the valleys of the Saginaw, the Grand, the Kalamazoo and the St. Joseph river systems was transferred to the government and began to invite the attention of settlers.[27]

A new interest in settlement is indicated in 1818 by the opening to sale, at Detroit, of the surveyed portions of the cession, of 1807. Of much significance was the arrival in the same year at that port of the first steamboat from Buffalo. Following the cessions of 1819 and 1821 a second land office was established, in 1823, at Monroe.[28] Meanwhile money with which to buy land had become abundant through large issues of Michigan banks, secured principally in Michigan lands.[29] By June 30, 1828, which closed the first decade of land sales, there had been sold at the two offices a little less than a half million acres;[30] an amount which the sales of the following two years equaled, making a total of about a million acres which were sold by the end of 1830.[31] There were, at that time surveyed and open to sale about ten million acres of the seventeen and a half million which had been ceded by the Indian treaties.[32]

The increasing number of immigrants brought by way of the Erie Canal, which opened in 1825, and by the six steamboats running in 1826 were a cogent argument for the rapid completion of means to help settlers get to the interior of Michigan.[33] In 1831 the progress of the Detroit-Chicago road through the southern tier of counties and the immigration to the southwest led to the opening of a land office at White Pigeon in St. Joseph county.[34] The cholera epidemic and the fear of the Black Hawk War checked settlement seriously in the following year; it is said that stages which before had been overloaded were taken off the roads for want of passengers and that many intending immigrants turned to Ohio.[35] But the check was temporary. The progress

[27] *M. P. H. C.*, I., 225; 18th *Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology*, Pt. 2, pp. 674, 698, 702, 740, 756; *Amer. State Pap., Ind. affairs*, II, 194, 258.
[28] *Stat. at Large*, III., 778.
[29] *M. P. H. C.*, XXX., 416.
[30] *Amer. State Pap., Pub. Lands*, V., 800.
[31] *Hist. and Sci. Sketches of Mich.*, 165.
[32] *Amer. State Pap., Pub. Lands*, V., 799.
[33] *M. P. H. C.*, XXII., 487.
[34] *Ibid.*, XVIII., 513.
[35] *M. P. H. C.*, II., 294; VI., 239; XVIII., 606; XXX., 456.

of the Territorial Road through the second tier of counties and the rapid occupation of the land in that section led to the opening of a land office in Kalamazoo in 1834, and with this event there began a new period in the settlement of western Michigan.

These are the large features, given here in very bold outline, which have appeared to me as the essentials of cause and effect in the settlement of southern Michigan in this period. If now I may venture to tax your patience further I will go a little into detail about some of the other things suggested at the outset, particularly in the third and fourth groups of settlement elements, and apply them to one of the settlement areas.

Physiographic agents determining the time, rate, amount and distribution of settlement described six of these areas in this period. First there was the old French section, along the eastern shore comprising Monroe, Wayne, Macomb and St. Clair counties, with problems suggesting the settlement of Virginia or Massachusetts in colonial days. A second area was formed by the first inland counties, Oakland, Washtenaw and Lenawee, representing three great lines along which population moved to the interior, respectively to the Saginaw valley, to the Kalamazoo and the Grand River country, and to the region of the St. Joseph. The line of the Detroit-Chicago turnpike through the southern tier of counties westward from Lenawee county made a third area. The Territorial road which passed through the second tier of counties west of Washtenaw made a fourth area, and to this belonged Allegan county; it was not on the Territorial road, but its river, the Kalamazoo, was a strong agent of settlement in the whole section. The Grand River had a wide sphere of influence, subdividing into the northern, central and southern valleys, forming a fifth area. Apart from all of these was the valley of the Saginaw river and its tributaries.

Beginning with the French section: The number of the French there was never large and most of them came late to Michigan excepting at Detroit comparatively few settled in the French period, and the important colonies outside of Detroit appear to have been founded between 1763 and 1797. There were prior to 1815 probably not more than five hundred French farms in the four counties[36] and there is no evidence that the number of these farms was substantially increased subsequently. Probably a study of the adjudication of French claims would afford the best light as to their number. The French had a variety of titles to their land; in 1807 Congress made it possible for each claimant who could show his claim to have been occupied and partly improved prior to July 1, 1796, to get six hundred and forty acres. The French families were large and if every farm supported a family, the five hundred

[36] *Amer. State Pap., Pub. Lands*, I., 266-9, 281.

farms would indicate a considerable population. The territorial census of 1805 credits Detroit with 525 heads of families who were probably mainly French.[37] Of the 380 names of heads of families in the territorial census of Detroit for 1827, about 200 are French.[38] The old French maps, the atlases of the shore counties, and Tackabury's atlas of Michigan show the French farms at Detroit and also those above and below that point along the shore. In Monroe county these farms lay along both sides of the Raisin closely packed together for some ten miles inland, averaging a length of about two miles back from the river. The Raisin river settlement was considerably the largest of the French settlements. In Macomb county there were perhaps a hundred French farms, mainly about Mt. Clemens; in St. Clair county there is said to have been a somewhat larger number on the lower St. Clair river,[39] yet in 1821 there were only about twenty-five French names on the assessment roll in St. Clair county.[40] The 4,618 "whites" in the United States census[41] for Michigan Territory in 1810 were practically all for this section, but as these items reveal, it would be impossible to do more than guess at the proportion of the French in this number. The British element in the population was probably very small. The increase to 8,591[42] in 1820 shows the beginning of American settlement. Of course the relative numbers of the French even if known, could not be taken as a probable measure of French influence without a glance at their material, social and cultural conditions.

Industrial and economic conditions in the French settlements were characteristic of a people of small enterprise. The French trapped, hunted, fished and trafficked with the Indians and with the forts. Their cultivation of the land could be called farming only in a very narrow sense. They had farms of good size and quality, but a small cabin with slight clearings along a water frontage of from twenty-four to sixty rods[43] was usually the extent of a Frenchman's improvements. The long narrow strip in the back of his clearings furnished him with firewood and the little timber he needed. To the Yankee farmer these people must have seemed lazy, shiftless and ignorant. For example, in the winter they hauled the manure onto the ice in the river so that it might float away in the spring, and when they sheared their sheep they threw away the wool, not being able either to weave or spin.

[37] Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 335; *Cf. M. P. H. C.*, I., 345, and the *Detroit Post*, May 9, 1876.
[38] *Census of Mich.*, 1884, I., xlviii.
[39] *M. P. H. C.*, XVIII., 486, 491-3; VI., 657; *Hist. St. Clair Co.*, 215, 494.
[40] *Hist. St. Clair Co.*, 238-9.
[41] *U. S. Census* (1850), 898.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Pub. Mich. Pol. Sc. Assoc.*, III., 168-9. For a description of the French farms and farming see the clear sketch by James V. Campbell in the *Mag. of West. Hist.*, IV., 375 f; also Cooley, *Michigan*, 232-237.

Soap making was a "Yankee novelty."[44] But we should not, in justice to the habitants, dismiss these conditions without saying a word of the policy of the French and the British governments in relation to them. No score of restrictions could have been devised with which to kill all interest in agriculture more effectively than those which were imposed by the former in order to insure the servitude of the habitants and subject them to the interest of the seigneurs in the fur trade.[45] The British seem to have been interested in little more than to secure military defence. They quartered troops on the inhabitants; they allowed them to buy no land from the Indians without express permission in each case from the king; it appears to have been a representative sentiment that was expressed in an address by Mr. Lymbruner, agent of the Province of Canada, in 1793, before the House of Commons, when he said that the obstacles to Detroit's growth were such that they "must greatly impede the progress of settlement and cultivation [of this vicinity] for ages to come."[46]

The habitants, in social and spiritual qualities, in hospitality, morality and religious zeal, were not inferior. Nor were they ignorant in the sense of unintelligent. They were limited in book learning by their meager opportunity, and with this went a very narrow conservatism for the old usages. They clung fondly to their language and their dress, to their manners and their social habits, and their pride of ancestry quite equaled that of any old New England family. But their simplicity and sociability were proverbial. They were of course Catholics, and under the gentle ministrations of their devoted priests they gained as high a standard of morality as could be found anywhere on the frontier.[47]

The coming together of the New Englander and the French habitant was the meeting of two civilizations. The stronger must have predominated in the long run, independently of numbers, by the superiority of its achievements, and this issue was helped along by the common features which they possessed of sociability, love of home and depth of religious nature. But the habitants felt the energy and hurry of the newcomers as a disturbing force. They did not like the American any better than they had liked the British domination.[48] American settlers did not take any pains to tread softly on the French prejudices. No doubt zealous Puritanism looked somewhat askance at Catholicism, and the habitant on his part could neither understand nor appreciate the

[44] *Papers of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, III., 314.
[45] *Amer. State Pap., Pub. Lands*, I., 282.
[46] Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 336.
[47] Bela Hubbard, *Memorials of a Half Century*, 136-9, 146-9; *M. P. H. C.*, XVIII., 463; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII., 218-19.
[48] Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 335; McLaughlin, *Hist. of Higher Education in Mich.*, 10, 11.

American's zeal for free public schools and for self-government. What hardness of feeling there was softened gradually with the coming of the American Catholics and with closer acquaintance with each other, and the change was hastened by concrete demonstrations of good will after the war in the shape of aid[49] given to the suffering habitants by the American government.[50]

Yet the old regime did not give way without leaving its impress. It had the advantage of century-old traditions which the New Englander learned to prize. The blood and the traditions of the habitants particularly affected the social atmosphere of Detroit and Monroe, where many of the old French families became leading forces. On the material side the presence of the habitants was often a hindrance to rapid progress, especially in the villages. Not infrequently their methods and prejudices temporarily prevented improvements; for example when a contented owner of an old estate refused to have his property disturbed by the widening of a street or by the running of a new one.[51] Again along shore and up the streams the habitants owned a great deal of the best land, which in proportion as they would not sell it, was held back from the more enterprising methods of the Yankee farmer. Much trouble came to settlers who purchased lands adjoining these French tracts owing to errors in the early surveys of the French claims by the United States much long litigation arose to disturb the course of improvements.[52]

The most important French center of settlement was of course Detroit. Its growth in this period as a supply station, a market, a shipping point and a center of urban comforts was considerable, and as it was one of the strongest determining forces in the settlement of this whole section it claims notice somewhat at length as we pass now to consider the incoming tide of Americans.

All of Detroit that was material was swept away in the fire of 1805.[53] It began life anew with the beginning of Michigan as a Territory, for the coming of the new territorial officials to Detroit in that year really marked the dawn of American settlement in Michigan. Detroit grew very slowly until the land sales in 1818 attracted immigrants, and until the new settlers brought the reaction of agricultural development to trade, commerce and manufacture. From 1818 to 1820 the population increased from 1,110[54] to 1,422;[55] it reached 2,152[56] in 1827, and

[49] *Mag. of Western Hist.*, III., 539.
[50] McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 94.
[51] Wing, *Hist. Monroe Co.*, 93-106; Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 338.
[52] *Amer. State Pap., Pub. Lands*, I., 248; *M. P. H. C.*, VI., 363.
[53] *M. P. H. C.*, I., 346.
[54] *Ibid.*, IV., 466.
[55] *U. S. Census* (1820), 41.
[56] *Cen. of* 1827, *in M. P. H. C.*, XII., facing p. 462½.

2,222[57] by 1830. Sharing in the general rapid growth of the four years following, Detroit at the close of the period was a city of nearly 5,000 people.[58]

For the future convenience and appearance of the city the fire of 1805 was doubtless fortunate. It destroyed the narrow streets of the old French village and there succeeded ultimately a new village, modeled on the city of Washington, whither the seat of government had been recently removed, and for which the author of the new plan, Judge Woodward, had a great admiration.[59] As a result no city in the Union, except Washington, has streets of such ample width as are those of Detroit to-day.

The character of a city's streets is an important factor in its growth. However, width in the case of Detroit's streets did not compensate for a serious drawback in their composition. The soil there was a fine black dirt mixed with clay, and when it got full of water, especially in the spring and fall of the year, it made a mud of such depth and adhesiveness as to put the streets almost out of service. So late as 1838 a passing pioneer wrote in his diary (in March): "The middle of the street is so constantly stirred up by the carts that it is a sea of mud so deep that the little French horses often get set with almost an empty cart."[60] Mr. Farmer in his history of Detroit says that in 1851 he counted at one time there fourteen teams stuck fast in the mud.[61] There were in this period few if any crosswalks, and foot passengers had frequently to use a horse to get from one side of the street to the other.[62] Lining these muddy streets, which extended along a water front that was almost in a state of nature, were small, low wooden buildings, with unpainted fronts and moss-covered roofs, the best buildings in the city. The only way to get into or out of the city by land was by a road leading along the shore, which for a large part of the year was scarcely more passable than the city streets. By this road mail was brought on horseback, theoretically once a week.[63] Yet despite these drawbacks, William Darby, who was an extensive traveler, saw there in 1818 "all the attributes of a seaport," with "all the interior features of a flourishing

[57] *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.

[58] Blois, *Gazetteer of Mich.*, 279. Allowance must be made for expansion of the city limits in comparing these figures; also in the season of open navigation the density of population was increased by a considerable volume of transients.

[59] *Amer. State Pap., Public Lands*, VI., 270; *M. P. H. C.*, XXXI., 512; *U. S. Stat. at Large*, IV., 413; Detroit received a new city charter in 1815.

[60] *M. P. H. C.*, I., 191. For illustrations of transportation particularly of the Canadian pony cart, see *Mag. of West. Hist.*, IV., 745-7; Campbell's *Outlines of the Pol. Hist. of Mich.*, 420, 421.

[61] Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 928.

[62] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 471.

[63] *M. P. H. C.*, I., 412, 496, 501. *Cf.* S. R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer* (1817), 166-168; *View of the United States* (Liverpool, 1820), 696-697.

and cultivated community, as much so, equivalent to numbers, as any city of the United States."[64] And in the same year another traveler, Estwich Evans, credited Detroit, in particular the fort, with a very pleasing environment, and thought the situation calculated for a "large and elegant" city.[65] These opinions may have influenced immigration, for both accounts reached eastern readers through the press in 1819, the former from New York City, the latter from Concord, New Hampshire.

The frontier character of Detroit was reflected in primitive conditions of life on every hand. In trade the common method of exchange was barter. A merchant who had just sold out in 1820 desired his debtors to settle at once in "cash, beans or flour."[66] Prices were on the whole high, owing to the war, especially upon articles which were brought from the East. Tea sold in 1819 for three dollars a pound.[67] Small industries were practiced even by those who were engaged in public work and in the professions. The postmaster cultivated seeds for sale. He had a little garden near the post-office and put up his seeds for market in old envelopes.[68] Of public utilities there were few or none. Drinking water was got at the river, from whence it was carried in pails and kept in barrels at each house. For protection against fire the barrels were provided with handles so that the contents might be more easily used.[69] During the day about three hundred Indians loafed about the city, and when they could get liquor enough they debauched the night.[70]

French conservatism stood not a little in the way of Detroit's material progress. It was with very great difficulty for instance that French prejudice against wide streets was overcome when the new city was planned after the fire of 1805, and the habitants had this change long for a grievance.[71] They liked as little the Yankee invasions of the old methods of trade and transportation, as is illustrated by an incident of rivalry between two men named Edwin Baldwin and François Beneteau.[72] Beneteau ran a canoe ferry between Detroit and Canada. Baldwin on arriving at Detroit from the East in 1818 started a sail-boat ferry to compete with him. Despite the best efforts of Baldwin the French would give him so little patronage that the slow-going canoe promised to win out, and it was only after some years that the Yankee's spirit of perseverance and enterprise wore away the French prejudice

[64]Darby, *Tour of the West*, 190.
[65]Evans, *Pedestrious Tour*, 115-116; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII., 215.
[66]*Detroit Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1820.
[67]Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 800.
[68]*Ibid.*, I., 773.
[69]*M. P. H. C.*, XVIII., 462; IV., 466.
[70]*M. P. H. C.*, XVIII, 462; Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 838.
[71]Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 927.
[72]*Detroit Post*, Oct. 7, 1877; *M. P. H. C.*, II., 579.

sufficiently to make it pay him to stay in the business. A traveler who passed through Detroit in 1834 comments upon the disposition of the French neither to sell nor improve their property: "Many of the farms now cross the streets of Detroit at right angles at the upper end of the town, and, of course, offer on either side a dozen building lots of great value. The original owners, however, persist in occupying them with their frail wood tenements and almost valueless improvements, notwithstanding large sums are continually offered for the merest slice in the world off the end of their long-tailed patrimonies."[73]

A new epoch opened for the city in 1818 when the land sales commenced there. At the same time began steam navigation on Lake Erie.[74] Still things did not go at first with a rush; it was 1822 before the second steamboat appeared on the lakes, which on its first arrival at Detroit brought only ninety-four passengers. But the sales attracted a considerable number of settlers. Detroit became a rendezvous for those who were going to the interior of Michigan, or further west to the Illinois and Wisconsin country. Frequently settlers made only tentative plans until they should reach Detroit, which became a clearing house of ideas about the interior, and after their arrival they not infrequently changed intended plans through the influence of speculators and promoters of particular localities. The city profited not a little by its position at the very door of the new country. Many concluded to settle within its limits or in its vicinity. Soon the reaction of the agricultural settlements became a positive and strong stimulus to a development which in turn put new life currents circulating through the rural districts. Of the early development of Detroit bare chronology is suggestive. In anticipation of the coming prosperity a small newspaper called the Detroit Gazette, was started in 1817, which was destined to be a strong agent for the promotion of settlement. People were coming in numbers large enough to warrant a new hotel in 1819. The growth of trade resulted in a new brick store in 1820, the first in the city.[75] The sign of a new element in the population in 1821 was the incorporation of the First Protestant Society of Detroit. As already noted the second steamboat on the lakes arrived in 1822 and in that year in June stages began carrying settlers to the interior. By 1824 the "adventurers from down East" were making a visible impression upon the city with their freshly painted buildings;[76] the boundaries of the city were extended, and a new interest in local government found expression in a new city charter which created a Common Council.[77]

[73]Hoffman. *Winter in the West*, I., 120-1.
[74]*Detroit Gazette*, Aug. 28, 1818.
[75]*M. P. H. C.*, XIV., 536, a good description of Detroit's buildings, business and societies as they were in 1820.
[76]*M. P. H. C.*, XVIII., 462-3.
[77]Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 959-61; *M. P. H. C.*, I., 149.

Yet imagination must not be allowed to overdraw the picture of the effects of these changes. The population of the city was still under two thousand. A building of stone or brick was a novelty. No building had yet a third story. The streets as before were unpaved and full of mud. The questions of public fire protection and water supply in a modern sense were scarcely agitated. Without a daily mail or newspaper, without theater, free schools or public library, its life was little other than that of a thriving waterside village.[78]

With the opening of the Erie Canal evidences of new life in the city increased more rapidly. According to Lanman, fifty-eight new buildings were erected in that year, twenty-two of which were two stories high.[79] In 1826 the traveler Thomas McKenney saw as he approached Detroit from the East by water a narrow line of buildings dotting an elevation along the river for about a mile, which indicates that the environs of Detroit were extending.[80] He gives in brief epitome some idea of the size of the city: it had thirty stores, a custom house, a brick bank, a land office, a printing office, a brick courthouse, a stone jail, a stone council house, a stone arsenal, a large public store house, an academy, a large Roman Catholic church (costing $30,000), a brick Presbyterian church and a brick Methodist church.[81] At that time mail came overland three times a week, and about twice each week by steamboat. Still we gather the impression of a rural village from the statement of occupations at Detroit in the census of 1827; five persons were engaged in commerce, forty-six in manufacture and four hundred and fifty-one in agriculture. In 1829 a little way up Jefferson avenue there was a fine clover field enclosed with a common rail-fence. "Many of the houses on that street were the little whitewashed houses of the French settlers, and in front stood the palisades that had been placed as a defence against the Indians. Great pear trees were growing by the side of the streets in the most thickly settled parts of the town."[82]

But by 1834 the venerable, easy-going village was fairly a thing of the past. An enterprising western metropolis was rapidly succeeding to its place. A steam ferry was established in 1830 between Detroit and the Canadian shore which competed favorably with the French canoe and the sailboat. In that year the Detroit Free Press was founded, and its columns of Jan. 9, 1832 inform us that news was received then in seven days from Philadelphia, and from Pittsburg and Buffalo in

[78] *Mag. of West. Hist.*, III., 539-40.
[79] Lanman, *Hist. of Mich.*, 231.
[80] McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the West*, 109.
[81] *Ibid.*, 142. Cf. Roberts, *Sketches of Detroit* (1855), 9-12, and *Sketches and Reminiscences* (1884), 81-84; also Palmer, "*Detroit in 1827 and Later On*" in *M. P. H. C., XXXV.*, 272-283; Morse, *The Traveler's Guide* (New Haven, 1826), 79-80.
[82] Brown, "*Autobiographical Notes*" in *M. P. H. C.*, XXX., 448.

a little more than three days. Steamboats brought the mail daily.[83] Detroit felt with full force the tidal wave of immigration in 1831,[84] and though this wave was checked in 1832 by fear of the Black Hawk War,[85] it was again in full flow by 1834. With a population of nearly five thousand the city then had four hundred and seventy-seven dwellings and sixty-four stores and warehouses.[86] Dwellings were still generally of wood and the demand for carpenters was greater than could be supplied. Stores had reached the four-story stage. The new white buildings on avenues twenty-five yards wide are said to have given the place the appearance of a "city of yesterday."[87]

Something of the old French spirit is doubtless reflected in the confession of the traveler Hoffman in 1833 that he found the city "remarkable for agreeableness and elegant hospitality."[88] In general, culture had to wait on the task of subduing nature. The city gained something from being the seat of the territorial government. The newspapers of the city, as of the period, reflected the mind of the people as minimizing local and personal matters and laying stress on affairs of national concern; often these papers contained verbatim copies of the great speeches of that day in Congress. The formation of the Historical Society of Michigan in 1829[89] indicates a dawning self-consciousness. Its president and chief promoter was Lewis Cass, governor of the Territory. In 1832 "The Detroit Young Men's Society" was organized.[90] Schools of a sort existed early in the period.[91] But the Catholics did not favor much book education for the masses, and among the Protestants the early schools were meager and not free.[92] In 1821 the territorial legislature authorized the "Catholepistemiad"[93] to be established at Detroit, which was at least a glance in the direction of the future University of Michigan. Little came of it directly but it is significant that its first professors were a Protestant minister and a Catholic priest. The classical tradition is reflected in an "English Classical School" which was started about 1832, and in 1834 an interest in female education issued in the founding of the Ladies Seminary. It was not until 1835, with the dawn of statehood, that the sure basis was laid for a practical application of the famous declaration in the Ordinance of 1787 that

[83] *Davenport, New Gazetteer* (1832), for description of the city in that year.
[84] *M. P. H. C.*, XXI., 496.
[85] *Mag. of West. Hist.*, V., 33, 36; *M. P. H. C.*, VI., 239; XVIII., 606.
[86] MacCabe, *Directory of the City of Detroit* (1837), 37.
[87] Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I., 111-113.
[88] Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I., 120.
[89] Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, 1712; see also *Hist. and Scien. Sketches of Michigan* (Detroit, 1834).
[90] *Detroit Young Men's Society Reports*, (1876).
[91] McLaughlin, *Hist. of Higher Education in Mich.*, I., 13-17.
[92] Wilkins, *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Public Schools of Detroit*, in *M. P. H. C.*, I., 450.
[93] *Terr. Laws*, I., 879-82.

"Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Until 1832 a strong force operated to draw together the French and Americans in the whole section; this was in the person of Father Richard,[94] who gave his life in service to his fellows during the cholera epidemic of that year. To his place succeeded in 1833 the broad-minded Dr. Frederic Résé[95] as bishop of Detroit, which in that year became a separate diocese, though still under the jurisdiction of Baltimore. The American Catholic immigration from the East was not at first large, but under wise leadership the increase of its volume tended to act as a nexus between the French Catholic and the American Protestant citizens, bringing them into a closer community of feeling and interest. The negro element in the population of Detroit was small. There were sixty-six free negroes[96] in 1827 and in 1830 the one hundred and twenty-six given in the census were about half of all that were to be found in the Territory. There appear to have been no slaves in the city at these dates, though the census of 1810 shows seventeen.[97] As a result of the negro riot[98] in Detroit in 1833 over the attempt to enforce the fugitive slave law the city was for a time almost clear of negroes, who fled to Canada. Since the Ordinance of 1787 was opposed to slavery in the Territory, immigration was, in consequence, of such a character as to form a strong anti-slavery sentiment in Detroit, and as a result Detroit, which was a leader and moulder of public opinion in Michigan, was a strong force in preparing for the crisis of 1860. A word will suffice for the foreign element in Detroit, which was not large. Thirty-nine foreigners not naturalized appear in the census of 1827,[99] most of whom probably were Germans and Canadian French. Germans appeared in the city about 1833 numerous enough to form a separate religious organization. They were ministered to by Pastor Schmidt of Ann Arbor, and doubtless came with the wave which brought the first Germans to Washtenaw county.[100] This much for a general sketch of Detroit settlement. I would call your attention next to some of the other settlements of this section. First, however a general word is due about the checks and stimuli to settlement contained in its natural environment, and also about improvements in the means of getting from place to place.

Soil, drainage and timber had many common features throughout this

[94] *Amer. Cath. Hist. Researches*, XVI., No. 4; *M. P. H. C.*, XXII., 482.
[95] Elliott, *The Last of the Barons*, in *M. P. H. C.*, XXI., 497-8.
[96] *Census of Mich.*, 1884, I., xlviii.
[97] *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.
[98] Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, I., 345.
[99] *Census of Mich.* (1884), I., xlviii.
[100] Ten Brook, *Our German Immigrations*, in *M. P. H. C.*, XXVI., 255.

section. A recent map[101] of its surface geology shows that very much of its land was part of an ancient lake bottom which now in the absence of the lake waters presents for man's use a stiff clay which makes excellent soil for farming. It can endure long without exhaustion or replenishing and is especially adapted to wheat and kindred cereals. But in its original condition the possibilities of this heavy clay soil were not appreciated. Dense forests of ash and elm covered it, and the very difficulties of clearing the forest blocked settlement in some places. Through this clay area there were quite large stretches of rather poor sandy land, which there is some reason to think represents an ancient shore of the lake. This also was a retarding factor to settlement in places where it occurred. Settlers soon found that it took a great deal of very careful tending to make it yield much, and its lack of staying qualities shows plainly on population maps. In Macomb and St. Clair counties the settler met, beside these soils, scattered patches of rolling clay drift and level clay land, all very fertile. These had forests, though not dense, mainly of maple and oak. In the north of St. Clair county there was quite a little pine land, extending an invitation especially to the Maine settler and to others interested in pine lumbering. These were the chief similarities and differences in soil and timber.

In regard to drainage, this section had the common feature of shedding its water to the eastern shore in streams of sufficient current to give abundance of cheap power. This aid to cutting and marketing lumber was much needed in the early day when it was costly to get steam machinery into these parts and when sawed lumber was in high demand to supply the increasing thousands of homebuilders. To be near a suitable mill-site was frequently a motive of settlement and the "saw-mill town" usually soon had its grist-mill, distillery and tannery from the same cheap supply of power. Up the streams the many branches formed everywhere a network of good irrigation and of water for stock, and this good drainage over an undulating surface insured a minimum of waste land. From south to north the inland streams that meant most to the settlers of this section were the Raisin, the Huron, the Ecorse, the Rouge, the Clinton, the Belle, the Pine and the Black. Their mouths were quite generally marshy but there was usually at a little distance back from the shore a large patch of fertile open meadow that gave to the first comers a welcome foothold for their settlement. At the beginning of our period these spots were occupied mainly by the French habitants.

The natural advantages that drew the French to these shores operated as well later upon the American settler. The interior of the Territory shared with the shore region the abundant game, the timber, the power

[101] *Ann. Rept. Geol. Survey of Mich.*, 1907.

supply, the rich soil and the equable climate, but the nearness of the shore to Canada and the East, together with its water connections and its comparative openness made it certain that it would be the first to be settled. The American settler began where the French settler left off, that is, in the open places about the river mouths. He counted it no slight advantage to have the neighborly services and companionship of these early French pioneers, despite differences of custom and religion. All of the main shore centers of population grew up on or near the old French foundations, like Monroe, Detroit, Brownstown, Wyandotte, Mt. Clemens, St. Clair and Port Huron. Another factor to be considered is that these timber embowered mouths of the rivers which were so near to the shore waters were naturally favored for shipping points, and that for ship-building there would be a natural demand on the Great Lakes. Enterprising business men saw that other industries must center there under the influence of adjacent natural resources, and that these shore centers would tend to concentrate the farming population in their vicinity. In general the next oldest to the shore settlements followed back up the course of the streams for mill-sites, but the intervening stretches of shore line, where the presence of thick woods away from running water had not invited the primitive methods of the French, presented no serious obstacle to settlers who were used to clearing the forest as the first step to the making of a home. The length of the shore gave a great variety of sites for settlement. In Monroe the shore was low and even; it was comparatively marshy in Wayne, and high and picturesque at the north in St. Clair county.

Improvements in transportation are first a result and then a stimulus of settlement. The rate of settlement is measured fairly well by the degree of progress which is made from Indian trail to the wagon road, the turnpike, the plank road, and the railroad. There was no lack of desire among the early settlements for intercommunication, but the leisure and means were wanting with which to make it possible. Though the pressure from trade was not potent until the day of surplus production, something had been achieved before then by the government, and this came about principally through the need of moving the troops and the mails more easily.

Connecting the shore settlements south of Detroit a military road was laid out in 1818 over which the first line of stages began to run shortly after the Erie Canal was opened.[102] Like an inland extension of the Erie Canal the Detroit-Chicago road, the great axis of settlement provided in 1825, was in full tide of operation by 1830.[103] Above Detroit before 1828 the main aids to getting about were the canoe and small

[102]Wing, *Hist. of Monroe Co.*, 137.
[103]*M. P. H. C.*, II., 389; *U. S. Stat. at Large*, IV., 135.

boat in summer, the sled on the ice of river and lake in the winter, the tortuous and often impassable shore road and the Indian trail.[103a] Important Indian trails centered at Romeo running from Mt. Clemens, St. Clair, and Pontiac, and from Detroit by way of Royal Oak.[104] The latter trail, known as the Saginaw trail, extended northwest through Royal Oak into the Saginaw Country, and over this trail slight beginnings in road building were early made by the government. But they were indeed slight. A vivid impression of the difficulties of getting inland over this route is given by a pioneer who tried it in 1827.[105] A stage line however seems to have begun regular trips over it from Romeo to Detroit in 1830.[106]

The stimulus which immigration gave to road building is reflected in the congressional Acts of 1826, 1830, 1832, 1833 and 1834.[107] In 1828 the military road from Detroit through Mt. Clemens and along the St. Clair river towards Port Huron was surveyed, known later as the Gratiot turnpike, which promised better trade relations for the shore settlements north of Detroit.[108] There was thus before 1830 a continuous road, though of a very primitive character, along the entire shore south of Lake Huron. To connect this with the interior there were several roads besides the Chicago and Saginaw roads. A road from Monroe to intersect the Chicago road in Lenawee county was surveyed in 1832,[109] and one was authorized in the same year to extend from Detroit to the Grand River Country.[110] In 1831 a road was authorized from the village of St. Clair to Romeo,[111] and in 1834 a road was begun from Port Huron to Romeo.[112] By the close of the period five important roads, like spokes from a hub, radiated from Detroit, either in operation or in process of construction, while three others were projected from Monroe, St. Clair and Port Huron to points in the interior. Four only of the eight roads affected settlement materially before 1834. The section had gotten only fairly into the turnpike stage, but the plank road was not long to be delayed and signs of a railroad began to appear at the very close of the period, centering in Detroit and having objectives points in Pontiac and in Mt. Clemens and Shelby in Macomb county.[113]

Beside poor roads we may mention several other local checks to Amer-

[103a] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 311, 342; V., 458; VI., 357, 413; XXIX., 171.
[104] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 314; VI., 413; VII., 77.
[105] *Hist. of Macomb Co.*, 247-8.
[106] *Ibid.*, 617.
[107] *U. S. Stat. at Large*, IV., 427, 556-7, 560-1, 648-9, 718.
[108] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 313; VI., 416.
[109] *M. P. H. C.*, I., 222.
[110] *U. S. Stat. at Large*, IV., 560.
[111] *Hist. of St. Clair Co.*, 469.
[112] *Hist. Macomb Co.*, 682.
[113] *Terr. Laws*, III., 844, 1028, 1287, 1303.

ican settlement which were common to the section at the beginning of this period. It has been said that terror of the Indians during the recent war, especially after the surrender of Detroit and the massacre on the Raisin river, caused all but the most hardy pioneers to flee from the Territory.[114] The Americans fled mainly to Ohio and Kentucky, and when they returned they, in common with the French, found their homes and farms ruined.[115] Settlement had practically to start anew. The Indians still annoyed newcomers who showed any fear of them, and it is said that their petty aggressions were kept stirred up by the British traders, who had a natural antipathy to their late antagonists, and who regarded agricultural development as hostile to their trading interests.[116] Trouble from this source was entirely brought to an end by the removal of the Indians to the West in the late thirties.

Speculators, poverty and sickness did much to make the way hard for the pioneer. Speculators, by buying up desirable land and holding it for prospective values, kept intending settlers from considerable areas except at great sacrifice. The "ague and fever" were ever present enemies to the settler. Their prevalence was a necessary incident to the process of settlement, the cultivation of the soil turning to the sun and the air large masses of decaying vegetation. From this cause sickness became so severe that at times a whole community was prostrated, as was Mt. Clemens in 1818-19. General Stockton, who then resided there, reported that every man, woman and child in the village excepting himself was down with the "fever," and that he went about from one house to another helping the suffering as best he could.[117] Poverty was the most to be pitied among the war sufferers in those French settlements where want was accompanied by thriftlessness. In some measure its effects were relieved by the government and by the services of Catholic and Protestant missionaries.[118]

The settlement of the Monroe shore was closely identified with the founding and growth of the village and city of Monroe. This center was located about three miles and a half up the Raisin on the south bank across the river from the old French village of Frenchtown. Frenchtown had been a depot of the Northwest Fur Company, and though it had never contained more than a few dwellings and stores, mainly ruined in 1813, it was the site naturally looked to by the Americans for their village. The difficulty was that the French who held title to the soil there would not make free grant of enough land for

[114] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 311, 313, 319; V., 458, 463; VI., 360, 374; *Hist. Macomb Co.*, 521.

[115] McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 88.

[116] Stewart, *Early Settlement of St. Clair County*, in *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 344; McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 107-8; *Papers of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, III., 322-3.

[117] *M. P. H. C.*, VI., 358.

[118] *Ibid.*, IV., 313; VI., 375-8.

the public purposes of a county seat.[119] The county of Monroe was established in 1817 and in the same year by proclamation of Acting Governor Woodbridge the seat of its public business was located in a new village promoted by Americans and like the county named for the new President of the United States.

The possession of the county seat usually affected the minds of the people of a county in such a way as to give new force to the settlement of a village thus favored, as for example Detroit and Mt. Clemens. Despite this advantage, however, Monroe grew very slowly for a decade. Yet the slowness there was in common with that of the rest of the county, and with that of the section as a whole. For the first two years the county seat had no courthouse; for the next fifteen years the only assembly room of any sort for public gatherings there was in the upper story of a wooden building. But a fair step forward was taken in 1827, in keeping with the general new life around it. The village polled in that year sixty-two votes on the issue of incorporating, and in a degree this vote measured its progressiveness; it voted forty-three to nineteen in favor of incorporating.[120] The population had grown in 1830 to 478. For 1834 estimates vary from 1,200 to 1,500, which was about one seventh of the population of the county. Hoffman says that the village had at the latter date about one hundred and fifty houses, twenty or thirty of which were of stone. He mentions in addition two gristmills, a woolen factory, an iron foundry, several sawmills, a chair factory and a tannery. These institutions undoubtedly were all on a very small scale, but they reflect the environment and the resources of the village and indicate the trend of activities. He characterizes the village as "the fussiest little town in the world." To him it looked "as if the buildings had all been tossed from the other side of the river, and left to settle just where they might fall upon this." Touching the progress of the village he adds: "If the place continues to increase as rapidly, however, as it has during the last year—the population having doubled in that time—the inhabitants can afford to burn down the river side of the village, and arrange it to more advantage."[121] A part of the awakening in 1826-7 looked to making the mouth of the Raisin fit for a harbor, for which purpose the national government had made an appropriation.[122] In 1834 a steamboat built there was launched on its first trip to Buffalo. Probably the first shipment of flour from Michigan was the two hundred barrels made in Monroe village and sent to New York in 1827.[123]

[119]Wing, *Hist. of Monroe Co.*, 141; *M. P. H. C.*, VI., 362, 374.
[120]*Ibid.*, 138, 141; Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I., 129.
[121]Hoffman, *op. cit.*, I., 127-8.
[122]*U. S. Stat. at Large*, IV., 229; Wing, *op. cit.*, 45, 169.
[123]Wing, *Hist. of Monroe Co.*, 139; Campbell, *Outlines of the Pol. Hist. of Mich.*, 417.

To the south about four miles from the mouth of the Raisin a thriving settlement on Otter Creek paralleled the growth of Monroe village, and at about the same distance to the north, some four miles up Stoney Creek, a rapidly improving settlement made in 1826 became an important source of agricultural supplies for Monroe in its early day.[124] Of this north shore of the county the traveler Evans, who went through these parts in 1818 afoot, tells us that he found the land "rugged and rich," the timber "lofty and elegant," and swift streams which offered good power.[125] He speaks probably rather of the uplands, and in general, what is found there to-day bears out this impression. Like the settlements on Otter and Stoney Creeks, there were then French nuclei for American settlement on Sandy and Swan Creeks and at the mouth of the Huron river.[126] These spots made an environment that appealed to American settlers, but unfortunately it appealed also to speculators.

The settlement which gave most promise as a village on the shore between Monroe and Detroit at the close of the period was Brownstown, in Wayne county, located near the mouth of a sluggish creek of that name. There were probably less than a half dozen families there in 1818.[127] In that year its vicinity was opened to settlement by an Indian cession of some five thousand acres, but there again speculators were quick to see their chance.[128] A settlement began about the same time at Wyandotte.[129] This was a point long favored by the Indians of that name as their chief village, because its position on an elevated dry stretch of land along this somewhat marshy shore afforded comparative ease of defense, food supply and trading.

From Brownstown to Detroit Evans found the country "diversified with small meadows and fertile eminences."[130] A bed of limestone supported a rich black mould on the higher ground, whose summits were crowned with an abundance of hard woods and at whose feet issued springs of pure water so much sought after by settlers. The "meadows" probably were the open spots back from the marshy frontage at the mouths of the sluggish streams; the "fertile eminences" were the dry stretches between them, like that at Wyandotte and Detroit. The vicinity of Detroit he pictures as an elevated semi-circle, with banks sloping gently to the water, and offering prime military and commercial advantages. There may be mentioned here a feature, belonging really to the shore though some six miles back of Detroit, namely, the belt

[124]Wing, *op. cit.*, 137.
[125]Evans, *Ped. Tour*, 113; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII., 214.
[126]Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 159-60.
[127]*M. P. H. C.*, XVIII., 518.
[128]*Eighteenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology*, Part 2, 690.
[129]*M. P. H. C.*, XIII., 310, gives an excellent description of the physiography of this vicinity.
[130]Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII., 214.

of waste land paralleling the Detroit river from the Rouge to near Lake St. Clair.[131] It was in the beginning probably the result of beaver dams in the Rouge and did not quite correspond to what is commonly meant by "Swamp." It was covered with water in the wet seasons, but it was heavily forested and its surface was not a bog formation. Drainage has reclaimed it, but in the early days of settlement it was a serious check, giving the little known adjacent lands the bad reputation which in some minds remained a permanent prejudice. As we have seen, it also impeded transportation to the interior.

Beyond Detroit in Macomb county on the lower Clinton lay Mt. Clemens. Up to 1818 it had been a trading post and a mission station rather than a true settlement, which should depend upon at least all of the obvious resources in its environment.[132] American settlers began to come to Mt. Clemens at about the same time as to Brownstown and Monroe. Like Monroe it was located at some distance from the mouth of a considerable river,[133] had an important nucleus of French settlement in its vicinity[134] and had similar relations with Detroit as a market and supply station. Like Monroe also it received its first true impulse with the opening of the public land sales, and became a county seat. But unlike Monroe it was not in the direct line of immigration from the east and this was a large differential in its early growth. The village was platted in 1818, numbering at that time about fifteen families[135] and a postoffice was then authorized.[136] Its most public spirited citizen, and perhaps the strongest single personal influence in the early settlement of the county, was the Pennsylvanian, Christian Clemens, who was the real founder of the village and its namesake. It was due to his public gifts that it secured the county seat.[137] The slowness of its early growth was partly due to speculation in the lands in its immediate neighborhood.[138] The high prices at which they were held compelled intending settlers to look elsewhere. In addition to this the influence of Detroit overshadowed it,[139] and it had to share with Pontiac, Rochester, Utica and Romeo the interest that was being directed to this region. About 1822-3 came the first signs of an awakening there with the arrival of the first resident merchant and physician, and the first mill.[140] Data appears to be scant by which to determine the suc-

[131]Blois, *Gaz. of Mich.*, 244.
[132]*Hist. of Macomb Co.*, 181-6.
[133]*Ibid.*, 889, describes the mouth of the river as flat and marshy.
[134]Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 158.
[135]*M. P. H. C.*, VI., 358.
[136]*Hist. of Macomb Co.*, 523.
[137]Parker, *Early Hist. of Macomb Co.* in *M. P. H. C.*, XVIII., 490; *Hist. of Macomb Co.*, 524.
[138]*M. P. H. C.*, V., 459.
[139]*M. P. H. C.*, VI., 358; *Hist. of Macomb Co.*, 529.
[140]*M. P. H. C.*, IV., 312; V., 462.

cessive stages of the settlement of Mt. Clemens in the decade following; apparently by 1834 its population had increased considerably, sufficient to support a Congregational and a Baptist church.[141] The condition of road making and harbor improvements at that point does not suggest a favorable comparison with Monroe. The areas of the townships containing these two village centers were about equal in 1834,[142] though Harrison township received this area only that year while the boundaries of Monroe township date from 1827.[143]

A traveler describing in 1830 the region of the lower St. Clair says of its many charms "that they might almost dispossess a sober man of his senses and persuade him by a world of reality that he was in a world of illusions."[144] In an earlier day Evans found the American shore of the St. Clair river varied between prairies, openings and dense forest.[145] He mentions a variety of timbers suitable for manufactures and ship-building, among which were extensive groves of white pine. The sugar maple abounded offering to the settler a much prized article. It seems that the St. Clair country should have been a specially attractive region to settlers, but its distance from the direct route which led to the more open country in southwestern Michigan prevailed against it as well as against Macomb county. For the beginning of this period estimates which have been made of the population along the whole length of the American side of the river vary from twenty to eighty families including both French and Americans,[146] and these were mainly below the site of St. Clair village. At the close of the period there were scarcely any settlers away from the river, and St. Clair county had less population than any other in the section.

The oldest center of population in the St. Clair region is St. Clair village, having a British military tradition which dates from 1765; there lived at the beginning of this period a small colony of French who had survived the War of 1812.[147] On one of these French farms parties from Detroit laid out a village in 1818[148] which became the county seat, but despite this advantage its growth must have been slow before 1826 at which time it is credited with little more than a dozen small dwellings. Settlement of much consequence did not take place there until the period following upon the great immigrations of the middle 30's.

Elsewhere along the river were made slight beginnings, sufficient to

[141] *M. P. H. C.*, V., 461; *Hist. of Macomb Co.*, 523.
[142] *Terr. Laws*, II., 477; III., 1275.
[143] *Hist. of Macomb Co.*, 142.
[144] *M. P. H. C.*, VI., 420.
[145] Evans, *Ped. Tour.*, 126 in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, VIII., 228; *cf.* Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 157.
[146] *M. P. H. C.*, VI., 413; *Hist. St. Clair Co.*, 324.
[147] *M. P. H. C.*, XXIX., 172; *Hist. St. Clair Co.*, 254.
[148] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 356.

indicate centers of future growth. In 1818 there were a half dozen American families on Harsen's Island,[149] and settlements of some promise were starting at the mouths of the rivers. There was a minimum of marsh at these places because of the swift currents which ran between high banks. The supporting industry at these points was lumbering. The future Marine City and Port Huron were then in embryo, the former being laid out into village lots in 1831.[150] American lumbering started in the Port Huron region on the Black river in 1827; the village was started first at the mill some six miles from the St. Clair, but it came down before long to the junction of the Black and the St. Clair rivers. In 1833 there is said to have been at that point some eighteen buildings, but such as to give little sign of permanent settlement.[151] Port Huron was laid out in 1835.[152]

The inland settlement of the whole section in this period was meager compared with that along the shore. This was true even of the more favorably located lands at the southern end of the section, for there the stiff clay soil with its heavy forests was predominant. Instead of going immediately inland immigrants pushed north and west around these obstacles, and it was partly for this reason that Monroe county lagged at first so much behind Lenawee county in the rear of it.[153] It was natural that the settler should wish to get the greatest possible immediate return for the outlay of his time and energy, and consequently when he left the shore he would follow back up the streams and was very likely to group his interests about a good mill site; but when he chose to leave the neighborhood of the streams he did so to take advantage of the occasional prairie or opening of which there were a number in the southern and western parts of the county. The less productive sandy soil which he might find there was partly offset by the greater ease of cultivating it. He would find almost anywhere in the county plenty of water for home use, stock, and for irrigation and drainage. Materials for building and fencing were plentifully supplied by the timber and limestone, the latter of which was to be found in almost every creek botton.[154] The settler's chief economic problems were those of clearing the forest and of getting to market.

Probably the farthest settlements inland in Monroe county were at the sites of Dundee and Petersborough. Both of which were good mill-sites on the Raisin river. Being respectfully about eighteen and twenty-five miles from the river mouth, and near the old Indian trail which

[149] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 348.
[150] *Hist. St. Clair Co.*, 255.
[151] *Ibid.*, 496.
[152] *M. P. H. C.*, V., 495.
[153] Wing, *Hist. Monroe Co.*, 285-6.
[154] Blois, *Gaz. of Mich.*, 232.

led out of Lenawee county along the river towards Monroe, their position placed them on the shortest practicable route from the western section to Lake Erie. Travel over this route was much increased after the opening of the land office at Monroe in 1824, and many people then gained a knowledge of this region as they passed to lands which they had bought or which they intended to buy further to the west. We are told that a tavern to accommodate this travel was located at Dundee as early as 1831,[155] but like most of these early accommodations it probably was a settler's house which was regularly shared with the stranger. A temporary base of supplies for this back country was found in the French farms, which extended for some miles up the Raisin.[156]

A point of vantage inland in Monroe county which deserves special mention was the reservation at the mouth of the Macon river where it joins with the Raisin. These small Indian reservations were usually spots of choice land, for the Indians never remained where the soil did not promise quick and sure returns. They had a village there, surrounded by some nine sections of land that had been reserved by the treaty of 1807; all but three of these sections were ceded to the government in 1817 and the rest about a decade later. Even before the founding of Monroe village this vantage was seen by a colony from Royalston, Massachusetts,[157] which settled there supposing it to be government land, and intending to buy when the lands should come on the market. They suffered the usual inconvenience attending these mistakes having to break up their settlement and move away. It is noteworthy that to this day not even a rural village has grown up there.

In a very general way organization of township government may be taken as a measure to compare the nature and rate of settlement inland with that along the shore.[158] In Monroe county in 1827 this measure apparently indicates that the area of greatest density of population was

[155]Wing, *Hist. Monroe Co.*, 215.

[156]Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 160-161.

[157]Wing, *op. cit.*, 46-7, 127; *M. P. H. C.*, VI., 364.

[158]A word of explanation may be useful with this data. The name, date, position, size and boundaries of a township may tell much, and as a small governmental area, organized on petition of the people for local government, it indexes population on a smaller scale than does the county. The date and position of the first townships that were organized in a county is quite certain evidence of where the bulk of the population was distributed, and the relative rate of township organization is fairly dependable as a means of contrasting the larger features of settlement. The name and boundaries of townships may often give a clue to motives of settlement and to the sources of the population. But caution must be used in basing judgments upon the area of townships. Relative size, area for area, is likely to be very misleading, and should be checked by other evidence. Small townships naturally give the impression of density of population, and the large ones the impression of sparseness. A township diagram of any county for any census will invariably give evidence that relativity of area is not of itself a safe guide to relativity of population. Townships might well vary in size, and did vary, with the local physiographic, ethnic, economic, social and various other conditions which influenced feeling about who should be included in the township.

on the lower Raisin, and this showing agrees with other data according to which the area of least density was in the interior of the county towards the northwest. Those shore townships which were away from the Raisin were large, the southernmost extending across the interior to the western boundary of the county.[159] One of these has a name of interest, Frenchtown, which preserves that of the old French village on the Raisin and commemorates the main source of the early population. The area of this township remained the same throughout the period. In the interior the large northwestern township of Raisinville testifies to the slight settlement that had been made there, as it was altogether too large to be practicable for any but a very sparse population. Its name suggests that the Raisin river was considered a chief factor in its possibilities. The division of the township by a north and south line two years later shows that the probable trend of immigration was along the Raisin, and the first name of the new township, Flumen,[160] seems to point again to the river as being uppermost in the motives of the settlers. The year of the survey of the military road[161] through the northwestern part of the county, 1832, saw a further subdivision of the old township of Raisinville in the new township of London,[162] which was so formed as to hint at settlement along the Saline and Macon rivers. The creation of La Salle township[163] from Erie points to the increase of shore settlement about Otter Creek. Southwestern settlement is indicated in Whiteford in 1834.[164] To the south of Whiteford was Port Lawrence township, which is not to-day a part of Monroe county, but which deserves mention because it was a part of it during this period, containing the future Toledo, strong rival of Monroe; its center of settlement was in Toledo, the "Black Swamp" of Ohio impeding the interior development[165] of the township.

As a result of having similar physiographic features, the lands of Wayne county were in about the same stage of settlement at the close of the period as were those in Monroe county. The soil there varied from heavy clay to patches of sandy loam of which the latter was mainly in the south and west. The heavy timber in the western part of the county was broken by few openings, but when cleared that part of the county was destined to be unexcelled for cereals.[166] For building and

[159] *Terr. Laws*, II., 477.
[160] *Ibid.*, II., 720. Name changed to Summerfield, *Terr. Laws*, II., 763.
[161] *U. S. Stat. at Large*, IV., 561; *M. P. H. C.*, I., 222.
[162] *Ibid.*, III., 921.
[163] *Ibid.*, III., 843. This act, for some reason, was confirmed by a later act, *Terr. Laws*, III., 907.
[164] *Ibid.*, III., 1276.
[165] *Terr. Laws*, II., 478. Port Lawrence township covered practically that area in Monroe county which was lost to the Territory by the adjustment in 1837 of the Ohio boundary dispute.
[166] Blois, *Gaz. of Mich.*, 244.

manufacture there was in addition to the timber large quantities of limestone. The sluggishness of the streams in Wayne county, due to its generally flat surface, deprived it of the good water power found so plentifully in Monroe; the nearest approach to the strong central current of the Raisin was that of the Rouge, which with its branches gave some power in the part of its course that lay through the undulating portions of the west. The Huron does not appear to have induced mill use in its lower course, probably because it was thought too sluggish.

The two decisive advantages which the interior of Wayne county had for rapidity of settlement were nearness to Detroit and the presence, in its northern part, of the Detroit-Chicago road. In 1824, the year before that highway was surveyed, land purchasing reached the extreme west of the county in Plymouth township, and some common motives of settlement appear in the selection of this site; it was in an opening, on the highest point of land in the county, at the confluence of the two streams which formed the main branch of the Rouge, and not far from the old Chicago trail.[167] Whether this was a real settlement, or a mere speculation in anticipation of the Chicago road, does not appear; it seems that in 1827 the number of resident and non-resident owners in the township were about equal. Plymouth township was organized in that year, and its comparatively small area seems to confirm the idea that preference for the high land of the region near the water power of the Rouge and its branches was a factor in its choice. But the votes polled that year, in an election which was likely to bring out the total voting strength of the township, were only thirty.[168] The rapidity of land sales in the township is shown by the fact that four years later all the land there had passed from the hands of the government.[169] Considerable settlement must have taken place in the township to allow of its taking its present area in 1834.[170]

Two years after the organization of Plymouth township two other townships were organized just eastward from it on the Chicago road, each having an area equal to that of Plymouth.[171] In 1833 from the easternmost of these townships were formed two more,[172] each of the area that Plymouth took in the year following. Immediately southward and occupying the whole southwestern part of the county was the large township of Huron on the river of that name, and its area was not disturbed from the time of its organization in 1827.[173] As in the

[167] *M. P. H. C.*, II., 470.
[168] *Terr. Laws*, II., 479.
[169] *M. P. H. C.*, I., 509.
[170] *Ibid.*, III., 1277.
[171] *Terr. Laws*, II., 737.
[172] *Ibid.*, III., 985.
[173] *Ibid.*, II., 479.

former townships the influence of nearness to Detroit and of the presence of the Chicago road are apparent, so in the latter is shown the effect of relative distance from Detroit and from the great thoroughfare, combined in some places with the influence of sandy soil and poor water power. None of the shore townships of Wayne county extended over a dozen miles inland, and of these only Springwells was subdivided in this period.[174] Brownstown and Ecorse commemorate in their names the streams which partly determined their settlement and the name Monguagon is reminiscent of the Indian village.

In Macomb county the central physiographic influences affecting settlement were the Clinton river, the presence of the village of Mt. Clemens as a supporting basis from which settlement might radiate, and the openings, plains and prairies in the western interior portion of the county. The strong current of the Clinton furnished adequate power for mills, and the openness of the country in its upper course gave good promise of quick returns in farm, stock and dairy produce. Settlers found their chief market, shipping point and source of supplies in Mt. Clemens, but in the western part of the county in the days before mills at Romeo and Utica it was usual to go for grists to Rochester and Pontiac. Timber abounded in all parts of the county; in the north and northeast its comparative density made settlement slow. That region was to be the supply center for the future shipbuilding at Mt. Clemens.

Land buying tok place in the interior of Macomb county about as early and energetically as in either Wayne or Monroe counties. By 1821 land had been bought in all of the western townships except Warren,[175] where no purchases were made until 1830. Specially favored was the southern part of Washington township. It was 1830 before sales became rapid in the extreme northwest, but when once they began this land was settled with zeal. Twenty-four purchases were made that year in Bruce township. No purchases were made in the extreme northeast until after 1830. The date 1830 marks about the beginning of the inland settlement in western Macomb county. In agreement with this data is the evidence of township organization as to the massing of population in the western part of the country at this time. This apparently is the meaning of the north and south axis of the townships on the township diagram of the county, combined with the fact that the largest township[176] in the county remained in the center undivided until the very end of the period.[177] The northwestern townships received in 1833 the areas they have today,[178] while the northeastern re-

[174] *Ibid.*, III., 915.
[175] *Hist. Macomb Co.*, 470-471; *M. P. H. C.*, XXVI., 548; XXVIII., 423.
[176] *Terr. Laws*, II., 478.
[177] *Ibid.*, III., 1275.
[178] *Ibid.*, III., 985.

mained relatively large.[179] The comparative openness of the west is probably reflected in this. Some light is thrown on the apparent backwardness of the central and southern portions by the map of their surface geology, where much of the soil is indicated as being from fair to poor sandy land.[180]

Centers of population were developing in Macomb county at Romeo and Utica. It is probable that some slight beginnings of the trading-post nature were made there as early as 1817. Romeo was a good location for the trader, being a point where numerous trails crossed and where the Indians had a village; the village of Romeo then is typical of that class of settlements where the Indian village and the French trader marked out a site of promise. Its immediate antecedent was the "Hoxey settlement," a name borne by the place for some time after 1822 from one of Gov. Cass's employes, a Canadian lumberman who settled there with his family in that year. It received its first strong impulse from New Englanders about five years afterward when a colony of sixty made it their home.[181] We are told that it was not alone for the vantage of the trails at this point, nor for the openness of the country, nor for the goodness of the soil that these settlers chose the spot, but because it resembled New England scenery. And pioneer reminiscenses show that when other things were equal this sentiment was a strong influence. The characteristic New England Congregational society was formed at once in Romeo, and held meetings in a log schoolhouse in 1828. By 1830 the character of the village had been fairly determined, and in that year or in the following it was regularly laid out into village lots. The New England elements in Romeo's population gave it early a reputation for culture and education which was a strong inducement for further settlement there.

Utica's growth was slower than that of Romeo until 1831, when its unusually large share of the immigration of that year led it to dream of becoming the metropolis of the county. It had in the Clinton river a greater source of natural power than had Romeo, and it was this in part that attracted to it capital for investment in manufacture. It seemed to have much to hope from the canal which was projected to connect Rochester with it and with the country farther west, and from the railway which was built to Detroit in 1832. Shops, mills and a bank were started. This promise was destined to vanish in the wild-cat days soon to follow, yet these early beginnings left many substantial foundations for a thriving settlement.[182]

Beyond Macomb county north and northeastward into the Saginaw

[179] *Ibid.*, III., 1124, 1275.
[180] *Mich. Geol. Rep.* (1907), *cit.*
[181] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 314; *Hist. of Macomb Co.*, 621.
[182] *M. P. H. C.*, IV., 313.

country and to Lake Huron there stretched an area which had scarcely a settler.[183] In St. Clair county, excepting a few lumbering camps on the branches of the St. Clair river, settlement was confined entirely to the shore of that river and of Lake St. Clair. Significant were the positions and areas of the four townships [184] of that county, which changed but slightly from 1827 to the close of the period. Their long axis, extending parallel from the St. Clair river to the western boundary of the county, suggest that in relation to settlers there was no choice of stopping places between the river and that boundary. The gradually increasing width of the townships from south to north suggests the gradual thinning out of population northward, and there is some significance in the correspondence between the position of these townships and that of the Black, Pine and Belle rivers.

The figures of the censuses of 1820, 1830 and 1834 give direct means by which to compare the growth of different parts of the section in white population. If we take Detroit's population in 1820 as a unit and consider the three areas which are represented by (1) Monroe county, (2) Wayne county exclusive of Detroit and (3) all the country north of Wayne to Saginaw bay, they ranked from south to north as 6, 7 and 8. Their total white population was 6,303, fully ninety per cent of the 7,500 white people then in the lower peninsula.[185]

St. Clair county appeared for the first time in the census of 1830, with a population of 1,114. Detroit's population at that time was about twice as much, and about equal to that of Macomb county. It was about one-half that of Wayne county. From this it appears that the rural and village population of Wayne county was considerably larger than the total white population of the two northern counties together. It much exceeded the total population of Monroe county, which was then about 3,000. That is, the people above Wayne county in this section about equalled in number those below it and the sum of the two was about that of Wayne county inclusive of Detroit.[186] The population of the whole section in 1830 was about a third of that in the whole Territory but this results in an impression that is modified somewhat when we consider percentages of gain. From the point of view of gains in percentage, Wayne county inclusive of Detroit ranked lowest, about sixty-one per cent. The counties to the north of Wayne which were the lowest numerically in proportion to area, showed the largest gain in percentage; their population nearly trebled. Monroe county slightly exceeded Wayne county with a gain of seventy-four per cent.

In the four years following 1830, both numerical and percentage gains

[183] *Hist. Macomb Co.*, 681.
[184] *Terr. Laws*, II., 478.
[185] *U. S. Census* (1820), 41.
[186] *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.

very much favored the southern counties. The totals in 1834 were:[187] Wayne, 16,638; Monroe, 8,542; Macomb, 6,055; St. Clair, 2,244. Wayne's quota was about eight times that of St. Clair, nearly three times that of Macomb and twice that of Monroe. It is significant that the numerical proportions of 1830 between Wayne county and the areas above and below it remained about the same. The total population of the section was considerably more than one-third of the white population of Michigan. The percentages of gain were: Monroe, 168; Wayne, 144; Macomb and St. Clair together 135. Allowing for difference in area[188] the numerical gain during the whole period was very much in favor of Wayne, the percentage of gain slightly in favor of Monroe, while both were unfavorable to the counties north of Wayne. In these figures the predominant factors were very probably the tendency of Detroit to mass population in its vicinity combined with the influence of the Chicago road as an axis of settlement; the influence of Monroe's position on Lake Erie directly west of the chief sources of immigration and in line with the much sought lands of the southern tier of counties; and the relatively side position of Macomb and St. Clair counties in conjunction with a prejudice due to early misrepresentations and a consequent late start.

The main sources of the population of this section have several times been hinted. The common impression that the bulk of it came from New York and New England is undoubtedly correct. There are no census figures to demonstrate it, yet every old pioneer insists upon it. An actual count of birthplaces given in the county histories and the pioneer reminiscenses elsewhere obviously would confirm it. Only for the sake of illustration a bit of such data may be given from among the more prominent.

Lewis Cass was born in Exeter, New Hampshire.[189] Solomon Sibley, the first American settler in Detroit and its first mayor, was a native of Massachusetts.[190] William Woodbridge, secretary of Michigan Territory after 1815, was born in Norwich, Connecticut.[191] Austin E. Wing and Diodatus Noble, born in Massachusetts and graduates of Williams college, were early settlers of Monroe.[192] From Pittsfield came Alcott C. Chapman, at the start probably Monroe's strongest personal influence.[193] A Connecticut settler of great influence was one of the founders of Monroe village, Jeremiah Lawrence.[194] Other Connecticut

[187]Blois, *Gaz. of Mich.*, 151.
[188]Wayne 600 sq. m., Monroe 532, Macomb 458, St. Clair 935, extending at that time north to Lake Huron and including "the thumb."
[189]McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass.*
[190]Farmer, *Hist. of Detroit*, II., 1032.
[191]Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 231.
[192]Wing, *Hist. Monroe Co.*, 151.
[193]*Ibid.*, 140.
[194]*Ibid.*, 140.

settlers of prominence were Dr. Harry Conant from Mansfield, attendant physician of Cass in the 1820 expedition, said to be a lineal descendant of the first governor of Massachusetts; he was an early settler in Monroe;[195] Thomas Ashley of Windham, the first lawyer admitted to the bar in the Northwest Territory, and who built the first frame house in Mt. Clemens, in 1823;[196] Judge Bunce of Hartford, well known in the early history of St. Clair county.[197]

The biographical sketches of these men show that many of them did not come directly to Michigan from their native towns. They were men in search of the best opportunity, and many of them sojourned in New York, or on the Ohio frontier. A good example of these places of temporary residence in Ohio is Marietta,[198] from whence came many of Detroit's most prominent early settlers. The great number of settlers "from New York state" would be much reduced if there were subtracted those who were born in New England. But there were very many prominent Michigan settlers of New York birth. Typical of these was Edward D. Ellis, born in Niles, editor of the first newspaper published in Michigan south of Detroit (1825) at Monroe,[199] and Aura P. Stewart, native to Canandaigua, a prominent promoter of settlement in St. Clair county.[200]

Other eastern states, particularly Pennsylvania and New Jersey, contributed a fair share of the early settlers. The foreign born, aside from those coming from Canada, made a small proportion of the total population. A considerable Scotch settlement formed in the early 30's in northwestern Macomb county in Bruce township.[201] In 1834 a colony of Germans settled on the Clinton river in Macomb county about five miles southwest of Mt. Clemens.[202] By the end of the period Germans came to Wayne and Monroe counties.[203]

To generalize briefly. This area is a unit of settlement because of (1) its common shore line (2) its similarities of soil, drainage and timber (3) its early settlement (4) its French Canadian population. Its stages of settlement subsequent to the War of 1812 are fairly well marketed, (1) from 1815 to the beginning of public land sales and of lake navigation by steam in 1818, which was a time of lull and readjustment, (2) from 1818 to the opening of the Erie Canal and the Chicago road in 1825, days of awakening interest in the possibilities

[195] *Hist. Monroe Co.*, 160.
[196] *Hist. Macomb Co.*, 239; *M. P. H. C.*, VI., 358.
[197] *Hist. St. Clair Co.*, 265.
[198] Campbell, *Outlines of Pol. Hist. of Mich.*, 217.
[199] Wing, *Hist. Monroe Co.*, 136, 491.
[200] *Hist. St. Clair Co.*, 272.
[201] *Hist. Macomb Co.*, 622, 742.
[202] *M. P. H. C.*, XXVI., 255.
[203] *Hist. Macomb Co.*, 569.

of the new Territory, (3) from 1825 to the cholera epidemic and the Indian war of 1832, the opening years of the first great immigrations, (4) from 1832 to the beginning of the wild speculations, and the agitations for state hood and state internal improvement schemes in 1834.

The people came principally from New York and New England, impelled by economic changes which affected especially the cost of living in their old homes, and invited by cheap fertile government lands, easy to reach by improved water navigation where fortunes were promised by the mere rise of land values from the settlement of the new country. The government facilitated settlement by protecting the frontier, extinguishing the Indian titles, surveying the lands, selling them at a nominal price, building roads, establishing postoffices and providing for local government. When the American settlers came they found the French already at the mouths of the main streams which emptied into the waters on the east. At first they settled near them, then spread up the streams and along the shores. Some chose fertile open spots in the interior. A few struck into the forest and built cabins in their clearings. The obstacles which these settlers met and the things that helped their endeavors make up the checks and stimuli which determined the rate and amount of settlement in the period. The chief of these are perhaps worthy of repeating together.

There were first those checks and stimuli which were due to natural environment. The surface of the section though flat near the shore, had sufficient tilt to insure good water power, excepting in the eastern and southern parts of Wayne county. The several large rivers, abounding in mill sites, formed through the well-timbered counties, as it were, axis of settlement. The network of natural drainage reduced waste land to a minimum, and where the prevailing heavy clay was not too heavily forested, the settler could be sure of quick and rich returns. Springs of pure water were plentiful. Springs and streams of mineral water were common, having saline properties toward the north. Stream, shore water and the Indian trail lay at hand for communication and transportation. Detroit was an important aid to begin with, as a market and supply depot, and as need pressed other centers grew up at the mouths of the larger streams affording the best places for harbors, and at specially favored spots inland. One constant disabling factor was the ague and the fever, attendant upon turning the soil. The cholera epidemics at the close of the period made havoc temporarily.

Conditions other then environment affected the settler's relations to land. The Indian title in the lands of this section was extinguished in 1807, except in a few spots like the Macon and the Brownstown reservations. These were ceded as settlement pressed upon them. All the land in this section was on the market by 1824. Public land sales were

regulated by the national government in the true interests of settlement. The scarcity of specie at the end of the war was a handicap on the transference of porperties, but much before the close of this period the issues of state banks had relieved this pressure. The operations of speculators often kept settlers from desired lands or impeded the growth of a struggling village, as at Mt. Clemens.

Reports which reached the east about Michigan were conflicting. But with notable exceptions they were favorable and directed and aided settlement. Tiffin's report created lasting prejudice, but the later United States Surveys, which corrected it, did much to undo the ill. Travelers like McKenney, Evans and Hoffman told through the press what they saw in the new Territory. Settlers returning from the east on business, or to visit, or bring out their relatives gave their views. Letters increased in number with the volume of immigration, the growth of means and the betterment of post roads. Many of these "letters from the West" were published in eastern newspapers. Speculators circulated glowing promises by the many thousands. Michigan newspapers, especially the Detroit Gazette after 1817, the Michigan Sentinel (Monroe) after 1825, and the Detroit Free Press after 1831, set forth the advantages of the section.

Improvements in transportation are a stimulus of first importance to settlement. It was too early yet for many township roads, and no important roads were made in the section by the territorial government; but national turnpikes appeared, extending along the entire length of the shore from Port Huron southward and others led into the interior from this shore road at all the principal centers of population. Some national harbor improvements were made, as at Monroe, and preparations were active for canals and railroads.

In the character of the population elements there was both a check and a stimulus. The presence of the Indians had its good and its bad features. The Indian could be helpful to the settler, as a guide or a temporary means of supply, or he could be annoying, and he was more likely to be the latter when in liquor or when influenced by hostile traders. The Indian villages called attention to choice spots, though the reservations were on the whole a source of delay to the settler. French hospitality was an aid to the Americans, but French prejudices and thriftlessness held back from enterprising methods much of the best land on the shore. The energy and business ability of young New Yorkers and New Englanders was a strong stimulus. There were no undesirable classes, no social and religious eccentries like the Communists and the Mormons of Illinois.

Of the external influences none were more potent than those causes

which stimulated foreign immigration, especially economic pressure in Ireland and the European revolutions of 1830.

The rate of settlement determined its amount. In numbers as well as in concentration of population the southern counties were far ahead of those at the north, and the lands along shore were very much in advance of the inland districts. The most important settlement areas inland were along the Raisin in Monroe county, along the Chicago road in the northern part of Wayne, and in the open western part of Macomb county. Interior centralization was negligible outside of Romeo and Utica. At Plymouth, Dundee and Petersborough, villages were just beginning. The large centers on the shores were county seats. Industries in the section were in number and importance, characteristic of those in frontier communities, and as social and political centers these communities had with the exception of Detroit as yet scarcely developed a strongly marked individuality. Governmental organization in the section was subdivided to the extent of four counties, thirty-two townships, one city incorporate and one incorporated village.

The elements in this population were emigrants from the eastern states of the Union, some Canadian French, and a sprinkling of English, Irish, Scotch, and Germans; the Indians as settlers were negligible. The data is lacking by which to determine what proportion of the total population was foreign born, but it was small; probably a thirtieth would be placing it high. Excepting the French, it first became appreciable after about 1830. It is safe to say of the native element that an overwhelming majority had their last place of residence in the state of New York, though a very large proportion of those coming from New York were born in New England states, principally Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut. The forces tending to amalgamate the native and foreign elements were in the first place the great preponderance of the former in numbers and in force of character, but equally efficient was the economic fact of the necessity of a common struggle for a livelihood under conditions which fostered a democratic appreciation of the worth of the individual. The main agents determining the sources of population were, (1) the position of the Territory, (2) the fact that the physical and economic character of Michigan appealed to the East rather than to the South, (3) economic pressure at the East and abroad, (4) the ease of transportation from the East, (5) the southern barrier of competing lands in Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana.

The chief motives that led settlers to select locations are clear. But a very long and careful scrutiny would be needed to determine, in more than a general way, the prejudices and preferences for environment that influenced particular elements in the population. It is not easy now to reconstruct with certainty the physical surroundings of a given set-

tlement, especially in water and timber, two of the strongest agents affecting settlement. A prominent geologist[204] holds the opinion that the changes which have taken place in the location of springs and in the level of the water in the streams of this section since its first settlement have not been important. But the forest changes have been so, and while the soil is generally an index to the amount of forestation, it may not give the truth as to a particular spot in question. In these respects the words of the settlers themselves may, with proper caution, be credited.

We have mentioned the somewhat obvious fact that the compact French settlements at the river mouths were motivated by ethnic affinity, by ease of communication, of defence, of food supply and of trade. These people kept quite away from the interior, except for a lone trader, as for example at Romeo. The other foreign elements seem to have been most numerous at Detroit and in the rising villages along the shore. We hear of the Scotch in northwestern Macomb county. The high land of Bruce township may have had upon the Scotch settlers an influence similar to that reported about the effect which the New England aspect of Romeo had upon its new England settlers. And a Scotch settlement or other settlement, when once formed had a natural affinity for settlers from the same nation, section or state. It can not be ascertained from the data at hand to what extent prior settlement directed later settlement. That was probably not so strong a factor where superior economic advantages conflicted with it; when other things were fairly equal it seems to have been specially effective in the interior. The main agents at work affecting distribution of population were (1) relative position, (2) the presence of older settlements, (3) the larger streams affording water power, (4) comparative openness of country and (5) good roads. It follows that the proportion in which these advantages were possessed by a locality determined its relative strength to concentrate population in villages. As to the manner of founding settlements in this section in this period it was not by organized colonies as later at Vermontville in Eaton county, nor by commercial companies, as at Pontiac in Oakland county, but by individual initiative and activity.

Economic types were not sharply distinguished in this period; industry can not differentiate much in a primitive society. The interaction of farm and village was just beginning to be felt and in the forming villages the demand for carpenters, mechanics and laborers in shop and factory was growing. All the industries were new and reflected a rich but undeveloped environment. Lumbering and agriculture in co-operation with each other and with manufacture had grown enough

[204]Prof. Leverett.

to show the possibilities. But at this stage it would be almost useless to try to estimate the proportion of urban to rural, or of lumbering to agricultural, population.

As a concluding word it may be suggested that it would be needful for the full understanding of the character of settlement in this section during this period to place it in the perspective of later settlement and against the background of settlement in neighboring sections.

OUR SOCIETY'S NEEDS

BY C. E. BEMENT[1]

It is perhaps not out of order to call attention to the value of the work that a society such as this is capable of doing. This organization is not solely for the purpose of calling a few people together once or twice a year to relate stories of their early life or even to recite the adventures of early settlers in various parts of Michigan. This may be a legitimate and important part of the Society's work but it is not the end and aim of its existence. It is an historical society and its aim is the recording in permanent form the history of the people of this State from the time when records began to be kept, whether these records are the written and printed word or the relics left by aboriginal inhabitants. These records should include not only the written and printed word, but those implements of the past that tell in plainer language than printed word, of the life of the people who were the pioneers in this wilderness and of those who have made our state what it is today. This means that the Society should not only have the facilities to put into permanent form the records of the past in the way of printed documents but should have the facilities and the means to buy when necessary and properly house all those physical relics of the past that tell of the daily life of the men and women who were the pioneers in the building up of this great commonwealth. Not only do we need the funds and facilities to carry on this work but we need them quickly.

The man who can throw light on a contested fact of our early history may die to-morrow. Look into your family genealogy and see how easily the record of your father or grandfather fades into obscurity. The guardian of your family traditions passes away before you realize that, as in days of old, your family history is a matter of dim tradition and not of recorded history. The State is in the same way daily losing

[1]Read at the midwinter meeting, Kalamazoo, 1911.

some valuable record of its early history. Documents decay, disappear or are destroyed by the careless or ignorant. The tools and implements in daily use in an earlier stage of our history are destroyed or allowed to go to pieces as of no value. So this work cannot be everlastingly put off. The fact that it deals with the past does not offer any excuse for putting it off. It must be done quickly. There will be plenty for the next generation to do.

What the Society needs is, in the first place, the cooperation of all local societies interested in and devoted to historical subjects. Every county in the State should have a local society allied with the State Historical Society. These local societies should furnish material to and receive assistance from the State Society. They should be able to go to the parent society for advice and assistance as to the best way of carrying on the local society and how to obtain the best and most valuable results; and the State Society should have the facilities to furnish this advice and assistance.

The State Society should have quarters at the Capitol of sufficient size to enable it to properly carry on its work and this should include ample room to house the Museum which should represent the growth of the State in a material form. It should have facilities to store and tabulate the various public and private documents bearing upon the State's history; documents now left to the tender mercy of ignorant or careless clerks or custodians.

The largest amount appropriated by the State in any one year for the use of this society is $4,000. This amount gives us barely enough to carry on the routine work of the Society and publish possibly one volume of records per annum. It keeps life in the body but does not provide for putting any flesh on the bones.

The Society must depend upon interest aroused in communities in the State, like Kalamazoo, to bring pressure to bear upon the legislature to at least gradually increase the means at the Society's hands to carry on this great and important work.

It should be noted that none of the officers of the Society receive any compensation for their services and it is a labor of love, realizing as they do the importance to future generations of the work now being done.

"AUNT" EMILY WARD.

MISS EMILY WARD, COMMONLY KNOWN AS "AUNT EMILY"[1]

BY MRS. GEORGE N. JONES[2]

She was born in Manlius, Onondaga Co., N. Y., March 16th, 1809. Her father, Eber Ward, was the son of a Vermont Baptist clergyman. Her mother, Sally Potter, was the daughter of Capt. Potter, a retired English shipmaster. While still very young she moved with her father's family to his native Vermont; shortly afterwards to Toronto, Canada, returning one year later to Vermont where they remained five years. In 1818 the immense labor of a journey from Vermont to Kentucky was attempted in a canvas covered sleigh. Before reaching that state the mother succumbed to the hardships of the trip, became ill of pleurisy and died, leaving Aunt Emily, then nine years of age, mother to three younger children. The father abandoned his journey to Kentucky, settled in Conneaut, O., where he remained four years. In 1822 this family again took up their wanderings settling at Yankee Point on the St. Clair River. They were attracted to this particular locality because Samuel Ward,[3] brother of Eber Ward, had purchased a large tract of land in this vicinity and already owned several schooners which he utilized in trading.

Aunt Emily and her father came up the river in one of Uncle Sam's vessels, they comprising the household at this time, the younger children joining them later. Aunt Emily was twelve years old when she began her career as a housekeeper an occupation which she never laid down, and at the age of thirteen added school teaching to her other accomplishments.

This seems a fitting place to pause and note the loving characteristics of this girl of sixteen; the budding of that strong personality which blossomed later into the sturdy, self-reliant qualities, the true philanthropic instincts of this admirable woman. Aunt Emily came into the lake country when it was a wilderness, lived when the foundations of a State were being laid and knew with what difficulty this goodly superstructure, comely in appearance, was built. Her life, marked by brave encounters with many things hard to be endured, the center of

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1911. See sketch, Vol. XXI., p. 367, this series.

[2]Mrs. Jones is a resident of Marine City and the wife of ex-Senator George N. Jones and a relative of "Aunt Emily." On behalf of the Women's Literary Clubs of Marine City Mrs. Jones presented this Society with a photograph finely framed of Aunt Emily and also a copy of the volume of Grandmother's Stories.

[3]For a sketch of Capt. Samuel Ward, see Vol. XXI., pp. 336-367, this series.

a wide and widening circle of wholesome influences, was prolonged to its reward in affectionate gratitude and years of retrospection on past good deeds and their ineffable results. As an illustration of her bravery in danger, presence of mind in distress and unfailing wisdom and genius to execute I cite the following stories:[4]

THE SAGINAW INDIANS

"It was in the early summer of 1826, for I was seventeen years old when this incident happened. It was training-day as it was called, and every man and boy who was well enough and old enough to carry a gun had to go to the county seat to be trained in military movements. That morning father and Eber and every man and boy in the settlement, except a poor lame shoemaker had gone to Port Huron, twenty miles away, to the training and the women and children were left alone. But no one thought anything about it for the country was at peace and though there were Indians about they were friendly, and we had nothing to fear from them.

"It was a bright and lovely morning when we went down to the river bank to see father and Eber off. The river shone like a mirror and reflected trees that overhung its banks so clearly that it looked like twin trees growing into its shining depths. The robins were singing their loudest and everything was so fresh and beautiful and peaceful that I lingered a long time dreaming over it. But the cares of a housekeeper drove me home to do my morning work.

"I had put the house to rights and had just finished baking my bread when the door suddenly opened and in poured a great number of Indians in full war-paint and dress, muskets in their hands and knives and tomahawks in their belts. They paid no more attention to me than if I had been a block of wood, but went to the cupboard and took the bread and cake and everything eatable. They drank some vinegar there was in a barrel in the corner and then began looking around after something in particular, but which they didn't find; finally, one old fellow looked at me and said, 'Whiskey?' I shook my head, and told him we hadn't any. He started to open the door into the room where the whiskey barrel was, but I stepped ahead of him quick, put my hand through the door handle, looked him straight in the eye and told him he could not go in there.

"When they first came in I seized the broom, as it was the only weapon left in the house, and a woman's weapon at that, and when some of the

[4]Francis B. Hurlbut who styles herself one of the "Little Girls," collected nineteen stories and an introduction which was published by the Riverside Press of Cambridge under title of "Grandmother's Stories" and this book was presented to Grandma, otherwise Aunt Emily, March 16, 1889, on her eightieth birthday.

young men tried to pull me away from the door I hung on tight with one hand and struck right and left with the broom handle as hard as I could strike hitting an Indian with every blow.

"I knew I might as well die fighting as any other way, and that if I couldn't keep them from the whiskey barrel they would get drunk and kill every woman and child in the place. After a little some of the young men made motions as if to strike me; but this old fellow, who seemed to be their chief, said in Indian, 'Leave her to me. I'll put her to sleep.' I knew what he meant, for I could understand some Indian, but I made up my mind that I'd not let go that door as long as I had life to hold it. Then the old Indian made as if to strike me with a stick, but I didn't flinch, and kept on looking him right in the eye. Then he threw it down on the floor, and said 'Pick it up!' I knew that if I stooped to pick it up he would strike me on the back of the head, and that I would die without making any outcry; so I shook my head and would not pick it up. "In the meantime I could hear Sallie screaming and crying in the yard, for the young Indians were amusing themselves beating her with long, slender whips for no other purpose than for the fun of hearing her scream. But just at that moment she put her head in at the door, and I shouted to her, 'Sallie, run quick, and tell the men!' Now I knew that there were no men around but the lame old shoemaker, but I said it for a double purpose: one to get Sallie away, and the other that the old Indian, who understood English, might think that there were a good many men around and so go away for the fear of them.

"Sallie ran quick as a flash, and the old fellow, who had understood what I said as I expected he would, left me, and began talking in a low tone with some of the older Indians. They seemed to come to some sudden decision for he gave a word of command and they all left the house as abruptly as they had entered it, pushed off into the river and were half-way across before Sallie got back with the news 'that the shoemaker was afraid, and would not come.'

"I had thought that they might kill me, but I didn't seem to have any fear. I remember that I thought I might just as well be killed then as after they got drunk. But after they were gone I was so weak and trembled so that I could not stand up. I had to sit down and I shook like a leaf in the wind for hours after. It took me several days to get over the nervous depression that followed. I wasn't brave, I was afraid they would get the whisky and then kill everybody.

"These Indians were warriors from the Saginaw tribe, who were very fierce and warlike; and they were on their way to Detroit to try and release from prison their chief, old Kishkawko who had a year before killed a man in the streets of Detroit. Just in pure wantonness, without the least provocation he had thrown a tomahawk at a white man who

was walking peacefully along, and struck him down. He was arrested, tried and condemned to be hanged.

"The Indians thought it an overwhelming disgrace "to be hung like dogs' as they said, and they determined, if they couldn't release him to give him poison. I suppose the reason they went, when I told Sally to run after the men, was that going for the purpose they were, they didn't wish anything to defeat the purpose. They were afraid that if the men came there would be a fight and they would be delayed and perhaps stopped altogether. Kishkawko took poison the morning he was to be hung. They found the white man's government too strong for them to rescue him, so they gave him poison."

GOING AFTER STRAWBERRIES

"One day in June, as soon as dinner was over, Sallie, and a young woman who worked for uncle Sam, and uncle Sam's little boy and I went over to the Canada side of St. Clair River to gather wild strawberries that grew there in great abundance. We crossed the river in a row-boat and when we got on shore we pulled the boat high up on the beach, so that the waves would not carry it off. We had a gay time filling our pails and baskets with the ripe fruit. When we got through we were rather tired and very leisurely took our way to the boat. We did not notice that the small boy had gone ahead of us. When we were almost to the beach he came running back to us, shouting, 'Boaty! boaty!'

"I knew in a moment that he had done some mischief and I set my strawberries down and ran as fast as I could toward the river. Sure enough he had pushed the boat into the water and she was floating off with the current. I waded out clear up to my neck, but I could not reach her, and as I could not swim I had to wade back.

"By this time the girls and the small boy were on the shore, and as I came back they set up a dismal wail; for the boat was gone, and here we four were, miles from any habitation and with a fine prospect of spending the night in the woods, where the wolves and bears still roamed and occasionally Indians were seen. We sat in a very melancholy plight, the girls crying, the boy looking doleful, and I thinking of what we could do. There was an island about a mile below, near the Canada shore and I thought the current would carry the boat to that island and strand her on its northeastern point; and how to get to that point was a question.

"I looked around the beach and found there was some drift-wood of logs and some long poles that pioneers use in building mud-chimneys. I thought that with these we could build a raft, if we could only get something to tie them together with; but there wasn't a string a yard

long, except those we used to hold up our stockings with as was the fashion in those days. But strings, or no strings, that raft had to be made, and what were sunbonnets and aprons and dresses and skirts for if in an emergency they wouldn't tie a raft together?

"I told the girls my plan, and they said they didn't believe I ever could get the boat again in such manner, but they went to work with a will, because I wanted them to and because it was the only way to get home. After a great deal of hard work a raft was completed, tied with the aforesaid material. Luckily the fashion of those days provided the women with a long chemise that hung down to their ankles and covered her much more as to her neck and arms than many a fashionable belle of these times is covered by what people are pleased to call 'full dress.'

"You may be sure that raft was a very frail affair to sail the waters of the great St. Clair River, and Sallie said she knew that we would be drowned. It was only large enough for two, and Margaret and I went, leaving Sallie to take care of the boy. It required a brave heart to go or stay; for in the distance we could hear the occasional howl of the wolf and on the water was the little raft that looked as if it might fall to pieces at a moment's notice. The plan was that Margaret and I should stand up and pole the raft; but as soon as we got from the shore Margaret was afraid to stand up, and so she sat down and cried, and I did the work. The current helped a great deal, and after a time we could see the head of the island. We knew there was an encampment of friendly Indians there at that time, fishing and hunting, but we were not afraid of them.

"By this time the moon was up, and as soon as we could see the Island we saw all of the Indians down on the shore gazing eagerly in our direction. They didn't seem to understand what was coming towards them. But as we got nearer and nearer and the bright moonlight shone directly upon us, and they discovered that it was only two forlorn girls on a crazy raft, they screamed and shouted with laughter. I didn't care for that, for by this time I could see our boat that had stranded about where I thought she would.

"The Indians were very kind to us; the men went and got the boat and untied the raft, and the women wrung out our clothes and took us to a wigwam and helped up put ours on; then they helped us into the boat and put the rest of the wet clothes in and with many friendly grunts and exclamations they pushed our boat out into the stream and we hastened back to Sallie and the boy. Here I will say that I have never seen an Indian treated with kindness but what he returned it by equal kindness, and he never forgets a favor as I know from experience.

"Sallie and the boy were rejoiced when we got back, and they dried

their tears that had been plentifully flowing, put on their wet clothes and we started for home. We agreed amongst ourselves that we would slip into the house the back way, change our clothes and not tell anyone of the adventure, so no one knew of it for some time. But Margaret had a beau to whom she told the story after a while; and it was such a good story that, manlike, he told it to some one else, and so everyone knew it in a little time, and we were well laughed at.

"I related that story, a good many years afterwards to Mr. Stanley, famous for his pictures of Indians. We were passing the island in a steamer of your uncle's and I was telling him something of the early days of St. Clair River settlements. He remarked that the incident would make a pretty picture. Not long after that he brought me on my sixtieth birthday that picture."

In 1827 they returned to Conneaut, O., where they lived till 1831. During this time the two little sisters, having grown to womanhood under the fostering care of Aunt Emily, married and went to preside over homes of their own, Sallie becoming Mrs. Brindle and Abba the wife of B. F. Owen. Soon after her father, Eber Ward, was apppointed keeper of Mackinaw light.[5] The care and labor of this new venture devolved, as other ventures had done, upon the slender shoulders of this young girl. These duties were faithfully discharged as all others were during a long, eventful life. An example of her courage and bravery was furnished when during a storm the tower was found to be shaking at its foundations and climbing up she rescued the lamp and other valuables and reached the ground just as the structure fell. We cannot help but feel that this life was spared for a purpose.

In 1845 they returned to Newport, formerly Yankee Point,[6] where they passed the succeeding twenty-two years. These years although saddened by the death of both her sisters were among the happiest and busiest of her happy and busy life. The death of the two sisters gave into the hands of Aunt Emily a family of ten over which she exercised the same kind guardianship she had previously exercised over their mothers. There was always a big family in the old house at Newport, which faced the St. Clair river and was surrounded by a garden the size of four

[5]This light-house was situated on Bois Blanc Island near Mackinac. It had been built too near the water and fears were entertained of its falling. The father was at Mackinac, Eber junior, on the Great Lakes and no one but Emily and Bolivar, an adopted boy, in the house and none on the island but a cowardly Frenchman and his Indian wife. At five o'clock, seeing that the lighthouse must go, Aunt Emily climbed up the one hundred and fifty steps and carried down the lamps and heavy reflectors. She made five trips, each time leaving poor Bolivar in tears, positive that she would be killed. She and the boy watched the fall of the lighthouse from the woods but their house was uninjured.—*Grandmother's Stories*, p. 126.

[6]So called from being settled by Yankees from the East.—*Grandmother's Stories*. p. 74.

city blocks. Freedom to develop their own individuality as well as wise restraint was found there.

Aunt Emily's mission was among children and it was a mission in which her devotion was earnest and unwearying. Many not connected with her by the ties of relationship but who were left orphaned and neglected became her foster children. "She made men and women of them." Soon the necessity for better educational facilities for her children faced her and now she began to gather golden sheaves. Eber Brock Ward,[7] the little brother left in her charge by a dying mother, the first of a long line of little ones to receive her loving care, was by this time a prosperous business man with children of his own. Together this brother and sister built a schoolhouse for their children, equipped it with charts, globes and many other appliances which were seldom employed as aids to education in those days; it was called an academy; and higher mathematics and the various sciences required in the preparation for college were taught there. A college graduate was in charge of the school, but Aunt Emily had charge of the schoolmaster, the schoolhouse, the pupils, and was a board of education of one. This institution took the place of an ordinary high school, two district schools being the only schools in town. Others were allowed to participate in its advantages on payment of small sums, three dollars per year being charged as tuition with twenty-five cents added if the student pursued the study of languages. The present Marine City High School is on the old academy sight, Aunt Emily having donated house and grounds for that purpose on her departure from the place. The building now stands at the corner of Main and St. Clair streets, and was used for a City Hall for several years and afterward sold to the Presbyterian Synod for a Church.

From this old academy came lawyers, merchants, manufacturers, physicians, congressmen, postmaster-general and many noted men and women of affairs. One authority asserts, that six of the homeless, orphaned boys are worth ten millions to-day, one a western railroad man, two are heavy manufacturers; also that Aunt Emily wholly or in part, raised, educated, and started in life not less than twenty-nine men and women. As samples of her generosity, to one she gave fifteen thousand dollars the day he graduated from the University; to another like opportunities and five thousand, and to still another a fine home. A full record

[7]Aunt Emily said her brother Eber had the first rolling mills in the Northwest, opened the first Bessemer steel manufactory, sailed the first boat on Lake Superior, taking it overland at what she called the Sault Falls Carry, a distance of three or four miles, and was one of the first and largest business men in the Northwest. Mr. C. M. Burton says he was the richest man in Michigan at the time of his death. The contest over his will claimed the attention of lawyers and psychologists as it involved the subject of spiritualism. See Thomas M. Cooley, *Sketch of David Darwin Hughes*, Vol. VII., p. 513, this series; *Detroit Tribune*, Oct. 15, 1875; *Detroit News*, Oct. 16, 1875, Vol. XXI., p. 340.

of her charities was never known, even to her most intimate friends. Many whom she befriended thought her the greatest woman the country ever produced. Certainly *no man* of her day was so great a humanitarian.

Aside from her mission of promoting the welfare of the young, she still had energy to devote to the happiness of her friends and neighbors. While living in Marine City she was constantly sent for when people were sick and in distress, she acted as physician, nurse and counselor, was always aiding someone, and people were always seeking her advice. She was a great lover of flowers and maintained a fine flower garden from which the sick in Marine City were constant recipients.

During all this interval she was also actively engaged in industrial and financial efforts, being associated with her brother Eber Brock Ward in his business, taking the superintendency of interior finishing of a large line of freighters and passenger boats which he built for the lake trade. Aunt Emily's workshop was in the second story of the building known as the Ward general store, furnishing employment for all the women and girls of the town. The twenty-five hundred population were nearly all employed by this brother and sister. Her profits were taken in stock in the boats until she became a large vessel owner, being worth many thousand dollars. She had many offers of marriage but always said she was too busy to consider them seriously.

It is a singular fact that not one of Aunt Emily's immense family, is at present a resident of Marine City, formerly Newport, and her only monument is the Emily Ward Chapter No. 205 of the Order of Eastern Stars.

In 1867 she moved to Detroit and took charge of her brother's house, residing with him for three years. In 1870 she built a home at 807 Fort St. West and continued to live there until the time of her death.[8] The house is still occupied by her niece Mrs. Florence Brindle Mayhew who is one of the four survivors of Aunt Emily's immediate family, the other three being Dr. Orville Owen of Detroit, Mr. T. C. Owen of Ypsilanti and Mrs. A. Aubrey of Wyandotte.

March 16th, 1887 a reception[9] was held at her home in Detroit to

[8]For picture of residence of Aunt Emily, see Farmer's *Hist. of Detroit*, p. 403.

[9]The following "children" at her reception testified to Aunt Emily's help to them. The first letter from the Postmaster-General's office in Washington, D. C., written by one of her boys, Don M. Dickinson, was to Aunt Emily. Dr. Orville Owen of Detroit, was called Aunt Emily's "Rosebud." Christian Otjen, a German boy, whose parents lived in St. Clair had been one of Aunt Emily's boys for some time. One day a poor, ragged, dirty boy came to her house and said "Aunt Emily you take all good children, I wish you would take me." She did and lived to see these brothers become prominent men, Theobold serving three years in Congress from Milwaukee, Wis., and Christian becoming superintendent of Bay View Rolling Mills. Ira Mayhew, a protege of hers, was Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1845-49. George Wasey, another boy, became a prominent lawyer. We have been unable to locate all of the twenty-nine said to have belonged to her family.

celebrate her eightieth birthday. Fully six hundred people came, paid their respects on this occasion, and many telegrams were received from friends and admirers, among the latter being one from Hon. Don M. Dickinson, Washington, D. C., then Postmaster-General, who wished to be remembered as one of Aunt Emily's "boys." I received a letter from Congressman Otjen of Milwaukee (spoken of in note) who congratulated this society on its efforts to perpetuate her memory, saying he knew of no woman more worthy of having her life and character preserved in history. She died August, 1891, aged eighty-two years.

In introducing Miss Ward I will not attempt a final summary of the virtues of this great woman, feeling it is beyond me, but will use the language of Mrs. L. B. Parker, wife of her physician and next door neighbor during her twenty-two years in Marine City. As I talked to her last Friday she said in part, "She was the most beautiful character I ever knew. O, how I loved her! I could not help it! I cannot find words to express my admiration. She was wonderful."

I think you will join me in saying "Though dead yet she liveth in the hearts of those who knew her best, and though at rest from her labors, her works do follow her."

MICHIGAN'S SHARE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST*

BY LEW ALLEN CHASE, M. A.

It must be apparent that the economic and general progress of the northwestern United States, has depended in no small measure on the establishment of convenient and cheap methods of transportation between that section and the seaboard. This region, lying north of the Ohio and Missouri rivers, was very rich in the products of the soil, agricultural, arborial, mineral, so much so that its inhabitants could readily produce a surplus of these products considered with reference to their own immediate needs. This surplus it wanted less in proportion to its desire for other things, the things which could only come through an exchange of commodities which it produced, for commodities produced in the East and in foreign countries, especially Europe. Very early this region of the northwest had wheat to export. The 1908 Report, page 386 of the New York Superintendent of Public Works, shows the receipts of wheat by lake at Buffalo to be as follows:

*Read at annual meeting, June, 1911.

1836, 304,990 bushels;
1837, 450,359 bushels;
1838, 933,117 bushels;
1839, 1,117,262 bushels;
1840, 1,004,561 bushels;
1841, 1,635,000 bushels;
1842, 1,555,420 bushels;
1843, 1,827,241 bushels;
1844, 2,174,500 bushels;
1845, 1,770,740 bushels;
1846, 4,744,184 bushels;
1847, 6,489,100 bushels.

In the same place may be found similar statistics for other products of the northwest, tending to the same conclusion, namely; that this section of the United States stood ready to exchange its products for the products of the east, if suitable transportation facilities were afforded. What is more, the ingress and egress of population was similarly dependent on transportation facilities; and these facilities must be greatly improved, if this region was to grow as rapidly in population as its natural resources warranted. This, of course, was understood then as well, perhaps better, than now.

George Washington, who on more than one occasion, manifested his interest in the development of the country beyond the mountains, perceived the great importance of the prospective commerce of the region lying around the Great Lakes; and he set forth a plan[1] for gaining this commerce, at least a goodly portion of it for his own state of Virginia. This was just subsequent to the close of the American Revolution. He could show that, as routes[2] ran then, the shortest available line of communication between Detroit and tide-water lay through Ohio and Virginia rather than by Lake Erie and New York. Washington proposed to use affluents of Lake Erie and the Ohio River, constituting an almost continuous water route from Detroit to Richmond or Alexandria. Thus by one of his routes, he would use Lake Erie to the Cuyahoga River, the Cuyahoga and "Muskingham" rivers, with their short portage across Ohio; the Little Kanhawa, Monongahela, Cheat, with portage to Potomac, and thence to Alexandria. He calculated the total distance at 799 miles, including only thirty-one miles of portages. By a somewhat different route Washington reckoned it 840 miles to Richmond; while from Detroit to New York by the old route that will soon be described, he made the distance 943 miles. But there were other elements in the problem with which Washington could not deal and which eventually put his scheme beyond practical consideration.

[1]Prof. Chase's paper deals with transportation connected with canals and railroads and does not take up the problem of highways. Gov. Cass in a letter to the Government as early as the winter of 1814-15, called attention to the Black Swamp Road. Father Richard, our third territorial delegate, cited the extra expense caused by lack of good roads in the War of 1812, amounting to ten or twelve millions of dollars. He was instrumental in the establishment of four roads—Fort Gratiot, Pontiac, Grand River and Detroit and Chicago.

[2]For Washington's Plan, see Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, Vol. 13; Cleveland, 1904; Chap. II.

Before the advent of artificial means of communication, there were three principal routes for getting into this northwestern country. They were, of course, mainly water routes. The Mississippi and its largest branches had their sources in this region, and were for a time the most important line of communication and commerce between the northwest and the sea. Especially by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers did the early inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Ohio, gain an outlet to the markets which they must have. We even hear of through shipments from Marietta and Cincinnati to Europe.[3] So important was this route that some very difficult international questions arose between the early administrations of the United States government, and the other governments which had territory contiguous to this waterway. A second route lay by way of the great Lakes, their connecting waters, affluents, and outlet; but since parts of this route were broken by falls or rapids, or lay in foreign territory, it was not satisfactory to the inhabitants of the old Northwest. A third route, considerably followed in the early days, used the Great Lakes in part, but at Oswego passed up the waterway to Oneida Lake, crossed that lake and passed by way of its eastern affluent, Wood Creek and a short portage to the Mohawk River, thence to Albany, the Hudson River and New York City. It was by way of this waterway to the seaboard that Washington computed his distance from Detroit to New York already alluded to. Without doubt some such route as this which should connect the Great Lake country with the ocean at or near New York was the most desirable. The enormous shipping development which has since occurred on this general line of communication, especially since the opening of the Erie Canal and the New York Central, Erie and other railroads, substantiates this view. It was practically, as it has been styled, "the water-level route," affording easy grades and comparative directness between east and west, two factors of great importance in such a study as this. But as nature had established it, it was difficult enough. There was bad water on the Mohawk, Oswego, and Niagara rivers, where portages were required. There were the uncertainties and dangers of the Lakes, the quite impossibilities of winter travel, and at one time, the dreaded Iroquois Indians of central New York. General Lincoln had charge of an expedition in 1793, which had to go from Philadelphia and New York to Detroit to treat with the Indians. Part of the company went over this old New York water route. From the published journals of two members of the expedition (Messrs. Lindley and Moore), I compute the time consumed to have been as follows:

[3]See Gephart, *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West*, New York, 1909, pp. 61, 65.

New York to Albany, by sloop, four days;
Albany to Niagara, via. Oswego, sixteen days;
Niagara to Fort Erie (opposite Buffalo), 1 day;
Fort Erie to Detroit by schooner, five days.

From this computation extraordinary delays are deducted; so we have twenty-six days by the old New York water route required in going from New York to Detroit. Arrived at Fort Erie or Buffalo, the traveler was lucky if he found a schooner awaiting him ready to sail. Davison's "Traveler's Guide" of 1834, says that in 1811, travelers often had to wait ten days for a schooner or a fair wind.[4]

Besides these water routes, there were three overland routes leading into the old Northwest, at one time or another of considerable importance. There was the old Iroquois trail, later the Genesee Turnpike, running east and west across upper New York. In Pennsylvania, the old Forbes' Road became the Pennsylvania State Road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg; while later and more southerly, the Cumberland Road joined the Potomac and Ohio rivers and the country beyond. In the development of the northwest these roads had a part, and an important one, as the ancestors of not a few present inhabitants could testify, if they were here. But here also the expenditure of time, effort, and money was very large. We do not have merely to surmise this. In his authoritative volume on the Rise of the New West, Frederick J. Turner presents some data which is apropos here. We learn that in 1817 it cost sometimes seven dollars to ten dollars per hundred-weight to get freight from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and that it required a month to wagon goods from Baltimore to central Ohio.[5]

If that portion of the United States which came to have its business center at Chicago, and in a lesser degree, at Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cleveland, etc., was to reach the industrial greatness of which it seemed to give promise, it was evident that some better mode of transportation must be developed than keel-boat, raft, and freight-wagon. The best outlet for Chicago and the other commercial centers of the northwest was at or near New York. This followed from the nature of the waterways and the topography of the land. Any improvement in transportation facilities between Chicago and New York at any point of this great interurban route, would have a value in the solution of the general problem of improved transportation. A glance at the map shows that the geographical constituents of this east and west trade route include the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, the Province of Ontario, Canada; Lakes Erie, Huron

[4]*Traveler's Guide Through the Middle and Northern States*, etc., Saratoga Springs (G. M. Davison), 1834, p. 260, note.
[5]Turner: *Rise of the New West*,, New York, 1906, p. 99.

and Michigan, with connecting waters. Any improvements in transportation within any of these geographical areas was quite certain to have some effect in putting the northwest within closer and easier reach of the eastern seaboard, with a corresponding effect on its prosperity.

Quite naturally the improvement in transportation was wrought from the east westward, following a similar movement of population. The first step was the installation of steam navigation on the Hudson River and the Great Lakes, most important for our immediate purpose, on Lake Erie. At about the same time came the opening of the Erie Canal. These two improvements saved time and money costs. In 1834 we hear of substantially a four day's schedule for canal passengers from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, while freight required two days longer. By this time the Erie Canal had through stage competition. Thus by stage it was three days from Utica to Buffalo; while the "Telegraph" coach—the "Twentieth Century Limited" of that day—was said to put down its six passengers in half the time.[6] On Lake Erie "magnificent" steamers had reduced the time between Buffalo and Detroit from five days or more to forty hours. Increased carrying capacity and comfort went with the change. These improvements in transportation affected strongly the territory adjacent to the Great Lakes. Thus in the last years of Michigan's territorial existence there was a great influx of people into the southern portion of the Lower Peninsula. There were less than thirty thousand people in this region in 1830, but seven years later, one hundred and seventy-five thousand inhabitants dwelt there. In 1830, two-thirds of Michigan's population lived in Wayne County, which contained Detroit, and the four counties adjoining it. In 1837 ninety thousand persons lived outside this area. That is to say, between 1830 and 1837 over eighty thousand persons had found homes in the more distant counties, principally in the interior south of the Grand and Saginaw rivers. The incoming settlers found three means of transportation awaiting them: the Indian trails, the rivers, and a few roads. There was the Potawatomie trail up the Huron valley; a second trail from Detroit to Saginaw, and doubtless many more such primitive thoroughfares through the forest.

When Michigan was a territory, her rivers were serviceable for navigation to a much greater degree than at present. An old reference to the Maple River as "large and navigible" amuses us, for now it affords scarcely good canoeing; but seventy years ago it was looked upon as a valuable link in a trans-Michigan canal system.[7] The St. Joseph River

[6]Davison's *Traveler's Guide*, etc., p. 203.

[7]*Report of the Board of Commissoners of Internal Improvement, Mich. House Documents*, 1838, p. 145.

had an average width of about thirty rods for one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth, according to Lanman; and the Saginaw was navigable for approximately sixty miles. But numerous obstructions, natural and artificial, seriously impeded movement up and down these streams. Accordingly we find the territorial council of Michigan chartering companies which are to improve the navigation of certain rivers by removing obstructions and straightening the water-courses. It was generally required that dams should have locks of a specified size, usually seventy-five by fourteen feet. Thus an Act of 1836 required the installation of locks in dams on the Shiawassee, St. Joseph, Kalamazoo, Thornapple, Huron, Lookingglass, and Grand Rivers; and this is an indication of the navigability of these streams.

In 1830 both the National and Territorial governments had done something for roads in Michigan. Military considerations induced Congress to order a survey for the location of military roads; and on March 2, 1827, Congress authorized the President to establish a road from Detroit to Saginaw River and Bay, and from Detroit to Fort Gratiot, and to complete the Detroit and River Raisin Road to a junction with the Maumee and Sandusky Road; and by this Act $20,000 were appropriated for the construction of a road from Detroit to Chicago.[8]

The Territory of Michigan was very poorly provided with highways until the last decade of its existence. The first public road through Washtenaw County was not surveyed until 1825, although this was the second county in population and directly west of Detroit. Volunteers from Ann Arbor are said to have put through the territorial road from that place to the site of Jackson in 1829.[9] As the Territory began to attract many immigrants in the late '20's, the necessity for a commensurate highway development was manifest, and thus many acts for the laying out of territorial roads are found. April 12, 1827, a general Act was passed in this connection, and this was soon supplemented by special legislation, by which it was directed that highway connection should be established between Pontiac, Ann Arbor, and Adrian; Monroe and Ypsilanti; Mt. Clemens, Saginaw, and Sault Ste. Marie; Niles, Kalamazoo, and Saginaw; Marshall and Grand Rapids; Coldwater and Berrien. An Act of July 26, 1836, provided for sixty state roads; and this by no means completed the legislation of this character belonging to this period. This was a very important work, even if, as Lanman declares, the roads across the State were "such as to try the patience of the traveler," and were almost impassable in the spring and autumn. Enos Northrup, coming from Ohio to Michigan in 1830, employed two days and a half, he tells us, in reaching Ann Arbor from Detroit, a distance

[8] *Congressional Documents, Serial* 134, *doc.* 68, and s. 198, d. 123.
[9] *History of Washtenaw County, Michigan*, Chicago, 1881.

of some forty miles. But such as they were these roads were useful to those who needed to traverse the State. Mitchell's Tourist Map of 1835 describes three principal stage routes in Michigan, namely, one from Detroit through Ypsilanti, Saline, Tecumseh, Jonesville, Coldwater, Niles, La Porte, and Michigan City, to Chicago, on which a thrice-a-week stage service was scheduled. A second stage line ran three times a week from Detroit through Monroe and Toledo to Lower Sandusky. Twice a week the stage ran from Monroe through Adrian to Tecumseh. Blois' Gazetteer of Michigan for the year 1838 mentions sixty-eight different mail routes in the State, of which forty-two are described. It appears from Blois' list that there was a weekly mail between Detroit and Lapeer; Detroit and Utica; Detroit and Howell; Maumee and Jonesville; Ypsilanti and Plymouth; Saline and Grass Lake; Jonesville and Marshall; Coldwater and St. Joseph; Niles and New Buffalo; Plymouth and Dexter; Ann Arbor and Pontiac; Ann Arbor and Ionia; Marshall and Coldwater; Marshall and Centerville; Pontiac and Ionia; Mt. Clemens and Fort Gratiot; Mt. Clemens and Lapeer; Adrian and Jonesville; Adrian and Defiance (Ohio); Michigan City (Ind.) and Grand Haven; Battle Creek and Eaton; Battle Creek and Kent; Battle Creek and Schoolcraft; Kalamazoo and Saugatuck; Kalamazoo and mouth of South Black River; Kalamazoo and Kent; Saginaw and mouth of Saginaw River; Cassopolis and Elkhart, (Ind.); Lapeer and Grand Blanc; Howell and Kent; Kent and Grand Haven; Centerville and Michigan City (Ind.); Northfield and Howell; Ionia and Saginaw; New Buffalo and La Porte (Ind.); Eaton and Ionia; while three times a week the mail went between Toledo and Adrian.[10]

The Mitchell Map mentioned above sets down steamboat lines from Detroit to Buffalo, to Fort Gratiot and to Chicago, all of which touched at the coast villages; while the steamers on the St. Joseph River between Niles and its mouth were of service in trans-state traffic. In 1839 Lanman notes that steamers ascended the Grand River as far as Grand Rapids. Blois also has a description of navigation and commerce in his Gazetteer of 1838. He gives the registered tonnage for 1836 on Lake Erie at 24,045.76, consisting of forty-five steamboats of an aggregate tonnage of 9,016.56; and two hundred and eleven other craft.[11] Of these steamers, the "Michigan" had the largest tonnage, in the year 1836; but increased business called for increased size of boats, and in 1838 the largest boat yet constructed on the lakes was the "Illinois" of 755 tons, built at Detroit.[12] There was a number of vessels slightly smaller than this. Before Michigan and adjacent territory were con-

[10] J. T. Blois, *Gaz. of Mich.*, Detroit, 1838, p. 97n. This means that the mail was forwarded and returned within the week.

[11] Blois, *Gaz. of Mich.*, p. 105.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

nected with the East by railroads, unquestionably a large proportion of the transportation of persons and freight in this region utilized these lake vessels so far as they were available.

It thus appears from this survey of conditions at about the time Michigan gained statehood, that immigrants and others who wished to reach the northwestern United States from the seaboard, had a comparatively expeditious means of getting there. A New Yorker could take a short steamer "run" up the Hudson to Albany; spend three or four days in a canal-boat between Albany and Buffalo; have a forty-hours' ride in a Lake Erie steamer to Detroit, or, if he chose, get off at Toledo and go by rail to Adrian, by stage to Niles, or he might reach Niles by stage from Detroit if he preferred. From Niles he might continue to Chicago by stage around the southern end of Lake Michigan, or he might take a lake boat between the same points; or he might take a slightly more northerly route by stage from Detroit to St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, and thence by Lake to Chicago; or he might do as Margaret Fuller did a few years later, go all the way from Detroit to Chicago by lake steamer. This was longer and more expensive perhaps; but Miss Fuller found it a most delightful voyage in the early 40's, and has left us a very charming account of her experiences and impressions in her little volume called "Summer on the Lakes," published in 1843. We shall later compare the cost of travel and shipping freight before and after the completion of Michigan railroads; and we shall find conditions at the period we have reached at a disadvantage as compared with those fifteen years later. Still we must allow that even so the rapid settlement of Michigan, Illinois, and other tributary territory was much affected by the improvements we have described. We have been at some pains to set these improvements in their historical relations, in order to place the work of Michigan in the same correct historical connection without claiming too much or too little for the enterprise of the State. We are now ready to say something of Michigan's share in the establishment of improved transportation between New York and Chicago, and of how the work of the State was supplemented and carried to completion by private enterprise.

That passion for internal improvement, characteristic of the frontier states early in the last century, bore fruit in Michigan. The Chicago territory, that is, the great Northwest of the United States, first obtained rail connection with the East over the lines of the two Michigan railroads which had their inception in this frontier enthusiasm. The first charter granted to a railway in Michigan was that of the Pontiac and Detroit Railroad Company under date of July 31, 1830. Up to 1837, nineteen other railroad corporations were chartered with an aggregate capital of ten million dollars. If charters could have built railroads, a contemporary

supposition that the horse would soon be a superfluous animal might have been realized. But the serious work of railroad building did not follow hard on the granting of charters. In his message to the Legislature September 2, 1834, Acting-Governor Mason announced that surveys for one or more trans-peninsular railway routes were about to begin under direction of the U. S. War Department. Popular subscription or territorial appropriation was expected to bear the expense of this survey. Lieutenant J. M. Berrien in that year made such a survey from Detroit to the St. Joseph River and submitted his report to a convention of friends of the work in Detroit.[13] September 3, 1834, citizens of Ann Arbor held a similar convention in favor of the new road. Actual work on this line did not begin before 1836.

The Detroit and St. Joseph company, already chartered in 1832 and the precursor of the Michigan Central Railroad, graded some ten miles of its line between Detroit and Ypsilanti before the State took up the same project. Very little seems to have been done with the other charters granted up to this time.

Article XII, Section 3, of the Michigan Constitution of 1835, under which the first state government was organized, declared that "Internal improvement shall be encouraged by the government of this State; and it shall be the duty of the Legislature, as soon as may be, to make provision by law for ascertaining the proper objects of improvement in relation to roads, canals, and navigable waters." This section was a constitutional expression of an ardent popular desire. In 1846, the Ways and Means Committee of the Legislature in taking a retrospect of this era, pointed out how great was the importance attached to the subject of internal improvements "arising in part from the spirited examples of older states, and from a laudable desire to develop as rapidly as possible the resources of our peninsula." Governor Mason fully shared this ambition; and in his message of January 2, 1837, definitely brought the matter to the front as a public enterprise. He declared that the State was "amply competent to construct her own internal improvements," and suggested specific enterprises in which the State might engage. The practicability of uniting the waters east and west of the Peninsula "has long been conceded," he informs his hearers; and there were several other possible canalizations, such as the union of the headwaters of the Grand River with affluents of Lake Huron. He is "credibly informed that fourteen miles of canal will join the Lookingglass and Shiawassee rivers;" and, he says, "it may be found on survey that this communication may be continued by canal to the Detroit River or down the Shiawassee to the mouth of the Saginaw." The Huron "may connect with the Red Cedar, the Raisin with the St. Joseph or the Kala-

[13]Roberts, *Sketches of the City of Detroit*, Detroit, 1855.

mazoo." With this development of waterways, railroads were to be liberally promoted, and that by the State, in order that the means of transportation should not fall wholly into the hands of private corporations. The Governor recommended preliminary surveys, the creation of a Board of Internal Improvement, and the borrowing of five million dollars. The Legislature acted promptly on these recommendations of the Executive. The committee thereof which took in charge these proposals declared its own views in so bouyant and spirited a manner that all doubters must have been convinced.

"The subject of internal improvement is one which is occupying the intelligence of the age," declared this committee. It was "the great lever which is opening the sealed-up fountains of national wealth and civilization." Michigan, seated "by nature in the very lap of wealth and power," should not be laggard in seizing her opportunity. With this rhetorical outburst went calculations of cost and income which sounded most convincing then but which a very few years' experience were to prove fallacious. Money should be borrowed at five per cent, but the returns from the new public works would be ten per cent, so after twenty-five years, when the loan had been re-paid, Michigan was to be the gainer directly by $3,375,000; so reasoned the legislative Committee on Internal Improvements.

March 20, 1837, the aspirations of the people of Michigan were embodied in law. The Board of Internal Improvements was directed to survey three railroad routes as follows: First, from Detroit to the mouth of the St. Joseph River; secondly, from the beginning of the navigable waters of the River Raisin via. Monroe to New Buffalo on lower Lake Michigan; thirdly, from some point near the present site of Port Huron to the navigable waters of the Grand River in Kent County or to Lake Michigan in Ottawa County. These lines were to be designated respectively the "Central," the "Southern," and the "Northern" railroad. The Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad, lying on the route of the proposed Central enterprise, so far as surveyed and established, should be purchased if a settlement with the company could be reached. $550,000 could be taken from any moneys which should thereafter come to the State as part of the internal improvement fund for the prosecution of these works. Additional appropriations were made for canal surveys from Mt. Clemens to the mouth of the Kalamazoo River, from the Saginaw River to the navigable waters of Maple or Grand Rivers, for surveys of St. Joseph, Kalamazoo, and Grand Rivers with a view to the improvement of their navigation; and for the construction of canals on the routes just described if the board deemed it practicable. This Board of Internal Improvement was created the next day, to consist of seven members including the Governor, ex-officio. The preceding

day, the Governor had been authorized to negotiate for a State loan of not over five million dollars, at five and one-half per cent for twenty-five years. In November the rate was raised to six per cent. It was made allowable to raise the loan in Europe as well as in the United States. This loan, later increased by $200,000, constituted the Internal Improvement Fund of the State, from which appropriations were to be made by law. The financial operations connected with these enterprises do not, in detail, fall within the scope of this paper. They led as elsewhere to most serious difficulties and losses.

On the basis of the enactments already described, Michigan undertook those varied enterprises which seemed essential to her prosperity. Up to January 24, 1837, the Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad Company had expended $102,000, according to the Committee on Internal Improvement, which had been in conference with the directors of the Company regarding a purchase by the State. The Company had bought one locomotive, one passenger car, wheels and iron for six freight cars, spikes and rails for thirty miles of track. According to Berrien, chief-engineer of the railroad, no work had been done beyond Ypsilanti, but between that place and Detroit the roadway had been "cut out" and grubbed, and eleven miles were graded and ready for the superstructure. The rest of this section was under contract, and the right-of-way had been secured to a point three miles west of Ann Arbor. It appears from the report of the Auditor of the Board of Internal Improvement under date of February 1, 1838, that on May 11, 1837, there was paid to the Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad Company $116,902.67, being the amount expended by that company up to date.[14] In addition the State paid claims against the Company amounting to $22,800.12.

The Board of Internal Improvements located the Southern Railroad from Monroe through Adrian, Hillsdale, Coldwater, Branch, Centerville, to the St. Joseph River at Bertrand, to its Lake Michigan terminus at New Buffalo. At Adrian, the Southern "Cut" the old Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad which extended from Toledo to Adrian and was already in operation. This Adrian-Toledo line, being a foreign corporation and deflecting traffic into the "odious" state of Ohio, was hateful to Michigan's enterprise. The prospect that Ohio and Indiana would construct a railroad from Toledo to Michigan City urged Michigan to push her southern line. By January, 1838, the sills, ties, and rails were in place on the Michigan Central from Detroit to Ypsilanti, and twenty-one miles of rail were laid. The Northern Railroad was located from the mouth of the Black River through Lapeer, Owosso, and Corunna, to the mouth of the Maple River, thence to Grand Rapids, the head of navigation on the Grand River. At the same time, canal and river surveys

[14] *House Documents, Mich.*, 1838, pp. 322, 137, 110.

as required by law had been made, so that in its first report, the State Board which had all these works in charge had occasion to feel gratified. Contracts had been let for the work on the Southern and Northern Railroads, as well as the Central. And for all undertakings the Board of Internal Improvement had expended $415,000 up to January 1, 1838. Beginning with 1838, the construction of the public utilities which have been described was actively engaged in. Progress was too slow for the impatient people. It was necessary to supplement general contracts with special engagements and to employ men by the day.[15] As financial difficulties increased, as they were bound to increase following the panic of 1837, and in view of the very nature of some of the undertakings in which the Commonwealth had engaged, the projects which promised no immediate return lapsed, and labor was concentrated on the Central, and to a less degree, on the Southern railroads. By 1846 the State had extended the Central line to Kalamazoo, and its Southern line to Hillsdale, and these roads were not carried beyond these points under state auspices.[16]

From the westward-moving terminal of the Michigan Central the stage ran to St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, where it connected with the boats for Chicago.

The effective railway construction promoted by the State government and to a lesser degree by private corporations, markedly affected the development of Michigan. Between 1837 and 1845, Michigan nearly doubled her population; and an analysis of the census figures for local units indicates very clearly the effect of improved transportation. As the Central Railroad progressed, its earning power increased. Thus the extension of the line to Jackson early in 1842, raised its annual earnings from $71,000 to $114,000 in less than eight months.[17] When Kalamazoo was attained, the Central was earning $239,663.73 in nine months.[18] Stage lines reached out from the railroads. Thus Grand Rapids was reached by stage from Battle Creek.[19] But of all the works of internal improvement, the Central Railroad alone was remunerative. In other enterprises $660,000 were buried.[20] In this same waste must be reckoned 65,000 acres of land which was part of a grant of 500,000 acres received by the State from Congress. The sixteen miles of the great trans-state Canal that had been opened on its eastern end, were leased for water power, while the bed of the Northern Railroad became a highway.[21]

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[15] *Mich. House Docs.*, 1840, I., p. 54.
[16] *Rpt. Mich. Bd. of Internal Improvement*, 1845, p. 1; *ibid.*, 1846, p. 2.
[17] *Mich. Joint Docs.*, 1843, p. 154.
[18] *Rpt. of Bd. of Internal Improvement*, 1846, p. 4.
[19] Bostwick and Almy, *The State of Michigan in* 1845.
[20] *Ways and Means Committee Report*, 1846, Table A., *Senate and House Docs.*, 1846.
[21] Campbell's *History of Michigan*, p. 496.

In 1846 public opinion in Michigan was demanding that Michigan withdraw from all the enterprises in which she had engaged. The legislative Ways and Means Committee in that year following the Auditor-General, reported the debt of the State at $4,121,000, and the cost of the Internal Improvements system $4,392,593.43 in money, and 305,000 acres of land donated by the United States. The Finance Committee of the Senate put the internal improvement debt still higher, that is, at $4,481,720.79. The same committee computed the interest on this debt at $240,000.[22] It put the "taxables" of the State in 1846 at $28,-922,097.50; so a tax of approximately one per cent would be needed even to pay the interest on the above debt.[23] Since the State tax in that year stood at $507,311.42, it seemed obvious that, even to maintain interest charges was certain to cripple the finances of the Commonwealth. The Senate Committee estimated that to put the Central Railroad in condition fit for business would cost $2,532,500.[24]

The House Ways and Means Committee found "the obvious defect in our system has arisen from an eager desire to push on our railroads before we had funds to complete substantially what we had commenced or even to develop their capacity for business." "While we have been constructing railroads at one end, they have been gradually dilapidating at the other." The Finance Committee of the Senate uttered the same opinion: "At the commencement of our internal improvements," it said, "the whole community shared, in some measure at least, in the errors and mistakes which time has since disclosed."[25]

It was calculated that interest charges would amount to $600,000 in 1849. The State had other obligations than those arising from its internal improvement schemes, and both interest and principal were unpaid, and numerous dubious shifts for the most essential funds were resorted to. "The impatience of our energetic citizens to have the locomotive at their doors," which brooked no delay, changed to a desire to free the State from the whole business; accordingly, March 28 and May 9, 1846, acts were passed for the sale of the Central and the Southern Railroads to the Michigan Central and the Michigan Southern Corporations, established by these statutes. These two roads were the only available assets of the State for the partial liquidation of its debts. The sale price of the Central Railroad was two million dollars, which was forty-five thousand dollars less than its stated cost to the State; that of the Southern line was five hundred thousand dollars, not half of its cost.[26]

[22] *Rpt. Senate Finance Com.*, 1846, pp. 14, 15. (Doc. 8.)
[23] *Rpt. Senate Finance Com.*, 1846, p. 15.
[24] *Rpt. Senate Finance Com.*, 1846, p. 19. (Doc. 9.)
[25] *House Docs.*, 1846; *Doc.* 1, p. 8. *Report Senate Finance Com.*, 1846, No. 9, p. 21.
[26] In his message of 1849, the governor stated the cost of the Southern Railroad to have been $1,200,000. p. 24.

It was stipulated that both railroads should be extended substantially on the line originally planned by the State.

To some it may seem regettable that various considerations did not allow the State government to regard Chicago as the terminus for the State railways. When the railroads had been extended to Chicago, and within nine years of Michigan's relinquishment of them, the Michigan Central's dividend-earning power was ten per cent. A return approximating this might have induced the State to give to public ownership of railroads a fairer trial than it has yet received in this country. It is not a warrantable conclusion that the later prosperity of the Michigan Central Railroad and the Michigan Southern was due solely to the substitution of private for public control. Economic conditions sufficiently explain the situation. For some years these roads had a monopoly of the eastern overland traffic of Chicago, and always a goodly share of it; and this became the fact just at the moment when Chicago was made the great railway and shipping center of the northwestern United States. As it was, the corporations which took possession of the Michigan railways were rivals in reaching Chicago, a new terminus adopted after the taking over of the state enterprise. Both roads attained Chicago in 1852, the Michigan Central by using the right-of-way of the New Albany and Salem (Indiana) line from Michigan City to the Indiana west line, and the tracks of the Illinois Central Railroad into Chicago. The Michigan Southern reached the same point (Chicago) by arrangement, and then consolidation, with the Northern Indiana Railroad. It was four years before a third eastern connection, that of the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago line with the Pennsylvania Railroad, was established between Chicago and the East. The eastern terminus of the Michigan Central Railroad was Detroit, while the Michigan Southern by combination with the old Erie and Kalamazoo line from Adrian to Toledo, and the railway from Detroit to Toledo, obtained access to Toledo and to Detroit. This *per se* was an important gain for Chicago and the northwest, for it at once saved the long detour to the north by the all-water route. At the moment, Lake Erie formed the nexus between the new western railroads and the New York Central and the New York and Erie, both of which connected with the seaboard; and the Michigan Central railroad ran its own line of steamers between Detroit and Buffalo. But within three years after Chicago was reached by rail from the East, as has been described, this water connection by Lake Erie was supplemented by railroads to the north and to the south of that Lake. The Great Western Railway of Canada joined Windsor opposite Detroit, with Suspension Bridge at Niagara, and thus with the eastern roads; while the Lake (or South) Shore lines brought the Michigan Southern into connection

with the Erie at Dunkirk, and with the New York Central and its Hudson River rail connection, at Buffalo. Thus it resulted that, by 1855, two all rail routes joined Chicago and New York.[27]

The economic significance of the facts just stated is not capable of calculation, but it is very great, and was so recognized then as now. The belief that "that there would never be traffic enough to maintain two competing lines" from Chicago,[27a] arose from immaturity in the field of railway economics. The true causal sequence runs thus: The establishment of all-rail transportation between Chicago and the seaboard, by its saving of time and money, stimulated immigration into the Northwest; this and reduced freight charges to the seaboard stimulated and increased the aggregate of production in this region, thus affording increased business for the railroads. The great service afforded by the improvements in transportation which have here been described and in which Michigan had a share, lay immediately in the saving of these costs, time, labor, capital, etc. Some comparisons will show this. Ringwalt, quoting Henry C. Carey, finds the cost to a person of getting from New York to Chicago in 1838 to have been $74.50.[28] This was after the opening of the Erie Canal and of steam navigation, but before the establishment of rail connection. Professor Turner quotes Tucker of Virginia, who says of the year 1818: "Even in the country where I reside, not eighty miles from tidewater, it takes the farmer one bushel of wheat to pay the expense of carrying two to a seaport town."[29] January 24, 1837, the Committee on Internal Improvements of the Michigan Legislature stated that the rate per passenger by stage was six to eight cents per mile, and for merchandise between Detroit and Marshall, $2 per hundred pounds.[30] In 1854, the cost of carrying freight in wagons was estimated to be fifteen cents per ton-mile.[31]

When we relate these statements with respect to the cost of trans-

[27]On the foregoing points see the following: J. L. Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems in the United States;* Philadelphia, 1888. Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan, etc.;* Detroit, 1884. Hunt's *Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*, Vol. 34, p. 494ff. Similar but fuller information is contained in "*An Address to the Merchants of the N. West,*" etc., Chicago, August, 1856. Robert E. Roberts, *Sketches of the City of Detroit;* Detroit, 1855. *The Michigan Commercial Register and Citizens' Almanac for* 1855; Detroit. *Resources and Industrial Interests of Michigan, and Commerce of Detroit*, by Ray Haddock, Commercial Editor of the "Detroit Tribune," Detroit, 1860. An interesting and confirmatory railroad map of this region and period accompanies a land prospectus issued by the Illinois Central Railroad; New York, 1856; and a tentative map of the same purport forms the frontispiece of a "Plan for Shortening the Time of Passage between New York and London," etc.; Portland, 1850. See also Colbert and Chamberlin, *Chicago and the Great Conflagration;* Cincinnati and New York, 1871. Charles Lanman, *The Red Book of Michigan;* Detroit, 1871.

[27a]*Chicago and the Great Conflagration*, p. 75f.

[28]Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation Systems in the United States*, p. 130.

[29]Turner, *Rise of the New West*, p. 100.

[30]*Report of the Com. on Internal Improvements;* Detroit, 1837, p. 17.

[31]Ringwalt, p. 129.

portation before the advent of the railway, with the situation of the inhabitants of central Michigan and of the country west of Lake Michigan and of the Mississippi River, we can understand the importance of the developments that have been delineated so far. Clearly an inhabitant of Jackson County, let us say, could not have prospered if he could not dispose of his surplus wheat and livestock beyond the bounds of his own neighborhood, being prohibited by the great cost of its transporting. Detroit was his best market, for Detroit at least had water transportation to the seaboard after 1825, when the Erie Canal was opened; but to get to Detroit with a load of grain or stock was a costly process until the '40's, when steam wrought a change. Let us compare freight and passenger charges to observe what the change amounted to.

Ringwalt, quoting Williams' "Traveler's and Tourist's Guide," gives the passenger fare from Boston to Chicago in 1851 at $23. From Boston to Detroit it was $16.[32] From New York to Chicago, according to Carey, the fare in 1850 was $17.[33] A railway convention held in Cleveland, agreed on passenger fares between New York and certain western cities for the year 1855. In this agreement were included the New York Central, the New York and Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio railroads. Some of the fares were as follows:

Between New York and

Sandusky, $14.65;
Cleveland, $13;
Detroit, $15;
Chicago, $22;
Indianapolis, $20;
Toledo, $16.[34]

Turning now to freight rates, we have equally striking results. Doggett's "Railroad Guide," as quoted by Ringwalt, gives the freight rates in Michigan for 1848 at $0.0844 per ton-mile for first class freight; for second class freight, $0.0650.[35] The Michigan Central Railroad in 1848 charged, it appears, $6.04 to carry a ton of wheat from Detroit to Kalamazoo; for a ton of merchandise, $11.64; for ten barrels of flour, $6.[36] In 1850, this same road charged $4.40 to transport a person this same distance of 146 miles.[37] Doggett's "Railroad Guide" for 1848, says Ringwalt, makes the average passenger fare for the 241 miles of Michigan railways to be three cents per mile.[38] These are dull facts in themselves; but they are important facts in a study of the settlement of the Northwest. They

[32]Ringwalt, p. 132.
[33]Ringwalt, p. 130.
[34]*The Michigan Commercial Register and Citizens' Almanac for* 1855, p. 41.
[35]Ringwalt, p. 132.
[36]Ringwalt, p. 130.
[37]Ringwalt, p. 131.
[38]Ringwalt, p. 132.

have a decisive force in determining why people moved west more rapidly at one period of our history than at another. A study of time-saving leads to the same point. Quoting William's "Traveler's and Tourist's Guide," Ringwalt gives the time from Boston to Detroit in 1851 as forty-three hours; and from Boston to Chicago as fifty-four hours.[39] The Michigan Central and Michigan Southern Railroads had not yet been completed; nor were their eastern connections established. After the completion of these roads and their through eastern connections, Roberts, in his "Sketches of the City of Detroit," of 1855, remarks that the establishment of the direct line to St. Louis, Missouri, by way of an arrangement between the Michigan Central and the Joliet and Northern Indiana Railroads, made it possible to set down passengers from St. Louis in New York in forty-eight hours.[40]

The facts which have been here set forth must have had a definite bearing on the growth of Detroit and Chicago and of their respective hinterlands. We have evidence, direct and indirect, that this was the case. We hear of Chicago's population increasing from 38,734 in 1852 to 59,139 in 1853[40a]; and three years later, Chicagoans were boasting of an hundred thousand people and planning for a round half-million some day. A writer of the period of the Great Fire attaches the utmost importance to the opening of the Michigan railways, drawing his conclusions from such statistics as those just given, and noting that the assessed valuation of the City was $10,460,000 in 1852, and $16,841,831 in the following year. It appears thus that in the year following the opening of the Michigan Central and the Michigan Southern Railroads, Chicago added over 20,000 to its population, and six million dollars to its valuation.[41] The "Merchants' Address" of which we have already made use, states that manufactures in Chicago did not become important till 1852 and the opening of the railroads.[42] Within two years following 1852, the Michigan Central and Michigan Southern were each earning over two million dollars a year. Chicago grain shipments for 1853 are set down at 6,473,809 bushels, and, the next year, at 15,726,968 bushels.[43]

Of the same character are the reports that come from Detroit. For one year (1854-1855) the only all-rail route between New York and Chicago was that comprised in a series of lines embracing the Hudson River, the New York Central (consolidated in 1853), the Canada Great Western, and the Michigan Central Railroads. And it should be noted

[39]Ringwalt, p. 132.
[40]Roberts, p. 51.
[40a]*Chicago and the Great Conflagration*, p. 76.
[41]*Chicago and the Great Conflagration*, p. 76.
[42]*Ibid.*, p. 4.
[43]*Chicago and the Great Conflagration*, p. 76.

in passing, that any account of the commercial and transportation development of the Northwest cannot ignore the importance of these Canadian lines,—the Great Western—later part of the Grand Trunk System; the Grand Trunk, the Canada Southern, and the Canadian Pacific. Statistics of the commerce of Detroit in 1854, found in "Sketches of the city of Detroit," make the shipments from that port by way of the Great Lakes and the Canada Great Western Railway to include 337,000 barrels of flour; 897,000 bushels of wheat, 587,000 bushels of corn; 228,000 bushels of oats, 2,000,000 pounds of wool, and a very large quantity of other commodities.[44]

We cannot well differentiate how much of the development of Michigan and the western country was due to railroads and how much to waterways. Unquestionably both had a share in it. But we can readily conceive of certain advantages attaching to rail transportation that made the influence of this mode of conveyance the more decisive of the two. The importance of the establishment of through transportation along the lines we have described was recognized then as appears from a reading of the "Address to the Merchants of the N. West" and the "Sketches of the city of Detroit," already used in the preparation of this paper and published at the time with which we are dealing. The author of the latter pamphlet remarks that "The construction of the Great Western Railway (of Canada) has secured for the city of Detroit what was much needed, and which our citizens have long suffered for the want of, namely, a speedy and reliable route to the east, uninterrupted at all seasons of the year."[45] Another commercial pamphlet of 1860 notes that the "receipts by this (the Great Western Railway) route of general merchandise consigned to the cities and points westward of us (Detroit) is immense and it enjoys a large and growing local traffic."[46] The author, the Commercial Editor of the "Detroit Tribune," also informs us that, since the opening of the Grand Trunk, many shipments of commodities passed through Detroit billed through to Liverpool. In 1854, the Michigan Central is reported to have carried through Detroit 451,689 passengers.[47] The influence of this road on the development of the interior of the State is legitimately inferred. The author of the "Sketches" tells us that the population of that section of the State tributary to the Michigan Central was in 1855, 216,852; that the number of acres of improved land was 844,309; and the products of this district in 1854 included 3,137,875 bushels of wheat; 3,450,946 bushels of corn; 943,330 bushels of "grain"; 1,078,244 bushels of potatoes, 86,760,889 feet of lumber.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[46] *Resources and Industrial Interests of Michigan, Detroit*, 1860, p. 25.
[47] *Sketches of the City of Detroit*, p. 20.

There were 298 sawmills and ninety-three flourmills in this section.[48] The State and the railroads had, in fact, grown together. Between 1840 and 1845, Michigan increased ninety thousand in population. Ninety-five thousand were added in the next five years; one hundred and ten thousand in the next five years; and nearly a quarter of a million between 1855 and 1860. This increase is most notable, of course, in the counties reached by the railroads.

At the same time that these developments that we have described were taking place, Chicago was reaching out to the prairie states and the farther northwest by that great net-work of railroads which has made that city the great entrepot of that region. Of these western roads the Michigan railroads formed the earliest, and always important, eastern connections.

The writer of the Merchants "Address" of 1856 remarks on Chicago's hundred trains a day where there was only one railroad, five years before.[49] The western country felt this new impulse. "As the opening of these railroads brought us into business relations with regions of country hitherto trading elsewhere," runs the "Address," "and as each day witnessed an increase of population in the country already commerically connected with us, there came from these two sources an unexampled demand upon the manufacturing capacities of our city in every branch of productive industry. To this must also be added an increased demand in the same quarters consequent upon the wonderful influx of population to our city."[50] "The two eastern lines (the Michigan Central and the Michigan Southern railroads) opened up channels along which the tide of emigration rolled so copiously that it was almost impossible to keep track of the movement, which was invited by the fact that the whole State of Illinois was also made accessible by rail to the emigrants who now thronged in from every part of Europe."[51] A writer in the current July number of the *American Historical Review* (July, 1911) points to the political significance of this new immigration. He shows how it changed the balance of parties in Illinois, Iowa, and elsewhere against the Southern interest and for the Union. The southern states of the old Northwest had originally been peopled from the South; but this new migration had its source in the North and got its political bias accordingly.

The railroads shared in this expansion. The "Address" gives the earnings of the Michigan Central for 1855 at $1,461,414.30 from its passenger service; $1,098,650.15 from its freight service; $90,170.92 from its mail and miscellaneous sources; the total being $2,650,235.37; and

[48] *Sketches of the City of Detroit*, p. 51.
[49] *An Address to the Merchants of the New West*, p. 3.
[50] *An Address to the Merchants of the New West*, p. 5.
[51] *Chicago and the Great Conflagration*, p. 76.

for the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana line a total of $2,595,630.22.[52] The author of the Detroit "Sketches" has similar information for the year ending May 31, 1855. During the year the Michigan Central carried 503,774 passengers, being 145,838 more than the preceding year. At the same time the road moved 241,825 tons of freight—an increase of 25,265 tons over the preceding year. The road earned thus $2,215,283, $635,871 more than the year previous. Six years before, that is, before its eastern and western connections were established, the road had carried 152,672 passengers, 81,066 tons of freight, and had gross earnings of $691,972. It appears that in 1855 this road was already gaining control of other railroads through the ownership of their stocks and bonds, thus carrying out that policy that was to put a great system of lines within its management.[53] Ray Haddock, Commercial Editor of the "Detroit Tribune," in his survey of the industrial interests of Michigan in 1860, states that in 1859 the Michigan Central earned $1,756,420.80.[54] This decrease was due, of course, to the bad time following the panic of 1857.

Ralph Waldo Emerson is often an interesting barometer of national progress. In his essay on "Wealth" he reveals how these achievements in the West reacted on the East. "A clever fellow was acquainted with the expansive force of steam; he also saw the wealth of wheat and grass rotting in Michigan. Then he cunningly screws on the steam-pipe to the wheat-crop. Puff now, O Steam! The steam puffs and expands as before, but this time it is dragging all Michigan at its back to hungry New York and hungry England."[55] Emerson was writing at the close of the period we have had under review. Somewhat earlier a traveler from Rochester, New York, was greatly impressed by "the astonishing enterprise of this young state."[56] And Chicago in 1856 thought well of itself: no "'venerable croaker with spectacles on nose' should be in doubt as to our commercial facilities."[57] The completion of the Grand Trunk of Canada, a single line of single gauge and single management, to the seaboard was to be a further object-lesson in improvements that must be affected in the future. Westward from Chicago, across the wide prairies, across the high mountains, Chicago and the other Lake ports were also to gain access to the western ocean,

[52]*An Address to the Merchants of the New West*, pp. 24-26.
[53]*Sketches of the City of Detroit* (1855), p. 51.
[54]*Resources and Industrial Interests of Michigan, etc.*, p. 23.
[55]Emerson, *The Conduct of Life* (Riverside Edition, Vol. VI.); Boston, Copyright, 1860, p. 86.
[56]Swan, *Journal of a Trip to Michigan in* 1841; Rochester, 1904, p. 20.
[57]*An Address to the Merchants of the New West*, p. 3.

substituting steel rails for the long water courses in the west just as it had done in the east. But all this belongs to later history.[58]

CITIZENSHIP AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BY N. B. SLOAN[1]

To the Frenchman and to the American the word citizen seems to have a peculiar fascination. We Americans fondly reiterate the term and with its numerous modifiers such as "Distinguished citizen," "First citizen" and the like introduce the changes to suit the varying occasions for its use. Indeed, for so long a time have our political orators been wont to regale us with their sonorous and heart-reaching appeal through the well worn channel of "My dear fellow citizens," that, despite our occasional nausea, we have almost come to feel that, should it ever be omitted, the speaker has been guilty of a breach of political etiquette.

In those terrible days of the French Revolution, when the very foundations of government, as the European world had been accustomed to think of it, seemed to be shaking and crumbling to decay, when law had given place to license and deliberation had been superseded by the fickleness and violence of the passions of the mob, then, out of the very midst of the turbulence and confusion sprang the term "Citoyen." Distinctions of birth and position disappeared. King, noble, and prelate were cast from their time-honored places of power, and across the kaleidoscope of political change flitted "Citizens" Danton, Robespierre and Marat. Was it the quaint philosophy of Franklin which gave us the trite expression "Familiarity breeds contempt"? I do not know. Whoever may have been the author the truth it expresses is real. Our very familiarity with the term citizen, while perhaps it has not aroused in us a feeling of contempt, has at least resulted in a loose and varied use of the word and a careless construction of its significance. For instance, we do not generally distinguish the technical difference between the terms citizen and elector. We say a person has become a citizen of the United States. Do we mean by that that he has become a voter? Not necessarily. Is a citizen of Lansing a voter in Lansing? Again, not necessarily. An elector is always a citizen but a citizen is not al-

[58]The author has dealt with the same subject in an article in the "Magazine of History," April, 1911. Some discrepancies will be noted in the two accounts, due in part to further studies in this field, and in part to a failure, through editorial misunderstanding, to have the proof of the article corrected before publication.

[1]Read at annual meeting, June, 1911.

ways an elector. To the demagogue a citizen is a man with a vote, who must be flattered, cajoled and exploited. To the statesman a citizen is also a man with a vote but one whose thoughts and conscience alone need intelligent direction. To the first, citizenship is a political asset; to the second a sacred trust. To the one it is to be used for personal ends; to the other for all mankind. In 1861 good citizenship spelled death and destruction; in 1911 good citizenship spells peace and protection.

Thus we see that circumstances may alter the meaning of the term. Familiar usage has led to a careless usage, so that in an attempt at serious discussion involving the use of the term an exact definition of the sense in which it is to be used becomes necessary.

For the purposes of this paper I shall use the term citizen as a person sharing in the responsibilities of the government of which his citizenship is a part and who looks upon such citizenship as a sacred trust. Who uses his citizenship as though he believed that a government "by the people" must be a government "of the people" and that such a government is and must be a travesty unless the people are intelligent and exercise their functions intelligently and all the time, not simply at the polling booth on election day, but also at the caucus and the primary where a vote really counts for something more than a mere choice between the men whose names appear upon the ballot. Just here let me say, parenthetically, that when the time comes that citizenship means to all who have the right, attendance upon the ward caucus or township primary, when the citizens transact the business of the caucus rather than leaving it to the political henchmen, I say, that when that time arrives we will have gone a long way toward the solution of many of our political ills.

But my definition of citizenship would go one step further. In this discussion I shall use the term citizen as meaning not only the man who exercises his prerogative of citizenship when opportunity offers but also as meaning the man who looks upon his citizenship as a proud inheritance, who comprehends its significance and is in harmony with its import, who knows something of his country's history and the history of its origin and development and thus is capable of thinking and acting in accordance with intelligent convictions and not at the dictation of some political agitator. Will some one say that this is an idealized citizenship? Let it be so. For such a citizenship have the public schools of yesterday and to-day been striving and without such citizenship a government resting upon the consent of the governed cannot reach a high degree of efficiency.

When, in 1638, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, formerly pastor of the congregation at New Town or Cambridge, Mass., but who had become the leader of that band of settlers in the beautiful valley of the Connecticut who

had withdrawn from the Puritan commonwealth of Massachusetts, because they could not sanction its narrow and aristocratic tendencies, when this man, in the course of a sermon at Weathersfield before a congregation of those sturdy New Englanders who were carving a new nation out of the American wilderness, gave utterance to the entirely new principle that "the true basis of government lies in the free consent of the governed," I say, that when that statement was enunciated an epoch was marked in the history of the world. This was the principle for which all the years of recorded history, the long ascendency of Roman statesmanship, the struggle for the Magna Charta, and the Puritan Revolution in England, had been but the period of conception and evolution in the great womb of the worlds history and of which the American Revolution was to be the final birth pangs. And yet, this principle as stated by the Rev. Thomas Hooker, great as it was and epoch making as it seemed, namely, that the true basis of government rest upon the free consent of the governed—contained but half a political truth.

Richard Henry Lee, delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress, the man who moved in that body on the 7th of June 1776, "That these United States are and of right ought to be free and independent," and who, as a delegate to the Congress under the Articles of the Confederation, when drafting that celebrated Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest territory, of which our proud state was a part, this man, wrote into that document these immortal words: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," I say, that when that statement was penned the true philosophy of free government was then enunciated. Religion, morality and knowledge. These are the true foundations without which government by the free consent of the governed is mockery. Religion, the expression of man's ethical nature, which connects him with all the past, projects him out into the immortality of the future and links him with the Divine. Morality, the expression of man's physical nature, which makes him a part of the great world brotherhood and links him together with his brother man. Education, the expression of man's intellectual nature, which marks that quality which stamps man as above the animal and bids him know and understand the beautiful, the good and the true. Are there those who would say that these are the dreams of an idealist, these the vagaries of a theorist? If such there be I would say to you, look upon the recently blood drenched fields of Nicaragua and there you will find your answer. Look upon the history of any government attempted on the principle of the free consent of the governed in which the free school has not preceded free government and there you will find your answer. Witness the frequent revolutions

in the South American Republics. The abortive efforts at self government in Cuba. The turbulent discord in our sister republic of Mexico and then make answer, does government resting upon the free consent of the governed and lacking the quality of a stable and intelligent citizenship, appear to be the true basis of government.

The first governor of Michigan, Stevens T. Mason, in his second message to the legislature in 1837 spoke as follows: "In contemplating the past, and dwelling on the future, we are forcibly reminded that if our government is to outline the term heretofore allotted to Republic, it is to be accomplished by the diffusion of knowledge among the people, and that we must depend upon the power of a liberal and enlightened public as the palladium of a free government and the aegis of our Federal existence. Let us not suppose that we are beyond the calamities which have befallen other nations. Guard the education of the rising generation. Teach them in earliest lessons of life, the great principle upon which their government was founded, and keep before their minds those scenes of American glory which have chiefly contributed to immortalize the American name."

I should like also to turn for a moment to another phase of this question and one which has to do directly with the Michigan school system and which brings out an entirely different aspect of our educational history. It is doubtless well known to all of you that in the States outside of the original thirteen, the largest item in the maintenance of our public school system arises from the gift of the Congress of the Confederation which reserved section 16 in every township made, or to be made out of the Public Domain, the income from which should be set aside for the exclusive use of the schools. This act was passed in May, 1785 and its title is significant. It is called "An Ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of the lands in the Northwest Territory." The significance of this title becomes more evident when we read the discussion and come to understand the motives which actuated its framers. It must be remembered that the government under the Articles of Confederation was no such instrument as it became under the Constitution; that Congress had abundant powers for making laws but absolutely no means of enforcing them; that Congress had power to levy taxes but no means at all of collecting them; that out of about $6,000,000 in taxes asked for by the congress of the Confederation during the eight years of its existence, only about $1,000,000 had been paid by the States; that the debts of the Revolutionary war were as yet unpaid and that even the soldiers who had fought and won our Independence, had, for the most part not yet received even the small pittance which the government had promised them. Well might John Fiske say that "These were the times which tried men's souls." Even

Washington whose faith and confidence had not wavered during the darkest years of the Revolutionary war was saying that the government of the Confederation was "Stumbling along upon crutches and tottering to its fall." This was the time, also, when men both at home and abroad were saying of this experiment in free government that it was slowly but surely approaching the inevitable end of such experiments, namely, anarchy and dissolution. Remembering these things the statement of Governor Woodbridge concerning this act of congress becomes exceedingly significant. He says, "The United States were deeply in debt, and it was an inquiry of the greatest solicitude among all public men in those days, by what possible means that debt could be paid. After the treaty of Peace with England at the close of the Revolutionary war and especially after the cession by the states of the territory lying west of the Alleghenies that immense public domain, which without further doubt was then admitted to be subject to he disposition of Congress, was regarded as one certain, and perhaps the most productive of all means, applicable to that object in their power. In these circumstances it was expedient to adopt a system which should hold out strong inducements to purchasers, in order to realize any revenue from its sale. Influenced by such consideration, the old congress passed its ordinance of 1785. This was in fact an invitation to all the world to buy; and among other inducements held out, it was therein promised to all who should go out and settle there, that one thirty-sixth part of the whole country should be applied, forever, as a fund for the advancement of education. It contained a promise to all who should buy, it amounted to a solemn covenant with each purchaser and settler, that he and his posterity, forever, should be entitled to the usufruct of that fund, as a means of educating his children. What an inducement was this with the father of a family, to go out and settle there.

Again, when at a later date, the question of extending this system of school reservations to the vast territory which the United States was acquiring west of the Mississippi, came before congress, Mr. Robert J. Walker, then Secretary of the Treasury, and thus primarily interested in this matter from that standpoint, namely the revenue which the government would derive from the sale of these lands, urged upon congress, not the reserving of one section only in each township, but instead that four sections should be so reserved. Listen to his arguments in support of such an action. "Even as a subject of revenue," says this financier, "such grants would more than refund their value to the government, as each quarter township is composed of nine sections, of which the central section would be granted for schools.—The 8 sections thus located and each adjoining a school section would be of greater value than when separated by many miles from such opportun-

ities, and the 32 sections of one entire township would bring a larger price to the government than 35 sections out of 36, when only one section was granted. The public domain would then be settled at an earlier period, and yielding larger products, thus soon augment our exports and imports, with a corresponding increase of revenue from duties. The greater diffusion of education would increase the power of mind and knowledge applied to industrial pursuits, and augment in this way also, the products and wealth of the nation. Each state is deeply interested in the welfare of every other, for the Representatives of the whole, regulate by their votes, the Measures of the Union, which must be happy and prosperous in proportion as its councils are guided by more enlightened views resulting from the more universal diffusion of Light and Knowledge, and Education."

Does it not thus become evident that the founders and promoters of our government in thus sending the free school everywhere into our vast public domain in advance of free government, did not believe themselves acting in any spirit of great and generous philanthropy, but rather that they were actuated by stern necessity. First, in the immediate and urgent need for money they believed they were driving a shrewd Yankee bargain and, secondly because they believed that the very success and perpetuity of our institutions demanded that such action be taken.

Have I not made it clear that what I mean to say is this, that that man who to-day stands or at any other time has stood upon the street corners and preened himself because his government or his city is doing such great things for its schools, or who boasts that he cheerfully pays so many dollars annually in school taxes though he has no chick or child to benefit thereby and thus imagines himself performing an act of magnanimous philanthropy, is deceiving himself and all who think like him? For there is not or, cannot be one penny of philanthropy in it, because it is the very first and most fundamental necessity on which his safety and security rests and upon which the blessings and opportunities of a great and free country and people depend for their continuance. He is not performing an act of charity. He is not contributing to an ideal philanthropy but he is paying the price of democracy in order that "Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Having thus recalled to our minds the fundamental principle on which governments such as ours depend, namely, that Democracy without widespread educational opportunity is impossible and having seen that the founders of our system recognized this principle and made provision for its continuance, the question naturally follows: How has the Public school met the demand placed upon it and how has it ful-

filled the expectations of its promoters. To answer this question fairly and soberly is not a simple matter. On the contrary it is a subject which can fairly demand our most serious thought and most mature consideration. We Americans are exceedingly prone to indulge in extravagances. We are inclined when thinking or speaking of any of our institutions to resort to thoughtless and ill considered criticism on the one hand or to equally thoughtless and ill considered praise upon the other, to indulge in carping denunciations or to break out into jingoistic bombast. The Public schools are to-day and indeed have always been the subject of their full share of both types of extravagance. It is an easy matter, in the large sense, to answer the question, has the Public school accomplished its mission. Our Republic has endured. We have withstood the strain of tremendous continental expansion. We have survived the disaster of a terrible Civil war. We have risen from a position of contempt among the nations to our present proud rank among the world powers of to-day. Would any one dare to assume that this would have been accomplished had it not been for the steadying and democratizing influence of the public schools? Think for one moment of the tremendous task placed upon the schools in Americanizing the vast army of foreigners, from every land and of all classes, who have annually been pouring into this country from its very beginning. It was my privilege not long since to take a somewhat leisurely journey through the southern part of Canada from Toronto to Quebec and everywhere and particularly in the Province of Quebec I was impressed with the predominantly French character of the people and their customs. In 1763, before our nation was born, England wrested from France her vast American domain and came into possession of Canada. Nearly a century and a half has passed and yet the province of Quebec is still predominantly French. More than once I asked of an English resident this question, "What would happen if in the mutations of international diplomacy the balance of power should be suddenly shifted from England to France"? Invariably the answer was that should this occur Quebec would be French territory in short order. Why is it that in Vermont or Maine a Frenchman in ten years of residence becomes an American and his children speak the English language and more than likely lose the ability even to speak the French while across the border the French language and French sympathies have persisted for generation after generation. There is but one answer. The American public school system, that has been the magic instrument which has affected the transformation. Read over the roster of almost any school room and there you will find represented nearly every nation on the globe. Russians, Norwegians, Poles and Hungarians, Jews, Greeks, Spaniards and Germans. No distinctions are made, and after a year or so in the

American schoolroom no one could tell the difference save by a study of the names.

It is easy for the critic to shout that in America to-day the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer and that class distinctions are creeping in and that the public school as a great democratic leveler of society is failing of its mission.

That the rich are growing richer no one would attempt to deny, and perhaps there is ground for the accusation that the poor are growing poorer, though this is more than open to argument, but that class distinction, in any such sense as the old world knows it, is on the increase in America, no honest student of American institutions can fairly assert. Of course it is true, as it probably always will be, that the newly rich as well as the inheritors of unearned riches are prone to affect an air of superiority and to attempt to establish an aristocratic circle based upon the possession of wealth. But every honest American knows full well that such efforts are contrary to the true genius of Americanism and such people are the butt of contempt of all right thinking intelligence. The aristocracy of Washington and Hamilton has given place to the democracy of Jefferson and the idea that any man is born to a position of superiority has given place to the philosophy which proclaims that "all men are created equal."

Thus I would repeat that viewed from whatever standpoint or approached from whatever angle, in the larger sense and from the general viewpoint, the public schools have fulfilled and are still fulfilling the large purpose foreseen by the founders of our Republic in maintaining the spirit of democracy and thus perpetuating the principle of government by the free consent of the governed.

I desire now, however, to turn from this general consideration and to take up some of the more specific particulars in which, in my judgment, the American free school system and especially our own schools are not fulfilling, in the largest measure, the perfect spirit of democratic idealism which it is possible for them to perform. To say of any institution that it has reached perfection would be a palpable absurdity. That the public school system is capable of much greater possibilities than it is now accomplishing is a fact with which no one is more familiar and to which none are more keenly alive than are the school men themselves. Indeed, as I progress, I hope to make it evident that the responsibility for the failure to advance to the immediate accomplishment of some of the possible ideals rests not upon the teachers, but rather, upon a reluctant and conservative public sentiment which will not rise to the demand, or at least will arise only slowly.

The present day high school system of Michigan has had a peculiar evolution. The first Superintendent of public instruction in Michigan,

the Rev. John D. Pierce, and incidentally it is well to remember that Michigan's first Supt. of Public Instruction was also the first in the United States, Michigan being the first state to create such an office, in his plan for systematizing the school interest of the State evolved an epoch-making idea in the history of education. He conceived the plan of making the State University the center of the educational system, or in other words his plan contemplated an educational system, beginning with the primary school and ending with the University. The high schools or academies, as they were then called, were branches of the University. In these academies there was to be taught what was then regarded by everyone as the essential elements of a higher education, Latin, Greek, Geometry, Philosophy and the like. Gradually these academies were established in the larger towns and in some of the smaller towns and villages, and out of this beginning the present high school system has slowly been evolved.

Now the very history of the development of our high schools, together with certain other influences which I cannot take the time to enumerate, has resulted in bringing about two conditions in which we find ourselves to-day; namely, the establishing as a thing more or less sacred in our curricula, the so-called cultural subjects and the dominance of the University in shaping our courses of study. I am fully aware that this last is a theme upon which it often happens that some writer or speaker becomes hysterical and indulges in verbal fireworks to which an eager few of the unthinking listeners shout vociferous applause. I have no desire to join the ranks of such seekers after pyrotechnic display, and so let me say at the outset that, in my judgment, he who would take away from our courses of study one jot or tittle of the cultural element, or who would make our high schools any the less fitting schools for college would be advocating a most fatal step backward and a dangerous educational tendency. On the other hand, I desire most clearly to emphasize the fact that behind the criticism often pronounced upon our high schools that we are too much dominated by the idea of preparation for college lies a truth which demands attention, and one to which the people of Michigan should give sane and thoughtful consideration. Not that we should do less for the person who is to go on to college, we cannot, must not do that, but we must do more and very much more for those who cannot go further. We Americans are too prone to look upon every child born into our midst as a future President of the United States. That such a possibility does lie before every child is a magnificent testimonial to the value and efficiency of our institutions; but, while we should cling tenaciously to the idea and should preserve the splendid possibility, would it not also be the part of wisdom to recognize the stern fact that during our 122

years of national existence with its teeming millions upon millions of population we have had but twenty-seven presidents, and that the vast uncounted multitudes have taken up the burdens of the great common work-a-day world and have taken their places among the common-place on the farms, in the shops or in the counting room. Is it not time that we ceased to look upon education as a thing which sets men apart from the rest of the world and bids them to a life made up of white cravats and hands unsoiled with contact with earth and iron and steel? Is it not time that we recognized the fact that industrial training cannot wait for the few who are able to go on to college or technical school but must begin down here in the common school and high school, and that the boy who cannot by any possible means go farther than a high school course has a right to have a part of that training directed along lines which will fit him for a life of honest toil in the factory or on the farm? Yes my friends, industrial training or training for efficient citizenship is the slogan which must be adopted in the public schools of to-day. We are living in a marvelous era in an era when the very intensity of competition and the approaching exhaustion of what has heretofore seemed like an inexhaustible supply of natural resources is demanding on every hand conservation and specialization. The rural population of yesterday is changing to the congested city population of to-day. From a nation of farmers and of agricultural products we are rapidly changing to a nation of manufacturers and the equitable distribution of wealth of the past is giving place to the concentration of wealth of the present. All these things are demanding and demanding in a voice that cannot be stilled that if the public schools are to continue to be the great leavener of the lump of national democracy, the great factory for the production of a true and sane citizenship, they too, must expand with our expansion, and change with our change, and thus continue to be a vital part of the great industrial revolution which is taking place almost unobserved and in the midst of which we are living to-day.

MICHIGAN HISTORY IN SCHOOLS[1]

Shall Michigan history be taught in the public schools of Michigan? This question seems at first thought a very simple one; so simple indeed as almost to approach the verge of absurdity, and I have not the slightest doubt that could an answer be obtained the reply would be almost unanimously in the affirmative. A moment's consideration, however, will lead us to discover that the question is not so simple and is one which cannot fairly be affirmatively answered merely because it

[1]Paper read at midwinter meeting, Albion, January, 1909.

appeals to our local patriotic sentiments and seems the most natural thing as a matter of course.

The question is at once a part of the much larger and very vital one, "What shall be taught in the public schools?" In these days of high pressure and high tension, when humanity is being hurled from the cradle to the grave, in one mad rush of feverish intensity, when the public schools are being lauded for all the virtues and condemned for all the vices to which humanity is liable, when music and drawing, needlework and cooking, manual training in all of its manifold varieties and ramifications, agriculture and numerous other forms and phases of industrial training, when all these and other subjects are demanding admission into the curriculums of our public schools, one may well pause and wonder where in the name of the limited possibilities of childhood is this process of accretion to end and is there to be any place left for the good old fashioned three R's which after all must, in spite of theory and high sounding rhetoric, form the base and foundation of all that the public schools shall undertake to accomplish. I say, in the midst of such a time and in the presence of such facts and conditions, with our courses of study already packed and jammed and crammed to the limit, even so simple and seemingly, so natural a proposition as, "Shall we teach Michigan history in the Michigan schools" cannot be answered by merely answering the question, "Is it desirable," but must be turned to the more practical and more technical inquiry, "Is it possible?"

A perusal of the courses of study as prescribed by superintendents and boards of education for our cities and villages and of the course as issued from the department of public instruction for our rural schools reveals the fact that in the former, that is in the city school systems, the time devoted to the study of history in grades below the high school is generally from one to one and one-half years; occasionally a little more, not often less. This is generally United States history and is studied in the seventh and eighth grades. In the rural schools the state course of study prescribes civil government and United States history for the two years included in grades seven and eight. In these courses it is recommended that Michigan history, civil government and the beginnings of United States history be taught in grade seven. How extensively this is followed I am unable to say with certainty; but from what evidence I can gather, and I have questioned rural school teachers from several different counties, Calhoun included, I conclude that it is not followed with any great degree of uniformity. In the city and village schools it is only in rare instances that any place at all is given to Michigan history.

It seems to me then, that our first demand must be that two full

years be given to the formal study of history in grades seven and eight and that a portion of this time be given to the history of the State. This demand would not be one which would extend the time given to history sufficiently to encroach upon other subjects and is only giving to the subject the minimum of time which its importance demands. Why study history at all? Is it a matter of vital importance that the subject be given a place?

If our theory of government is correct, if it is a correct principle that the only true basis of government lies in the consent of the governed, if we are to rely for the correction of governmental evils upon the intelligence of the people, then the first duty of government is to see to it that that people is intelligent. The statement of Gladstone that our constitution is "The greatest document ever struck off at any given time by the brain of man" contains the fatal fallacy of supposing that it was the spontaneous product of that galaxy of brilliant intellects which made up the federal convention of seventeen eighty-seven. True, it was put together by that body. True also, it is that some of its principles, when formulated and stated in exact and clearly phrased principles of law, seemed new and startling; but nothing is further from the fact than that they were new; rather the facts are, that this constitution was then the ripest product of the progressive evolution of free government from the dawn of history to the date of that notable convention; and those intellects, freighted with a knowledge of the history of the past, enriched by the experiments and experiences of men in all ages, and full of their personal experiences in the government of these colonies, poured into that document all their riches of historical knowledge and thus crystalized it into that wonderful instrument, the Constitution of the United States. It was not mere theory evolved at any given time from the brain of man; it was the summation of human experiences in the art of self government. That brilliant philosopher and thinker, John Locke, whose genius is purely speculative and abstract reasoning outshone all other intellects of his time, whose philosophy is still quoted with more or less authority and whose name stands high in the realm of pure intellectuality, attempted to produce, by this process of pure reasoning, a body of fundamental laws; and this man, brilliant in intellect, clear and concise in reasoning, a master in philosophic deduction, gave to the world that governmental monstrosity "The grand model" for the government of the Carolinas, a form of government absurdly impossible and one which fell to pieces of its own weight in a short time of trial. It would thus seem to be almost a self-evident fact that a knowledge of what has been attempted is an essential in properly determining what is best for the present and in forecasting what should be undertaken for the future.

If this is accepted as a fact in matters pertaining to national government, how much more essential is it when applied to state affairs? The more nearly the government approaches to the people the more necessary it becomes that that people shall be capable of forming correct opinions and judgments. Certainly no subject taught in our schools is more likely to produce in the pupils, who are very soon to become the active citizens and electors, a taste for future historical study and thus an intelligent and active interest in the affairs of state than does the study of history. Time was when the American fireside was a no inconsiderable factor in disseminating patriotic instruction. When the American father gathered his family about him and in the long winter evenings, recounted the deeds of valor in connection with his country's history, or discussed the doings of congress or of the legislature with some chance guest. Or mayhap this guest, fired with the genial warmth of the thought-producing fireplace and perchance, to some extent with home brewed ale, recounted some historic legend, colored and embellished, no doubt by the frequent telling, but none the less tending to stimulate interest and stir the fires of patriotism. To-day, in this bustling, money-getting, society-driven age, when the fathers have no time for the children and the children no time for the fathers, when the art of story-telling has been lost, and the quiet, civilizing, country-loving influence of the home reading circle has been so nearly completely destroyed, the only possible means of filling, in some degree, the void which the discontinuance of this practice has created is for the schools to teach enough of history and to bring into the courses enough of these stories and legends to, at least, leave in the mind of the future citizen sufficient knowledge to create the desire to read and study more. It was once my privilege to spend a part of one year in the Kentucky mountains, just over the line on that border-land of civilization, among those people who, during the old regime before the surrender were designated as "The poor white trash." That people, who had been left behind in the onward rush of events and among whom the primitive habit and thought and custom had remained. I beg leave here to state, though I may blush in the confession, that those boys and girls knew more of the history of their native State than do the boys and girls of progressive, up-to-date, education blessed Michigan. The early connection of their State with Virginia "The Old Dominion;" the struggles and victories of George Rogers Clark, the rugged vigor of Daniel Boone, the part of the Kentucky soldier in that splendid victory at New Orleans, the stories of old Hickory Jackson, these and a score of other stories had been recounted around the fireplaces or in the soothing shade of the broad verandahs from generation to generation. Distorted, embellished, often remote from the real story, yet containing the germ of

truth and withal a perennial source of patriotism and love for grand old Kentucky. To hear a native born Kentuckian say "My State" with a depth of feeling and loyal devotion that spoke volumes for what he would do and dare for her if she ever called for his services was, to me, a lesson in patriotism which I shall not soon forget.

In addition to this formal history study, another means of getting into our courses some Michigan history is through the channel of the reading lessons, both formal and supplementary. I see no reason why some such book as Cox's "Primer of Michigan History" or Hemans' "History of Michigan" could not be used as a reading book, for at least occasional lessons, in any grade above the fourth. Such a book read and intelligently discussed certainly would furnish just as good practice in reading and from this practice much could be accomplished with no loss at all in time taken from other subjects. As supplementary reading, stories from Michigan history might well be introduced. The chief difficulty with this latter suggestion lies in the fact that collections of such stories, in inexpensive book form, are not in existence. Here it seems to me is an excellent field of opportunity for some one. A work which is very much needed in Michigan is that there may be compiled in interesting story form a collection of incidents in the story of Michigan which could be used by the schools as supplementary reading. I doubt very much whether any state, not one of the original thirteen, is richer in romantic historical incident than is our own. Our connection with the French has left the tinge of the characteristic French romanticism over all our early history. Those queer little French farms along the Detroit River, the romantic and rugged lives of the *courier de bois*, the Indian lore, the chivalric devotion of converting the Indians to the Catholic religion on the part of those early French priests, the picturesque self-sacrifice of that splendid man, Father Marquette, the humiliating story of the surrender of Detroit, the thrilling incidents connected with the career of Pontiac, Michigan's connection with the Underground Railroad. These and a thousand other incidents in the history of the State are but waiting for the pen of some skillful story-teller to become a fund of rich supplementary reading that shall form a prolific possibility as a means of spreading the knowledge of our own history among the young, a possibility that cannot but bear fruit in stimulating an interest and in creating a patriotic love and loyalty for Michigan that will mean much for the future citizenship and thus the future good government of our State.

Those excellent volumes which comprise the reports of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society should be made available for use both by students and teachers to a much wider extent than they now are. The great difficulty lies in the fact that in the great mass of material

presented in those volumes both pupil and teacher are lost or confused and turn away in despair. Volume XXXV, this series, contains a prospectus which could be used if made available. Could there not be printed by the state department of public instruction copies of this prospectus, and could not these be distributed among the teachers so that they could more easily choose material from these volumes? Teachers could then read some of these subjects and tell the stories to their children and thus furnish most excellent material for English exercises.

Until one has had their attention directed along this line and has begun to look about them and to inquire into the matter I think few people realize how appalling is the lack of knowledge of Michigan history among the people of Michigan. Not only the pupils in our schools, the citizens upon the farm and in the business office, but the teachers themselves know almost nothing of the history of the State except as it has figured as a part in the history of the nation. I presume it is safe to say that not one home in twenty contains a copy of the history of the State. The reasons for this condition are not far to seek. In the first place our comparative youth as a State is no doubt somewhat responsible. To a vast majority of the older citizens, Michigan is their State by adoption rather than by birth. These early pioneers came from states rich in history and proud of their part in the making of the nation. The very newness of our condition and the richness of our resources have resulted in a veritable frenzy of development which has left no time for a consideration of the history which we have been so rapidly making for ourselves. But, more fatal than all of these and more strange than all the rest, nowhere in our splendid system of schools from the rural school to the university has the teaching of Michigan history found a place, save for the last few years, and then only here and there in strangely lonely instances. The state department has done something. Occasionally here and there a high school has given a little time to the subject. A beginning has thus been made but a beginning such as only seems to emphasize the need and to bring to light the deficiency. It seems to me that the conclusion is clear, namely, that it is high time that the teaching of Michigan history be made compulsory in the schools of the State.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF JOHN SCOTT HORNER

BY MRS. ELIZABETH HORNER BURLING[1]

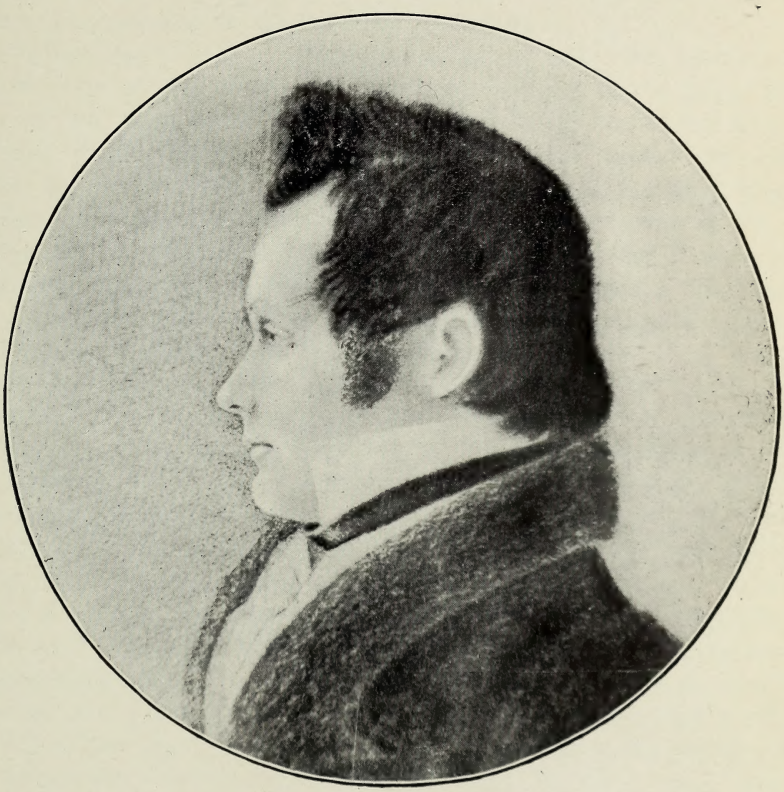
My father was John Scott Horner, last territorial governor of Michigan, who was born in Warrenton, Virginia, on the 5th day of December, 1802. He was the third son of Dr. Gustavus Brown Horner, assistant-surgeon, who had a family of eight children, and nephew of Dr. Gustavus Brown, surgeon-general of the Revolutionary Army, who discovered his relative among the troops he was inspecting and made him his assistant. His relatives were English and resided in Yorkshire near Ripon, England. His mother was Frances Harrison Scott, daughter of Captain James Scott of the Revolutionary Army. I have been told of my grandmother's driving in her coach with four-in-hand, postilions and other equipment of the time. She was related to President Harrison's family. My father was connected with the families of Custis and Gen. Robert Lee, and visits were made by the family to Mt. Vernon.

John Scott Horner attended a private boarding school near Middleburg, Va. His father's death interrupted his education, but he graduated in 1819 from Washington College, Penn., and began the study of law with Hon. Thomas L. Moore of Warrenton, Va. He practiced law in Virginia until 1834, when he was married to Miss Harriet L. Watson[2] of Washington City. This lady was also a Virginian and was noted for her intellectual endowments and charm of manner. She was a marked favorite of President and Mrs. Jackson.

When John S. Horner was married great preparations were involved, and much time, thought and care spent on his wardrobe, which for those days, was exceedingly fine and fitting. Their wedding journey included a trip by coach and on horseback to the southern part of Virginia, stopping one night at a country tavern which was heated by stoves. They were given a room warmed by a drum connected with the stove in the room underneath. On entering their room there was no fire in the stove and consequently the drum was cold. Mr. Horner placed his hat upon it. In the morning as the weather had changed a fire was started in the stove resulting in burning the rim of his hat. My father was very serious and dignified, and my mother convulsed with laughter; no hat to be bought and none to replace his. Such patching up and makeshifts, until a new hat could be secured, made a good story for my mother for years.

[1]Read at the annual meeting, 1911. Mrs. Burling still resides in the family mansion at Ripon, Wis.

[2]See Vol. XXX, pp. 328-321, this series.



John S. Horner

In 1835 he was appointed by President Jackson to be Secretary and Acting Governor of the Territory of Michigan[3] which at that time included the Territories of Wisconsin and Iowa extending from the seat of government at Detroit to the Rocky Mountains. As chief executive of the Territory he did a great deal to allay the hostile feeling which existed between the people of the Territory of Michigan and the State of Ohio in reference to the boundary question.[4]

The Wheeling Gazette of February 27, 1836, said, "We were startled by an account of the perpetration of fresh disorders in the disputed territory by the State of Michigan in an attempt to collect taxes from the residents. On receipt of this news Governor Horner started immediately for the disputed territory and at great hazards he commanded them to disperse. His presence inspired confidence and restored order. On arriving within the Territory of Michigan in prosecution of his duties, his address as Governor was a combination of personal fearlessness, tact and prudence. It will be recollected that he repaired to Michigan shortly after the mission of Messrs. Rush and Howard."

Upon the occasion of the delivery of his first address to the people of Detroit, a man in the crowd shot at him. The shot fortunately hit only the hat which he held in his hand. His aid exclaimed, "Do step back, Governor." My father replied, "I apprehend no danger," and went on tranquilly with his address.

Later on he was appointed Secretary of Wisconsin, and received orders from President Jackson to take up his residence near the Mississippi River. This move was in order to meet and cope with the apprehended difficulties between the Winnebago Indians and the settlers in the mineral regions of Wisconsin. On his arrival he learned that the tribe were besieging Fort Winnebago, and he demanded a council with the chiefs. He received the reply that they were "falling to pieces from starvation," owing to the non-paynent of their long overdue annuities from the Government of the United States. Upon receipt of this information he promptly took upon himself the responsibility of issuing an order to deliver to the starving Indians one-half the pork and flour in military stores at the fort. This action prevented an Indian war and received the hearty approval of President Jackson. In recognition of his services, Congress passed an act granting him one thousand dollars. As Secretary of the Territory of Wisconsin his career was distinguished by ability and integrity, and by many evidences of the confidence of the people and the general government. After his retirement from this office President Jackson appointed him Register

[3]See *Boundaries of Mich.*, by Annah M. Soule in *M. Pio. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 346. Twaites, *Boundaries of Wisconsin*, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XI, pp. 457-460.
[4]See *Proceedings Wis. Hist. Soc.* for 1905.

of the Green Bay Land Office. He was successively appointed by Presidents Van Buren and Tyler, holding the position thirteen years.

In 1836 he devised the first Seal of the Territory of Wisconsin. This was a square brass instrument costing forty dollars in New York. It represented land, water, precious ores and a miner's arm rampant.

He was a man of education and culture, original ideas and great mental strength. As the first official of Wisconsin he will ever remain prominent in its history. It is pleasant to record in these days of graft that all of Governor Horner's acts are absolutely clean of all defaults and peculations. His connection with the land sales were upright in the extreme while his charity to those oppressed or poor was well-known.

As Secretary of Wisconsin Territory[5] he handled the public funds without giving bonds. Once a bonus of one thousand dollars was offered him to exchange the gold and silver payments exacted by the government for land for the doubtful paper money of that time which proposition he indignantly refused. June 1, 1837, he was appointed register of the Green Bay Office. He made his way from Mineral Point to Green Bay with no one but his Indian guide.[6]

His was the first purchase of land including the eighty acres which was platted for the village of Ripon. He personally performed his duties with no loss from absence or sickness.

While living at Green Bay my father and mother entertained the Prince de Joinville who had come to look up the would-be Dauphin of France in the person of Rev. Eleazer Williams[7] but alas, only finding him an imposter as the only evidence he could produce as to his identity was an old hair trunk.

He moved from Green Bay in 1846 to his home near beautiful Green Lake in Wisconsin, being elected Circuit Judge for a term of years. In 1849 he founded the city of Ripon naming it after Ripon in England. He named the streets after his friends; among them one was called after Governor Cass of Detroit, whom he very much admired. His home was in Ripon from 1859 until 1883, where on February 3,[8] he passed away at the age of eighty-one years.

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[5]Wisconsin was included in Michigan territory until 1836, when she was called Wisconsin territory, and was admitted to statehood on June 5, 1848.

[6]See *Wis. Hist. proceedings* for 1905, pp. 214-216, for sketch of John Scott Horner by Edward Huntington Merrell, D. D., of Ripon College.

[7]Rev. Eleazer Williams was a missionary of the Episcopal Church, who was born in 1787, and died in 1858. From a fancied resemblance to Louis XVII, Dauphin of France, he became convinced he was his son. His mother was Eunice Williams, who was captured in the Indian massacre in Massachusetts, February, 1704. He was made Supt. Ind. Dept., 1812, and in 1820 he visited Green Bay. His interview with the Prince took place in 1841, although Mr. Williams always denied signing any abrogation to the throne. He returned to New York and died at Hogansburg. He translated the book of Common Prayer into Iroquois. *International Biog.*, Vol. XVII., p. 748.

[8]Two encyclopaedias give the date of his death as February 2.

He had come to Detroit when all west of that point was a great wilderness; as we know, a rich and populous country has sprung from it. He had lived during a remarkable period in the history of the country, and in his later years he took great pride in reflecting that he had taken part in the early organization of the Territories of Michigan and Wisconsin. Early in life he distinguished himself by his advocacy of slave emancipation. The Records of Virginia Courts show many evidences of his success as an advocate for slaves who sued for their freedom. His sincerity in the cause was proved by his promptitude in freeing the slaves, one hundred in number, descended to him from his father's estate, which he performed soon after he became of age.

Throughout his life he was known as a man of great determination and courage which, combined with his ability and integrity, made him an exceptionally valuable man. When appointing him Governor to settle the Northwestern troubles, Andrew Jackson remarked, "Now I have a man who will not fear anyone."

He was the father of three sons and one daughter and his home life was peaceful and wise. The poor were never turned away and he was free and generous in his dealings. He never used any ardent spirits and refers to his one bad habit in the following quaint and ingenuous confession: "I have deplored the early and continuous use of tobacco and bear testimony to its injurious effect both on the mind and the body and I attribute most of my sickness or failure in life to its effects." He was very conscientious and faithful in his membership in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Let his example and the examples of those men who were his contemporaries be kept green in our memory. They were brave men who pushed their dauntless way toward the West, and they molded out of their struggle of pioneer life and conditions, the priceless environments of home and peaceful prosperity.

SOME EARLY MAPS OF MICHIGAN[1]

BY WILLIAM L. JENKS

With the instruments of precision which modern science has furnished, it is not difficult today to explore a new section of the earth and make of it a map which will not only correctly delineate the section and its natural features, lakes and rivers but will locate them with exactness upon the map of the world. Such instruments, however, and such maps, are of recent origin. Rome had a vast empire extending

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1911.

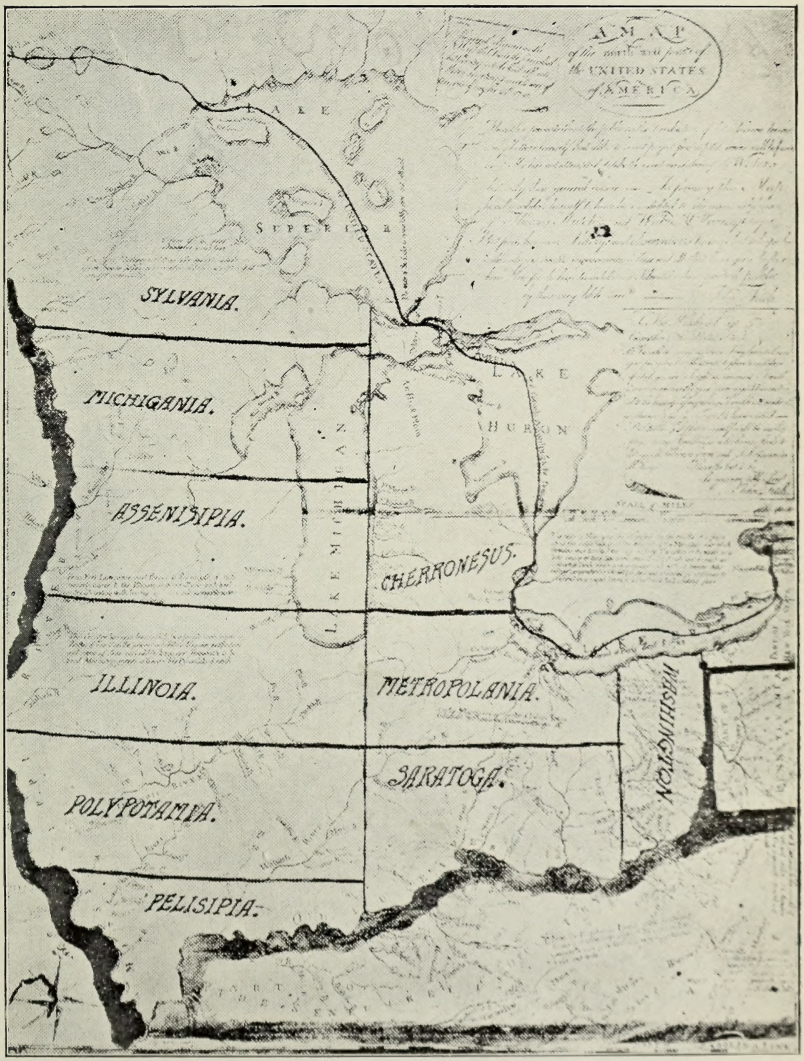
over a large part of the known world, but it possessed no maps as we know them, showing at a glance the relative location, shape and size of all parts of the earth. From the most ancient times travelers, explorers and merchants went into new and distant countries and returned to describe them and their peoples, but not until about the beginning of the fourteenth century was there any sketch even of the most traveled or most populous regions, which to the modern eye would seem a map. True, the Romans and others had their road maps, the sailors of the Mediterranean during the earlier middle ages their portolano, but careful surveys and charts were all unknown, although the compass known to the Chinese had been brought to the eastern shores of Africa in the fourth century, and knowledge of it had gradually filtered through, by way of the Arabs, to the Basques and Catalans in the twelfth century.

The oldest existing specimen of scientific map making is the Carte Pisano, made about 1300; and the Catalan map of 1375 shows an accurate knowledge of Northwestern Africa, Spain and the Canaries, Madeiras and Azores.

Beazley says in his Dawn of Modern Geography: "Good maps were as valuable for progress as good instruments and the first true maps constitute an important chapter in the history of our civilization; they mark the essential transition in world-delineation from ancient to modern."

It is evident that to enable the making of a correct map of any considerable part of the world there is needed the knowledge of latitude and longitude, and the means to ascertain those elements of any particular point. The terms themselves were first used by Ptolemy in the second century, in accordance with the belief that the known world was longer east and west than it was wide north and south. With this idea in mind he placed the first meridian, or the westernmost point from which to reckon distance eastward, in the Fortunatæ or Canary Islands. When the new period of map making began the Spaniards adopted the same point, and in 1634 a Congress of European Mathematicians confirmed it at the west edge of Ferro, the most westerly of the Canaries, and all the early French maps of this country reckon the longitude from Ferro as the first or principal meridian. They compute it eastward around the entire circle, so that from that starting point and by that method Detroit would be in about 300 degrees.

As English explorers became active they naturally took London as their first meridian, and America, when it became a nation, began to calculate from the meridian of Washington, but finally at the Geodetic Congress, held at Washington in 1884, it was resolved to adopt the meridian of Greenwich as the universal first meridian, the representa-



MAP OF THE NORTHWEST PART OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

From the State Library, Lansing.

tives of France being the only important objectors. In examining the older maps these changes of the starting point must be kept in mind.

Latitude was always reckoned from the same point and measured by the declination of the sun, but early instruments were crude, and it is rare to find in the old maps any point correctly placed either in longitude or latitude.

Jedediah Morse, "the father of American Geography," and incidentally the father of Samuel F. B. Morse, the telegraph inventor, published in 1796 the third edition of his American Universal Geography, the first edition of which was published in 1789. One of the reasons for this publication, as he tells us in the preface to the second edition, was that "To depend on foreigners partial, to a proverb, to their own country for an account of the divisions, rivers, productions, manufactures, navigation, commerce, literature, improvements, etc., of the American States, would certainly be a disgraceful blot upon our literary and National character." His endeavors to remove this blot were evidently highly appreciated by his compatriots as his work rapidly passed into numerous editions, and in the good work he was assisted and succeeded by his son, Sidney, who continued to issue good reliable "American" geographies until about the middle of the nineteenth century.

The third edition of the American Universal Geography was the first to contain any map or description of the territory now included within the State of Michigan. It has a map of the "Northwestern Territory," and without desiring to do any injury to the first American geographer's reputation, I am warranted in saying that the people would have been safe in relying for some time longer upon the partial foreigners. In this map numerous rivers are shown in the western part of the State, four of which are named St. Joseph, Marame (Kalamazoo), Grand and Maticon (Muskegon). On the east side are shown Raisin River, River a Chines, Saw Pine River and Belle Chase River. The last two empty into Lake Huron some distance north of the entrance of St. Clair River, which itself is not named. Saginaw Bay (as Saguenam) is placed considerably too far north and a large part of the interior of the peninsula from Saginaw Bay north is taken up with an "extensive high plain." Lake Superior is difficult to recognize, filled with islands that do not exist, among them a large island with several smaller ones near, lying between Keweenaw Point and Isle Royal, and bearing the name of Phillipeaux Island. A copper mine is shown near Ontonagon. Fort Detroit is located at about latitude 42 degrees 40 minutes north, and longitude 7 degrees 30 minutes west of Philadelphia or 83 degrees 30 minutes west of London. Lake Michigan extends south to latitude 42 degrees 20 minutes.

The French map of D'Anville, issued half a century before, in 1746,

as well as several others, was more accurate in the outlines of both peninsulas and the adjacent lakes.

Morse, in the introduction to his first edition, expresses his obligations to Capt. Thomas Hutchins, Geographer-General of the United States, but so far as this region is concerned he fails to avail himself of the assistance he might have had. Capt. Hutchins, born in New Jersey in 1730, became an officer in a Colonial regiment and later in the British regular army, giving much attention to engineering. Prior to 1770 he made many reconnoitering trips into what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Lower Michigan, and in 1778 published his Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, which was intended to accompany and explain his map issued at the same time, and including the country lying between 34 and 44 north latitude and 79 to 93 west longitude. In 1779 he resigned his position as officer and in 1781 was appointed Geographer to the United States of America, and held that position until his death in 1789.

His map was 35¼ x 42¾ inches and is a very interesting and important one for the lower part of the State, comprehending that part south of a line drawn west from a point about thirty miles north of Port Huron. On the eastern side, below Detroit, appear several rivers. Lake St. Clair is pretty well delineated, and the several channels at the head of the lake shown; Clinton River is shown but not named. In St. Clair River both Fawn and Stag Islands appear, not named, and the three rivers, now Belle, Pine and Black, in their proper locations, the first not being named, the second having the name River a Chines, and the last River au Sapine (Pine or Fir) with a sawmill indicated a short distance above the mouth. This last river appears in Morse's geography as Saw Pine River, and at a considerable distance from its actual location.

Upon the western side of the peninsula appear St. Joseph River with the legend "full of islands and very rapid," Riviere Noire (Black River), Riviere Marame (Kalamazoo), with a large branch near the head called Riviere a la Matache, Riviere a la Barbue (Black River), Riviere a Raisin (Pigeon River), La Grande Riviere (Grand River) and Maticon (Muskegon) River. There is a road marked from Detroit to Fort St. Joseph, and these two legends are on the western and eastern sides of the peninsula. "From St. Joseph River along the eastern side of Lake Michigan the land bordering upon it consists chiefly of sandy ridges scarcely producing anything but pines, small oaks and cedars, but a few miles from the lake the soil and timber are extraordinarily good." "The land bordering on the western shore of Lake Huron is greatly inferior in quality to that on Lake Erie; it is mixed with sand and small stones and is principally covered with pines, birch and some

small oaks, but at a little distance from the lake the soil is very luxuriant."

The "father of American geography" might well have given some heed also to Joseph Scott, who published the first United States Gazetteer in 1795, illustrated with nineteen maps. In his map of the United States the Lower Peninsula is more correctly delineated, and practically all the rivers emptying into Lake Michigan shown and named follow the French maps in this respect. Kalamazoo River appears as Marame. Between this and Grand River are two streams named, respectively, Barbe and Raisin Rivers, representing the present Black and Pigeon Rivers. Muskegon appears as Mastigon. White is unchanged. Beauvais probably represents the Au Sable River; St. Nicholas, the Pent Water, and Margurite, the Pere Marquette.

The Territory of Michigan was created by act of Congress, January 11, 1805, and comprised all that part of Indiana Territory, lying north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan, until it should intersect Lake Erie and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of said lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States.

It is not certain upon what information or map Congress acted in fixing these boundaries, but certain it is that no two maps of that period agreed with respect to the location of the lower end of Lake Michigan, compared with Lake Erie. It would seem quite probable that the Hutchins' map was used, although that did not purport to show more than the lower end of Lake Michigan and of the Lower Peninsula. There were in existence at that time a number of maps prepared by English geographers, several based upon the reports and observations of Governor Pownall and several maps by Arrowsmith, a very painstaking and accurate geographer. These map makers differed quite largely in the shape of Lake Michigan, and in its description. In several of the maps the trend of the lake was either due north or extended somewhat westerly from the southern extremity. Others represented the northern extremity much more toward the east than it is in fact. Owing to this difference in maps the geographic description given in the act of Congress proved difficult to locate and gave rise to many troubles.

Governor Hull was appointed Governor of the new Territory, and among his first official acts on July 3, 1805, was the division of the Territory into four districts for administrative purposes: Erie, Detroit, Huron and Michilimackinac. For some reason he seems to have been averse to creating counties. The District of Michilimackinac was described as beginning: "At the most western and southern points of the Bay of Saguina and running thence westerly to the nearest part

of the River Margurite; thence along the south bank thereof to Lake Michigan; thence due west to the middle thereof; thence with the lines of the Territory of Michigan to the center of Lake Huron; thence a straight line to the beginning."

The "River Margurite" indicates the use of some map, perhaps Scott's, whose maker had mistakenly read the French Marquette as Margurite, and perpetuated the mistake in his map.

Judge Woodward, in a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, January 4, 1806, refers to the fact that the southern boundary of the Territory was uncertain, and also that it was uncertain whether the northern extremity of Lake Michigan was at Green Bay or midway between Green Bay and the Straits of Mackinac. This uncertainty is reflected in the maps appearing for some years subsequently.

After the surrender of Detroit by General Hull to the British, in 1812, Judge Woodward, who had been one of the leading officials of the Territory under American rule, remained in Detroit to protect the interests of American subjects, and on the 20th of August of that year received from Colonel Henry Procter, who was in charge of the British forces in possession, a letter desiring information as to the geographical limits of the territory. In his reply, bearing the same date, the Judge says:

"The geographical limits of the Territory of Michigan are designated by an act of Congress.

"The boundary commences at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, and is drawn east from that point until it shall intersect Lake Erie. This line has never been actually run. It is therefore uncertain where it would intersect Lake Erie. I have a minute of an observation taken by a British gentleman which makes the latitude of the southern extremity of Lake Michigan a degree and a half south of Detroit. This would carry the line entirely south of Lake Erie."

"I am in possession of some maps which so represent the country. On the contrary, I have seen other maps and have received many oral communications which represent the southern extremity of Lake Michigan as nearly west of Detroit. The American Government has been taking measures to remove this ambiguity.

"From the southern extremity of Lake Michigan the line was required to run through the middle of said lake to its northern extremity. It is uncertain whether the northern extremity of Lake Michigan is in Green Bay, or at an intermediate point between Green Bay and the Straits of Michilimackinac.

"From the mouth of the River Miami to the head of the River Sinclair, at the embouchure, or outlet of Lake Huron, the country is settled, although in a very sparse manner, on a continued line without any settle-

ments in the rear, every house forming, as it were, a double frontier. There were formerly some families at the River St. Joseph, near the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, and the Island of Michilimackinac also had a few settlements."

The Miami River referred to in this letter is what is now called the Maumee, and the River Sinclair, the River St. Clair. This uncertainty about the western boundary of the Territory is indicated upon a map issued in 1814 entitled, "The upper territories of the United States," contained in Carey's General Atlas, issued by M. Carey, of Philadelphia, and shows a straight line as the south boundary of the Territory, extending from the southerly extremity of Lake Michigan, and striking the upper end of Lake Erie about twenty miles north of where Toledo is located. Lake Michigan appears to extend almost due north and south, and a line drawn in accordance with the boundaries fixed by the act of Congress strikes the Upper Peninsula just north of the entrance of Green Bay.

Among the most prominent map publishers of the decade following were Carey & Lea, of Philadelphia, and they issued a series of atlases, the first one appearing in 1817. The map of Michigan is entitled, "Carey's Geographical, Statistical and Historical Map of Michigan Territory." French and German editions of this map were also current. The map does not indicate county lines but has upon the southeastern part of the Territory the names of Monroe, Wayne, Macomb and Oakland counties. The map contained in the edition of 1822 shows the conditions as they existed in 1819. It indicates the westerly line of the Indian treaty made in that year, by which the Indians ceded land north of Grand River and east of a line running northeasterly to Thunder Bay River. This map indicates the west boundary of the Territory as including all of Green Bay, and a portion of what is now Wisconsin north of Milwaukee River, and striking Lake Superior a short distance west of Chocolate River. This is due to the fact that Lake Michigan is so shaped that a line drawn from its most southern point northwardly would intersect the shore of Wisconsin just above Milwaukee.

In 1831 appeared a map of Michigan drawn and published by David H. Burr, who issued many maps and was for some years draughtsman of the House of Representatives, and in that connection made several maps bearing upon the boundary line controversy between Ohio and Michigan. This map of 1831 indicates all of the counties in Michigan, which at that time had been laid out; Michilimackinac county including all of the upper part of the Southern Peninsula and the southern part of the Upper Peninsula, the south line of the county being a line drawn diagonally from the corner of Gladwin and Isabella counties through Lake Michigan and Sturgeon Bay, then turning northward until it

reaches the upper end of Green Bay, and then west, indicating the belief of the map maker that this was the southwesterly line of the Territory.

In 1833 the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge issued a map of Michigan by which only the Lower Peninsula is indicated as being within the Territory, while the entire Northern Peninsula is shown as being in the Northwest Territory.

In 1836 appeared the Tourist Pocket Map of Michigan, made by J. H. Young and published by S. Augustus Mitchell, of Philadelphia, who published several maps and tourists' guides to Michigan and other Western States. This map closely resembles the Burr map, the county line of Michilimackinac having the same location and direction, and the map being colored in a way to indicate the portion of Wisconsin included within this diagonal line to be within the Territory of Michigan.

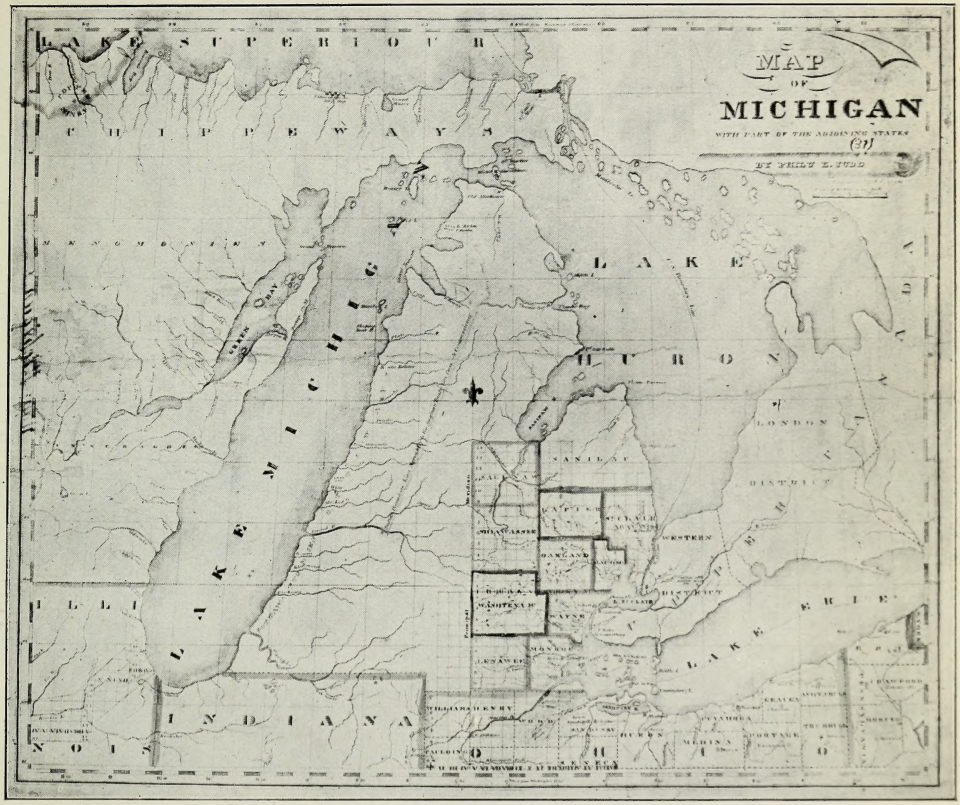
There has been some controversy over the oldest map of the Territory or State based upon actual surveys. In volume one of the Pioneer and Historical Collections it is stated that the oldest map was that made by Orange Risdon, a pioneer of Washtenaw county, and one who was a prominent surveyor of the early days. Farmer, in his History of Detroit, claims the credit for the first map as actually having been made by John Farmer, but it is stated in volume twenty-two of the Collections that it was a matter of common rumor that Farmer used information obtained while employed by Risdon to secure his map as the first published surveyed map. According to Farmer's own account, he came to Detroit in the spring of 1825, and by June of that year had his manuscript map in the hands of the engravers. It seems, however that neither of these claimants is entitled to the credit, but that Philu E. Judd has the honor.

The first Legislative Council of Michigan met in June, 1824. On the 15th of that month a committee was appointed to procure a map of the Territory of Michigan for the use of the members of the Legislative Council.

The following day the Committee reported certain proposals from P. E. Judd for making said map, which were laid on the table.

On June 17 the Committee was empowered and instructed to contract with Mr. Judd for said map agreeably to the first proposition contained in his proposals, which motion was agreed to. The records do not indicate what this proposal was.

July 23 Mr. Lawrence presented the account of P. E. Judd for making a map of the Territory, which was referred to the Committee on Claims, and on August 5 the claim fixed at $35 was included in the appropriation bill as passed. A copy of this map, drawn by Judd and engraved by J. O. Lewis, is now in the State Library, having been received from the State Land Office. It bears no date, but bears internal



PHILU E. JUDD'S MAP OF MICHIGAN

From the State Library, Lansing.

evidence of having been executed subsequent to 1822 and before 1826.

It includes the counties of Monroe, Lenawee, Washtenaw, Wayne, Macomb, Oakland, Shiawassee, Lapeer, St. Clair, Sanilac and Saginaw, which, together with Michilimackinac county, embraced the whole Territory between 1822 and 1826. Its title is, "Map of Michigan With Part of the Adjoining States," and the map is drawn upon a scale of twenty miles to an inch.

Monroe and Lenawee counties extend far enough south to include about half of town 10 south. The entire Upper Peninsula apparently is given up to the Chippeways (Indians), while the Potawatomies and Ottawas occupy the western part of the Lower Peninsula.

Mr. Judd died in September or October of 1824, and his estate was probated in Wayne county. Included in the inventory of his estate were sixteen maps and plans, including a painted map of Michigan, and one not painted, and the original manuscript of a Gazetteer of Michigan. There also appears among his assets a copper plate, which at that time was stated to be in the hands of J. O. Lewis, a painter and engraver then living in Detroit, under a contract with relation to that and other engravings for Judd's Gazetteer. This plate was probably his map of Michigan. The death of Mr. Judd explains why his maps were not afterwards used, and the copy in the State Library is the only one I have found any trace of.

In 1825 the Council again needing for its purposes a map of the surveyed portion of the State, upon January 25 Mr. Lawrence offered a resolution that a committee of three be appointed to enquire into the expediency of presenting to each of the governors of the several states and territories in the United States one entire set or copy of the laws of this Territory, and also a map of this Territory. The resolution was adopted, and Messrs. Lawrence, Mack and Bunce were appointed such committee.

January 31 Mr. Lawrence offered a resolution which was adopted that the Judiciary Committee be instructed to bring in a bill authorizing the Governor to transmit a copy of the laws "and also one of Risdon's maps of the surveyed part of the Territory" to each governor of the other states and territories.

February 3 Mr. Lawrence, as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, offered a resolution instead of a bill, that the Governor be authorized to transmit to the other governors one set or copy of the laws, one copy of the Journal of the Council and one map of the Territory, which resolution was adopted February 4.

In the act making certain appropriations approved April 21, 1825, is found the item, "To Orange Risdon, for his map of the surveyed part

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of the Territory (thirty-eight copies at eighteen shillings each) eighty-five dollars and fifty cents."

This makes it reasonably conclusive that the map of Mr. Risdon antedated any map made by Mr. Farmer.

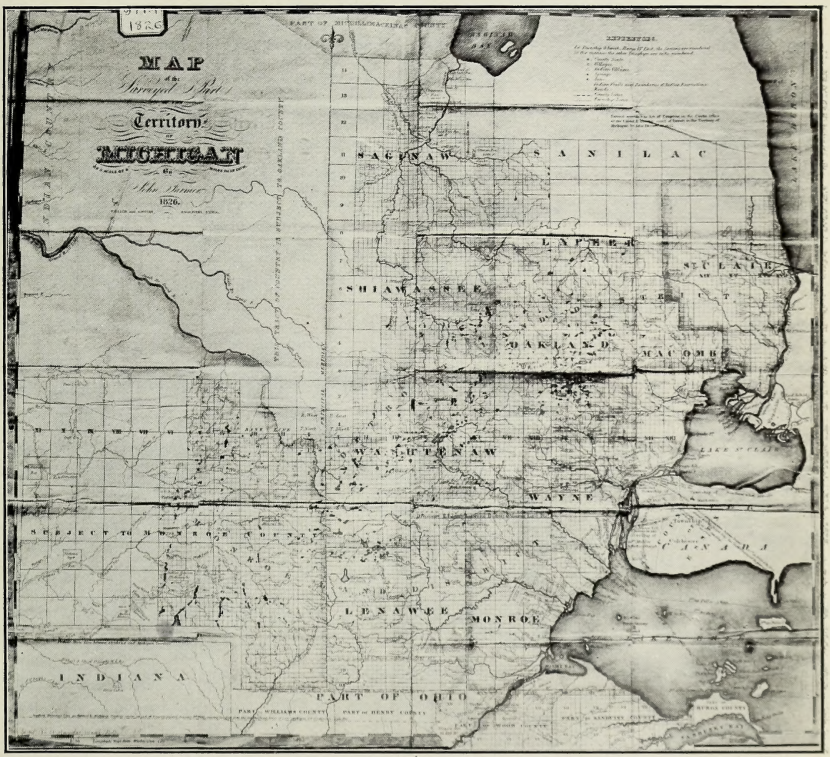
The map itself is on a large scale, four miles to an inch, and shows all the counties, eleven in number, which had at that time been laid out except Michilimackinac county, no part of which had been surveyed. Monroe county extends far enough south to include part of what would be town 10 south of the base line, the south line running some distance south of Toledo. All the counties lie east of the principal meridian, and several of them, Washtenaw, Shiawassee, Saginaw, Lapeer and St. Clair are not completely surveyed. There is a copy of this map in the library of C. M. Burton, and one in the Detroit Public Library.

The first public reference to Farmer's map appears from the records of the Council to be on November 21, 1826, when the petition of John Farmer praying for additional remuneration for making a map of the Territory of Michigan for the use of the Legislative Council was presented and referred to the Committee on Claims, and on December 6 this Committee reported in favor of allowing out of the contingent fund sixty dollars, which was agreed to and that sum was included in the appropriation bill approved December 29, 1826.

Farmer's History states that the first Farmer map was published in August, 1825, and that a second map was issued in 1826. This is probably an error, and but one map was issued which was copyrighted in 1825 and actually published in 1826. The Detroit Gazette in the early part of 1827 published an advertisement dated May 16, 1825, offering for sale Farmer's map of Michigan, but I found no publication of any advertisement in 1825. There is, however, a publication in that year of a copyright notice dated August 30, 1825, but it was a common practice to file such notice and title some time in advance of actual publication. After somewhat diligent search I have not been able to find any copy of this map except one in the Library of Congress.

Farmer subsequently issued many editions as the surveyed part of the Territory increased, and they became and were for many years the standard maps of the State. Copies of the 1831 and subsequent editions are not uncommon, but it would be highly desirable if the State Library could obtain a complete series, as they represent in a graphic manner the rapid and enduring growth of the State.

In 1843 there was published a map of J. Calvin Smith, covering the States of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. This map is 20 by 21 inches in size drawn on a scale of eight miles to an inch, and shows the counties of Wayne, Monroe, Lenawee and Oakland fully surveyed and the counties of St. Clair, Sanilac, Lapeer, Saginaw, Shia-



JOHN FARMER'S MAP OF MICHIGAN.

From the Port Huron Public Library.

wassee and Washtenaw partly surveyed, and a small part of the territory west of the meridian line surveyed but not laid out into counties. East of Indiana the south line of the Territory runs about three miles south of Miami (Maumee) Bay. It contains many places named which disappeared as the country was settled up and is an interesting and valuable map historically. This is the only map which I have seen which shows all of the Lower Peninsula divided into counties bearing the names as given by the Legislature of 1840. Many of these names were of Indian origin and were changed by the Legislature of 1843 so that they were in existence only for the period of three years.

Douglass Houghton while State Geologist began the making of a set of county maps, which if completed would have been very interesting and valuable, but after finishing several his death and the hard times following caused a discontinuance of the project.

After this date maps of Michigan cease to be properly included within the scope of this article.

STURDY PIONEERS OF VAN BUREN AND CASS

BY A. B. COPLEY[1]

This paper is designed to treat in part of the first settlement of Van Buren County on its southeastern border and consequently is connected somewhat with the settlement of Cass and Berrien counties, being an outspreading in order to take in the northern border of Little Prairie Ronde. My father left Dayton, Ohio, August 29, 1832, on horseback, to make a trip to that part of Michigan Territory called the St. Joseph Country. He went by the way of Troy, Piqua, St. Mary's, Fort Wayne and Goshen to White Pigeon Prairie,[2] where the land office was then located. From that place he went to Big Prairie Ronde and reached the home of Dolphin Morris on the evening of September 4, 1832. From his journal it appears that there had been entered at the land office sixteen eighty-acre lots of land up to that date in the township of Decatur, four in Waverly to R. Sherwood, and five in Lafayette (Paw Paw) as follows: one each to John S. Agard, S. Barber and P. Barber, and two to Peter Gremps. There were six families in Van Buren County at that time, namely, Dolphin Morris,[3] his brother Samuel, H. D. Swift, George Tittle, David Curry and Le Grand Ander-

[1]Read by Hon. A. B. Copley, of Decatur, at a meeting of Van Buren County pioneers at South Haven in 1893. His son, Hon. A. Ward Copley, Detroit, is a member of the House of Representatives for 1911-12.

[2]The land office was established at White Pigeon in June, 1831, and removed to Kalamazoo in 1834. Prior to that time all settlers were compelled to go about 125 miles to Monroe in order to register their claims.

[3]See sketch, Vol. V, p. 150, this series.

son, who had settled within a week of the time of which I write. These were the only settlers in Van Buren County. The first settler in the county, Dolphin Morris, left Deer Creek, Sciota County, Ohio, November 3, 1828, arriving at Pokagon Prairie, Cass County, December 8th, where he spent the winter with Joseph Gardiner. In the Spring, March 26th, he reached little Prairie Ronde in company with H. D. Swift, Jacob Morlan and his (Morris') father and camped at the outlet of Lawrence Lake, Volinia Township. On the 27th he commenced cutting logs for a cabin for his father, which work was suspended for several days on account of a snowstorm. Mr. Morris had visited the prairie during the winter and chosen his location and now while the snow interfered with the cabin building returned to Pokagon for his family, bringing them during the first week of April. Jacob Morlan attached a lean-to to Mr. Morris' cabin, sheltering his own family until he finished his cabin on the south side of the prairie in Cass County. Mr. Swift worked for Morris but did not bring his family or establish a claim at first. Mr. Morris' father, Samuel Morris, sr., occupied the farm in Cass County now occupied by Elias Morris, and Samuel, the brother, made a claim on what is now known as the Buell farm. Thus, for nearly two years, Mr. Morris was the only settler in the county. The log cabin first built by Mr. Morris was of more than passing interest aside from sheltering the first family in the county. The first school was taught in the winters of 1834-5 by William Alexander,[4] a Virginian, a relative of LeGrand Anderson.[5] Here was born the first white child, Lewis Creighton Morris, August 4, 1830, and here he left to cross the river, the pioneer of his race, December 20 of the same year. Here was born May 11, 1832, Elias Morris, the oldest living white person born in the county Here it was Daniel Alexander and Margaret Tittle (Peggy, she was called) the second married couple in the county, commenced housekeeping. This cabin, the home of the first settler, where the first birth and death occurred, the germ of our valued school system in this county, which served as hotel and church, where the first domestic altar was reared, surely deserves to be kept in remembrance and its site marked to commemorate the beginning of civilization in the then wilderness of our now beautiful county. At the time of Morris' settling there were Indian traders at Bronson[6] (Kalamazoo) and at Grand Rapids[7] a trad-

[4]William Alexander after teaching one winter returned to Virginia.

[5]Le Grand Anderson came from Ohio to Michigan in the spring of 1831 and brought his wife and family in 1832. He lived on section thirty-six of Decatur Township until his death in 1869.

[6]The first trading station at Bronson was established in 1823 by a Frenchman named Numaiville. It was located on the east side of the river at the ford where the cemetery is now. Rix Robinson put up better buildings, employed the Frenchman and made this a branch of the Grand River post.

[7]Louis Campau traded on the Grand River at the Rapids. Rix Robinson was also trading on the Grand River at this early day and later made his home at Ada.

ing post and also the government post for the Ottawa Indians,[8] and west a trading post at St. Joseph,[9] nothing else east, west and north, and these only places for bartering furs of the Indians. To the south was Carey Mission[10] on the St. Joseph River near Niles. This was established in 1822 in accordance with the provisions of a treaty by General Cass with the Potawatomies in 1821. This mission proved to be the means of opening up the St. Joseph Valley to permanent settlement. The military road leading to Fort Wayne, from thence the trail of Isaac McCoy, the founder of the mission, to the rich valley of the St. Joseph were speedily taken advantage of by 'Squire Thompson, the first settler of Berrien County, in 1823 by Baldwin Jenkins, Cass County's first settler in 1824, and their followers. In 1825 the United States Government laid out the military road from Detroit to Fort Dearborn, Chicago. About the same time the Erie Canal[11] was completed, also the steam navigation had commenced on the lakes, thereby stimulating emigration from New York and states farther east. These hardy emigrants came west over the Chicago Road in the southern tier of counties, and over the territorial road, established about 1834, in the second tier, but when they reached the valley of the St. Joseph the choicest locations on the prairies were already occupied by the followers of Boone and coadjutors.

To go back now to the narrative which opened this paper. After viewing the country in the fall of 1832, my father returned home and made preparations to move to the Territory, and June 9, 1833, left Dayton, Ohio, arriving at Little Prairie Ronde July 1st, being twenty-one days on the road, the distance being 234 miles, an average of eleven miles per day, some days going only three miles. He started with two wagons, two yokes of oxen attached to one and a span of horses and one yoke of oxen to the other. Owing to bad roads the horses soon gave out. Another yoke of oxen was purchased and the journey finished in that way, except in bad places the teams would all be hitched to one

[8]The Ottawa station near Grand Rapids was called Thomas' mission in honor of Thomas, one of the first Baptist missionaries. This station was established by Mr. McCoy at the Rapids before 1825. In that year buildings were erected. For a time it was in charge of Polke. Then came the Rev. Leonard Slater who served at the mission from 1828 to 1835 when it was abandoned. *Kent Co. History*, pp. 171-177.

[9]At St. Joseph, William Burnett had established a trading post on the site of the old French post as early as 1785, and after his death it was carried on by his son James until his death in 1835. Vol. XXXV, pp. 85-95, this series.

[10]Carey Mission. See Vol. V, p. 146, this series.

[11]The impetus given to lake navigation by the opening of Erie canal can be seen in the number of steamboats which appeared on the lakes that year. The Superior which was built in 1822, ran between Buffalo and Detroit and brought many emigrants seeking homes. The Chippewa, built in 1824, carried passengers between Monroe and Detroit. The Henry Clay launched June 9, 1825, and the Pioneer, late in August of the same year brought weekly loads of from 300 to 400 passengers to Detroit during that fall. See daily papers of Detroit for 1825.

wagon. Four cows, several calves and two pure Shorthorn Durham cattle were driven. My father, mother, seven children and three young men who were coming to view the country and help us on the journey, comprised our party, not omitting two fierce dogs for defence against wolves and other wild animals. We generally camped where water and grass could be found, but sometimes in dense forests. Water however was abundant but at times only in mud-holes. We occupied a house but one night on our journey and that was an abandoned one on Sugar Hill in the Elkhart Bottoms. Our shelter was a portable tent at night for my parents and sisters—the rest slept in the covered wagons above the loads. The cooking was done by an open fire, the baking in a tin reflector, by my mother and elder sisters. The different yokes of oxen were strangers to each other, consequently a bell was required to each yoke. No less than seven bells were used and the clanging of them after going into camp at night can be imagined but not easily described. Notwithstanding these precautions, at times half a day would pass in getting ready for a start. At the time of our arrival there were about thirty-five families in the settlement of Volinia Township, including those in Van Buren County. An election in July, 1833, polled thirty-two votes for delegate to Congress, Lucius Lyon receiving thirty-one votes. My father settled on the north bank of the Little Walk (Dowagiac Creek)—not a wagon track, road or settler on the south side for eight miles to Young's prairie, to the east and northeast Fowerfield and Three Rivers, fourteen to eighteen miles. Nothing but the primeval forest, the surveyors' lines alone distinguishing it from the redman's hunting ground of centuries previous.

As before remarked the first settlements were made on the prairies and known by the name of the prairie where located; Whitman's mills and Cassopolis in 1833 were the only exceptions. The log cabins were invariably built at the edge of the timber joining the prairie without regard to section lines; in fact the section lines were not run when the first settlers arrived and their claims were guessed at or stepped off. The field notes of Decatur Township say the township boundaries were surveyed by William Brookfield[12] in 1827, and section lines by E. H. Lytle, January 7, to 16, 1830. Roads were laid from one settler to the next in as near a direct line as the nature of the ground admitted,

[12]William Brookfield and his wife conducted a select school on the southeast corner of Woodward and Woodbridge in 1817. In 1819 they moved to Jefferson avenue to the residence of O. W. Miller. Mr. Brookfield presented one of the first papers before the Detroit lyceum, entitled "English books most proper to be introduced into the seminaries of Detroit." In the *Detroit Gazette* for Nov. 3, 1820, we find an announcement that Mr. Brookfield has invented a diving machine which resembles a coat of mail. Later, Nov. 25th, comes an announcement that he will give a public exhibition of its possibilities. In 1825 Mr. Brookfield surveyed lands for Judge Woodward and was employed in surveying lands in the interior of Michigan Territory.

continually changing as new settlers arrived or a farmer wished to extend his fields. Very few of the original roads first laid out are in existence to-day, and it is doubtful if one in ten of the original building sites is still occupied as such. The houses were invariably log cabins, the logs notched on the under side with the saddle on top, and when additional room was required the double cabin plan was adopted, that is two cabins with the ends eight or ten feet apart and the space roofed over, the cabin doors opening into the hall. The gable ends were of logs and the binding logs used as ribs to support the clapboard shingles, which were held down by weight poles. The chimneys were built on the outside of one end, the jams were made of clay pounded hard and the upper part of the chimney made of sticks daubed with clay. The axe, saw, auger, and froe, to split the shakes, were all the tools needed. No nails were used unless a few wrought ones made by the blacksmith for the door. Briefly this was the pioneer style of log cabin. In 1833, the time of which I am writing, it is doubtful if there was a cabin with rafters and board gable in Cass or Van Buren counties, and for years after you could distinguish the eastern settler from the southern by the board gable with rafters, the logs squared at the corners and the chimney built on the inside of the house without jams and supported on curved timbers of a natural crook. The farming tools of the pioneer were of the simplest kind, hardly differing from their ancestors of fifty to one hundred years before—an axe, iron wedge, bar share plow, which was share and land side combined, to which a wooden mouldboard was attached, shovel plow, sometimes iron harrow teeth, more often wooden ones, a heavy hoe, and for cutting grain a sickle, as late as 1834 in some instances. Grain was stacked around a circular threshing floor of dirt, upon which it was tramped out by horses and winnowed at first, by one man throwing it up in the air while two men flopped a sheet to fan it. The first fanning-mill in the settlement was in 1831. My father bought one in 1834 and that was often lent. The wheat was in poor condition for flour, the smut and dirt mixed with it, and the rude mills of that day had few appliances to clean and scour the grain compared with the complicated machinery of flouring mills of the present time. The result was a leaden colored product much unlike in taste, looks or smell, the snow-white roller process flour of to-day, and the average quality of flour was all that could be depended on, for, owing to the difficulties of threshing on account of stormy weather at times, bad roads and mills a long distance away, settlers were often out of flour and borrowing was the rule and general practice. If a thrifty settler took advantage of favorable weather and used care in threshing his wheat and kept a good supply of nice flour on hand, the natural result was it would be lent out and returned in an article disheartening

to his good wife and discouraging to his forethought and enterprise. Sometimes even borrowing was unavailable as, for instance once when Dolphin Morris and his brother were gone fourteen days to mill and yet it was only thirty miles to Laceys mill near Niles. Some difficulty of the mill at first, then on returning a severe snow storm set in with rain and sleet, freezing a coat on the snow; consequently they abandoned their loads and wagons except the fore wheels of one wagon with a small amount of flour for temporary use, and even then they were three days in going twenty miles to reach their families, who were out of bread and fearing the worst that could happen to their absent husbands. One more of a different nature might be related. The spring of 1832 was peculiarly unfortunate—the Sac war for one thing, when everyone expected an uprising of the resident Indians and nearly all the settlers were called out to repel the threatened invasion of Black-Hawk and his warriors. Happily this scare soon passed away and the settlers returned to their families, but the weather was very unfavorable for crops, the corn having been cut down twice with the frost and no seed for replanting. As a last resort Mr. Morris sent a man and a boy of fifteen with pack of horses to Fort Defiance, Ohio, over one hundred miles, to procure seed corn. This place is at the rapids of the Maumee river, and the site of the battle where "Mad Anthony" Wayne achieved his great victory over the Indians thirty-four years before, August 20, 1794. They were successful in getting two bushels of seed corn, and arrived home late Saturday night. The next day all hands turned out and planted the corn, which was the only corn raised that year in the neighborhood.

The dress of the settlers was of a primitive style as to material and fashion. With the men, the old-time hunting shirt had given way to a garment called wamus, a loose blouse with narrow binding at top in place of a collar with a single button at the throat, the skirts reaching the hips when loose, or to the waist when tied by the corners, as it was frequently worn; the material was linsey, a homespun cloth of cotton and wool, woven plain. Pantaloons were of jean, blue or butternut, with different shades of color as the different skeins of yarn took on a light or dark blue in dying. Occasionally buckskin pants were worn or pants faced with buckskin, fore and aft, as a sailor would say, where the protection would prove most serviceable. Feminine fashions were at a stand still and it would be presumptuous for me to try to describe them, still it would be an easier task then than now, for as I look on this beautiful scene before me, who could describe the lovely toilets which meet the eye on every side, their style, color and material only eclipsed by the personal charms of the wearer. Suffice it to say that notwithstanding the poke bonnets, five to ten years old, the faces

of the belles and matrons beneath them were worthy of being the mothers and grandmothers of the radiant maidens of to-day.

The chief business of the pioneer was to live. Speculation and making money was not considered, as their locations and first settlements show. An easy place to farm was sought for, hence a choice location on a prairie was taking without considering the distance from Market. Rich lands were available near the St. Joseph River, navigable to the lake and thence east by water, but the emigrant passed on thirty miles, to a prairie even if it took two days to get a barrel of salt. What was time to men whose wants were so few and easily supplied? The woods, swamps and lakes were to them vast storehouses, furnishing them amusement as well as subsistence. Game of many kinds in profusion from the forests, the streams and lakes teaming with fish, wild honey from the woods, huckleberries and cranberries from the swamps and various other fruits in plenty all combined to render life at times a holiday. Not all sunshine however. In addition to drawbacks mentioned the great frost of June 20, 1835, should not be omitted, when the most promising crop in prospect was almost totally cut off, creating almost a famine, a few favored localities protected by lakes, only, escaping. No railroads then, as now, to transport the abundance of one part of the country to the needs of other parts. Transportation was a different affair compared with now. The roads were execrable, especially in the timber lands. Wagons were generally covered and an axe and log chain were always taken on trips of any distance, such as going to mill or market as roads were liable to be obstructed by trees blown down during rain storms or high winds.

September 21, 1834, John Shaw, a prominent settler of Volinia, with wagon and team of three horses, and a hired man my father sent with a wagon and two yoke of oxen, started on a trip from Little Parie Ronde to St. Joseph with wheat. First day they reached Paw Paw; second day, Emerson's Prospect Lake; third day in the woods; fourth day reached St. Joseph; fifth day sold loads, made purchases and reached Rulo's,[13] a French settler, or nearly there, ten miles from St. Joseph; sixth day got to Paw Paw and the seventh day arrived home. They camped out all the way except two nights at Dodge's tavern at Paw Paw. He had little better than a shanty, having just commenced his hotel. I said camped all the way except Paw Paw, but must make one exception. On the evening of the fifth day, within a mile of Rulo's, a wagon tongue broke and Shaw left his team and went on to the house to get an auger to repair the tongue. Instead of returning at once he talked of their ac-

[13]Rulo (Ruleaux) and Bartholomew Sharrai, a French Canadian, commenced the settlement of Bainbridge Township. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Cos.*, p. 129.

cident over a glass of whiskey, accepted the hospitality of the Frenchman, and after an early breakfast came to the assistance of his comrade, who had spent the night awaiting his return. My father's account book says: "36 bu. of wheat at 60 cents, $21.88; barrel of salt, $2.50; expenses, $1.94; cash brought home, $1.82, the rest in sundries."

This year, 1834, was the first opening up of trade and business between Paw Paw and the prairie, as on June 20, of the same year my father, with others, worked on the road crossing the swamp just west of Lawton, and the same season Enoch Barrett brought lumber to exchange for corn from Paw Paw. In the summer of 1833, my father visited the place and found no one living there, but the frame of a sawmill had been erected and perhaps the builders were absent temporarily.

In the winter of 1835, I accompanied my father on a trip to St. Joseph. Our load was oats to be exchanged for salt, and we were absent six days; first day to Paw Paw, where we stayed at Enoch Barrett's having become acquainted through his lumber trips for corn; second day stayed at Rulo's; third day reached Judge Burdick's workmen's quarters on the east side of the St. Joseph River (he was a contractor building a road across the marsh towards the Paw Paw River). Other teamsters were there from Big Prairie Ronde for the same purpose as my father. All clubbed together and during the remainder of that day and fourth day out crossed the river getting salt back on the ice, as the ice was not strong enough to bear teams. Fifth day four teams laden with salt reached Emerson's and went into camp at the northwest corner of Prospect Lake. The body of a log barn was up and a scaffold over part, covered with marsh hay for a roof, was utilized. Several of the tenderest horses occupied part and the rest of the barn was used by us for fire, shelter and camp. The sixth day we reached home after dark, at noon stopping at Dodge's, Paw Paw. The house was but a temporary affair then. One peculiarity I recollect even now, the main building was divided by a partition, in an opening of which a stove was placed so that the rear or back part warmed the office, while the front was on duty for domestic purposes for the family. One load of oats was forty-two bushels and sold to Judge Burdick for thirty-seven and one-half cents per bushel, and our salt comprised four barrels at two dollars and sixty-two and one-half cents per barrel. The only settler between Paw Paw and St. Joseph at that time was John B. Rulo, a Frenchman living in the township of Bainbridge, about two miles northeast of Millburg. In addition to the log barn at Prospect Lake, several miles west there was a hewed log house partly built but no roof, otherwise no improvements. It had snowed recently but there were no fresh tracks and the supposition was there were no settlers around, yet the snows had hardly melted ere the road spoken of, so deso-

late then, was to become an artery of life to the thronging settlers overrunning Van Buren County to found homes for themselves and their posterity.

Judge Monroe followed the example of Dolphin Morris settling in the northwestern part of the county.

A CHARACTER SKETCH OF HENRY A. GOODYEAR[1]

BY PHILIP T. COLGROVE

The birth of the city of Hastings is so closely connected with the coming to Barry County of Henry A. Goodyear[2] that it may be interesting to note conditions that existed shortly before the subject of our sketch took up his abode in the then wilderness.

On the 26th of July, 1836, Eurotas P. Hastings,[3] who was then president of the Bank of Michigan and auditor general of the State, sold to Philo Dibble, Lansing Kingsbury and Cornelius Kendall, the tract of land on which the city is now located. It was known at that time as "The Barry County Seat Purchase." On the 25th day of August, following the purchase, these gentlemen together with Andrew L. Hays and Samuel Camp organized the Hastings Company for the purpose of

[1]A paper read before the Barry County Pioneer Society, June, 1908, and published in the *Hastings Banner*.

[2]See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 14.

[3]Eurotas P. Hastings was born in Washington, Litchfield County, Conn., July 20, 1791. At the age of six he and his parents moved to Clinton, Oneida County, N. Y. He received a good education and when he was fourteen he began to earn his own living, clerking in a store in Clinton. At nineteen he entered partnership with his brother. In 1811 the firm made a contract to furnish material for the first permanent buildings of Hamilton College in that town. After five years of successful business, Eurotas moved to Utica, N. Y., where he remained two years. He was then appointed teller in the bank at Geneva, N. Y., and stayed there five years. In December, 1824, he was appointed agent of their bank at Detroit with permission to remain there as one of the directors if he chose. Upon arriving there he found the affairs of the bank in a bad state and was asked to examine into them. He found the cashier, James McCloskey, had stolen some of the funds and straightway exposed him. During the investigation he was made president of the bank. In 1840 Mr. Hastings was elected auditor-general of Michigan on the Whig ticket, and served until 1842. The accounts of the office were in a mass of confusion and he had the books of both the auditor-general and state Treasurer rewritten. He also took charge of the accounts of the Michigan Central Railroad, which was then owned by the state. Mr. Hastings was married three times. His first wife, Electra Owen, died before he came to Detroit. His second wife was Mrs. Philema Moody, whom he probably married at Geneva, N. Y. Henry Dwight Hastings was the only child of this marriage who lived to manhood. His third wife was Theodosia Deveaux, daughter of Mary Deveaux. Theodosia's first husband was a lawyer named W. W. Petit, who was probate judge in 1825. Mrs. Hastings died March 4, 1863, aged sixty-two years. Her husband followed her three years later, June 1, 1866, aged seventy-five years. *Detroit News-Tribune*, March 1, 1896.

starting the village. The first step was the building of a sawmill which was built on the creek just south of the electric light plant. Mr. Slocum H. Bunker had been engaged to come with his family to Hastings for the purpose of boarding the men who were engaged to construct the mill. Mr. Bunker built a log cabin on the spot now known as the Barry Hotel. He did not expect to make Hastings his home when he came, but as a matter of fact remained for several years and therefore is entitled to the honor of being the first settler in the city of Hastings. With Mr. Bunker came his brother Thomas who in 1839, (the year before Mr. Goodyear came to the city of Hastings) was elected the first clerk of Barry County.

In June, 1837, Willard Hayes came to Hastings on an inspection tour, and about the same time Abner C. Parmelee made his appearance, and with the assistance of Mr. Hays put up a log cabin just east of the Barry Hotel. These two men for sometime kept what was known as "Bachelor's Hall." The village then in 1837 included Parmelee, Hays, Mr. Bunker and his family, and a few men who were assisting in building the mill; Mrs. Bunker being the only woman in the village, and it is said for eight months after her coming she was not permitted to see a representative of her sex save Indian squaws.

In 1839 Mr. Hayes and Mr. Dibble built a gristmill,—a great event in the village of Hastings. Abner C. Parmelee, register of deeds and acting county treasurer, lived in a log house near where the gristmill now stands. Mr. Levi Chase was "keeping tavern" on the bank of the river near the iron bridge on Michigan avenue. This tavern sheltered Mr. Goodyear during his first visit to Hastings. Alexander McArthur was running the sawmill and keeping a place of entertainment in the log house previously kept by Mr. Bunker. Willard Hayes, who was then sheriff, lived in a frame house, the first one built in Hastings, and erected by Dr. David M. Dake, on the corner now occupied by Wright Bros. Mr. Hayes was also postmaster.[4] Philander Turner, a carpenter, was living in a shanty near the gristmill, and Hiram J. Kenfield,[5]

[4]Mr. Hayes' receipts for postage were less than one dollar, though letter postage was twenty-five cents each. It was said the stage driver allowed the postmaster just seven and one-half minutes to sort the mail which was dumped on the floor for that purpose.

[5]Hiram J. Kenfield was one of the well known Indian traders in the western part of Michigan. He was born in Virgil, Wyoming County, N. Y., November 16, 1812. His parents were William Lee Kenfield and Mary Popple. His father came to Michigan in 1844 and died in Hastings in 1858. Hiram preceded his father, coming to Michigan in 1837 and Hastings in 1839. He built the first court-house, the first store and the first hotel, and in 1842 was elected sheriff of the county. At one time he had only one prisoner in jail and for fear of his getting lonesome it was his custom to let him roam at will through the day and on his return lock him up for the night. He was twice married, his first wife, Polly, daughter of Frederick Ingraham, and his second, Sophia E., daughter of Henry Standish. Hiram died June 28, 1877. *History of Allegan and Barry Counties, Michigan,* 1880.

carpenter and Indian trader, lived in a board shanty east of the Journal office. Mr. H. J. Kenfield came to Hastings the year before Henry A. Goodyear, and took a contract for building the bridge over the river just north of the gristmill on Michigan avenue. He took the contract for building the courthouse later. When Mr. Goodyear came to Hastings in August, 1840, a store building was being erected by Mr. Kenfield on the corner now occupied by Cook & Sentz. Taking advantage of the situation Mr. Goodyear immediately started for the east for a stock of goods. Returning in November he opened the first store in the village and is therefore Barry County's first merchant. Shortly after, he removed his place of business to a building situated on the corner now occupied by the Hastings National Bank. The land purchased by him at that time, or part of it, he owned at the time of his death.

In the spring of 1841, Alvin W. Bailey[6] came to Hastings and opened a store on the corner now occupied by the J. S. Goodyear Company. Mr. Bailey, therefore, has the distinction of being the second merchant or trader who came to this city. Their customers in the main consisted of Indian traders, and for many years the greater portion of their business was with the Indians. The third merchant to come to Hastings was Dr. William Upjohn.[7] Time will not permit me to enumerate the men who followed and took part in building up the various enterprises in the village of Hastings. Mrs. Willard Hayes is the only survivor of the first settlers of this city. She, together with Mrs. Philander Turner, Henry A. Goodyear, A. W. Bailey, Dr. William Upjohn, Mrs. Vespasian Young, were the last survivors among those who became residents before the close of the year 1841.

There was no school[8] in the village of Hastings previous to 1840.

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[6]Alvin W. Bailey came from Marshall in 1841 and soon entered into partnership with Henry A. Goodyear.

[7]Dr. William Upjohn was born in Shaftsbury, Dorsetshire, England, in March, 1807. He received his schooling at the Bluecoat School, Shaftsbury. He came to Michigan with his brother, Uriah, in 1835 and settled in Richland, Kalamazoo County. After trying farming he joined his brother in the practice of medicine and in 1848 came to Hastings. In 1842 he married Miss Affa Connet. She died and in 1847 he married her sister, Lydia Amelia. In 1852 he was elected register of deeds and the same year member of the first board of regents of the University of Michigan. In 1862 he accepted the position of surgeon of the Seventh Michigan Cavalry and was promoted to surgeon-in-chief of the First Brigade of the First Division Cavalry of the Army of the Potomac. After the war was over he returned to his practice. In 1872 the University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine. He died at Hastings, August 2, 1887. *History of Allegan and Barry Counties, Michigan, and History of the University of Michigan by Hinsdale*, 1906.

[8]We quote from a scrapbook in possession of Mrs. Mane Upjohn a program of June 19, 1867, of commencement exercises of the union school printed by *The Pioneer*, an early paper of Hastings. Prof. Stewart, now Judge Stewart, of Grand Rapids, was principal. The salutatory was given by Loyal E. Knappen, now a federal judge of Grand Rapids. Rose Goodyear read an essay on *Hannibal and Punic Wars*. Clarence M. Burton, now of Detroit, delivered an oration on *Horrors of the Past*. Essays were given by Sarah Barlow and Affa Upjohn which were highly commended. *Hastings Banner*, July 27, 1911.

The only children of school age were two belonging to Slocum H. Bunker. In the winter, however of 1840 and 1841 we find that Mrs. Ellen McArthur taught the first school in the village in a room in her father's tavern. She had four pupils. In the spring of 1841 the first schoolhouse was completed, and was occupied not only for a schoolhouse but was used also for holding court until the courthouse was completed. Mr. Tillotson Munger and George Beardsley appear to have come to the village during the winter of 1840 and 1841, Mr. Munger establishing the first blacksmith shop on the bank of the river near the iron bridge crossing Michigan avenue. Mr. Beardsley was a carpenter. During the winter of 1840 and 1841 Mr. Elisha Alden, a shoemaker, together with his two sons, also came to the village. Dr. David Dake, Hastings' first physician, had come and gone, but in 1841 Dr. William Upjohn succeeded him.

When Mr. Goodyear came here Hastings was a village in the woods, and appears to have been divided at about the point now occupied by Goodyear's hardware store by a deep ravine running from south to north. As the village increased in population this ditch was gradually filled up. There was a time when Mr. Goodyear standing at his store door was unable to see Sheriff Hayes' house a hundred feet away on account of the trees. He established the first bank in the county of Barry. Together with his general mercantile business he did an extensive banking business, and his elder son George Goodyear enjoyed the reputation of being one of the best bankers the county ever had. The banking business established by him in 1859 was the beginning of the business now conducted by the Hastings National Bank. There were few enterprises in the village or city of Hastings from 1840 to 1887 that Henry A. Goodyear was not identified with. This period constituted his active business career.

In 1855 Mr. Goodyear was associated with his brother William S. in conducting a general mercantile business. In the summer of 1855 he sold his interest in the business to Nathan Barlow, the new firm being known as Barlow & Goodyear. In 1856 he bought out the dry goods business conducted by Ferris, Edgcomb & Barlow. Three years later he sold this business and purchased of J. S. Goodyear a hardware stock and at the same time established a banking business. This was the beginning of his long and successful career in the hardware business, which at the present time is being so ably conducted by Goodyear Bros.

Although he was a business man and gave his business interests the closest personal attention, he found time for recreation and rest. Gun Lake[9] was one of the spots ever dear to him. He was one of the first

[9]Henry McConnell says the Ottawa name for Gun Lake was Pen-as-ee, meaning bird. It was not surveyed until 1837 so could not have been named by the surveyors, as it was called Gun Lake in McCoy's *Indian Missions* in 1824, and by Farmer the same in 1835. The old name for Walloon was Muckwa or Bear Lake. *Hastings Banner*, July 27, 1911.

to locate on the point known as the Old Hastings Landing, and was a member of the first company who purchased the present property owned by the Gun Lake association, and for many years was one of the board of directors. During the latter years of his life it was one of the spots he enjoyed most of all. It has been the writer's pleasure to sit for hours and converse with Mr. Goodyear regarding his early history and experience in the village of Hastings. I can recall the vivid description he gave me of his trips to Detroit and Toledo for goods; the hardships that he endured and obstacles surmounted in getting his merchandise through a trackless forest. It required strong men, men of determination, to battle with the conditions as they then existed. Mr. Goodyear laid the foundation for his successful life amid trying scenes. His loyalty however was of that type that makes men great in whatever sphere of life they move and whatever their environment. He was always loyal to his ideals of manhood; loyal to his country; proud of his flag, and his country's advancement, loyal to the truth, to honor, to justice and to God. Those who knew Henry A. Goodyear appreciate these words. He was noted as a good citizen. His character was above reproach. He walked for forty-seven years among his business companions daily and they were pleased with him; their trust and confidence never faltered.

He was born in York, York County, Pennsylvania, June 30, 1818. At the age of sixteen he left the old home and entered the employ of a druggist in Philadelphia by the name of William Youngs, where he remained two years. In October 1838 he came to Detroit where he followed his profession as a druggist. In March 1840 he removed to Battle Creek. The following November he came to Hastings, bringing a stock of drugs and general merchandise of which I have spoken. In 1843 Mr. Goodyear was married to Miss Mary, daughter of Nathan Barlow, one of the pioneers of the county. In 1848 Mrs. Goodyear[10] died leaving three children, William H., George E., and Nathan B. Two years later he was again married to Miss Ermina, sister of his first wife. By this union there were born four children, Mary Rosella, Anna M., now Mrs. Haff, David S., and John F. Goodyear.

In 1845, two years before the seat of government was transferred to Lansing, he was elected to the legislature. Lansing was then a wilderness. In 1854 he was elected to the state senate. In 1874 he was again elected to the house and served on the Ways and Means Committee. In 1852 he was elected a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore which nominated Franklin Pierce for President. He was elected to many local offices. He was the first mayor of the city and for many years a member of the board of education. He took an

[10]Mrs. Goodyear. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 657-8.

active part in the erection of the high school building. In religious affiliations he was an Episcopalian and for many years was senior warden. He advanced the money to start the first newspaper published in Hastings "The Pioneer," and was a contributor to its columns during its entire existence. He was not a speculator. He was content to make money slowly and by wise investments accumulated a comfortable property. He was conservative in all things. He believed in doing well what was done and paying "as you go." He was at one time treasurer of the Grand River Valley Railroad Company, now the Michigan Central, and was active in the construction of the road. The old stagecoach was too slow for business.[11] He saw a beautiful city, spring from a wild-

[11]Rev. W. B. Williams of Charlotte, gives the following account of JIM KENNEY'S STAGECOACH:

Jim Kenney was an odd genius who used to drive the stagecoach between Watervliet, Covert and South Haven in the State of Michigan. He had his own notions about a stagecoach for comfort, and built one to suit himself unlike anything ever seen on earth before. The wheels were almost as tall as a man, so that they would roll easily over lumps and stones, and they had a very broad rim so that they would not sink in the sand and mud.

The body was wide and long, and rested on very easy-going springs and looked much like an omnibus, only the driver's seat was on the inside, and it had doors upon the sides as well as on the ends. The framework was very light, the sides were of sheet iron and the roof of canvas. The front end was closed with doors that had windows in them and small holes through which the driver passed his lines. In this may he could see his team and drive it while inside the coach. Over the front doors on the outside were the words "TURN OUT FOR U. S. MAIL."

On a rod that ran across the back end of the coach were hung three large dinner bells that would chord though pitched on different keys. While he was jogging about the town picking up his passengers, he would let them dangle and jingle with the motion of the coach. When he wanted to call a passenger he rang them violently, but after he was loaded and on the road, he would turn the rod so that the tongues of the bells would rest on one side and then they made no noise.

The windows were of thin plates of mica or isinglass, that would open by turning up to the roof inside. Outside the windows were canvas curtains that in winter could be drawn down close to keep out the cold, and in summer were set out so as to make an awning to keep out the sun.

There were side seats as in an omnibus, but where the side doors came the seats turned up against the door when not in use, and swung back and forth with it. When he had a large number of passengers all the side seats were used and he had camp chairs in the middle, so he could carry twenty people. Usually the side seats were not needed, and he had four seats that ran across the coach between the side seats; they had spring backs and would accommodate two persons each. Then the side seats were turned into nice little cribs where the poor tired mothers could lay babies or put their parcels.

The floor was grated, and under it was a charcoal furnace with a small stovepipe going out beneath the coach on the side. This kept the feet nice and warm. In the front part of the coach there were wire cloth pockets on the sides, in which he carried illustrated papers, clothes brush, comb, pencil and almanac. He also carried a thermometer, a clock, and a large music box. I think he had a mirror so you could see to fix your hair or cravat. I was told that in summer he carried ice water, but you had to furnish your own toothbrush, washbowl and towel or do without them.

In one place was a notice "Errands five cents," and he had a great many to do.

He drove a fine span of large white horses, because they could bear the hot sun better than black ones. He was very careful of them and had a little room in the barn for each, and a little yard so that they could run out and in whenever they pleased. He always spoke very politely to them. When he had picked up his load he would get inside, pull off his boots and put on his slippers, and taking

erness. His pathway to success in business affairs was not strewn with flowery beds of ease and constant success by any means. He had his trials and failures. His unquestioned integrity, his close attention and devotion to duties, his practical common sense, judgment, his honorable business methods, his straightfarward, manly unassuming ways; his genial, cordial, friendly disposition, inspired universal respect and confidence and enabled him in the end to triumph over all failures and reverses not only for himself but for others with whom he became associated in business enterprises.

Mr. Goodyear was intensely patriotic. He loved his country and gloried in the progress and prosperity of the state and nation. On the fourth day of July, 1876 he delivered an oration in this city which contained much of the early history of Barry County. It is filled with patriotic devotion to country, and evidences his love and respect for the government and pride in its advancement. Let me quote: "A government like this, wisely and prudently conducted, must always commend itself to the favorable support and sympathy of an intelligent people, and such a government we have today to commend to your care and guardianship. Will you, my fellow citizens, prove equal to the task? Well may you all rejoice that your own beautiful Peninsular State is a star in the bright and glorious constellation of this Union. The great work of preparing our state for its present prominent and responsible position in the Union required on the part of the early pioneer a will that knew no bending, bravery and firmness that nobody endured the test of want and loneliness, sacrifice that searched every recess of the heart, but withal did not depress the spirit, for above and over them there ever shone a hope that buoyed them in the daily toil of their forest bound homes." Who could describe their conditions better than he? "Then all, far and near, were neighbors, and all stood on a level socially. No caste, no codfish aristocracy, no dividing into classes and into upper and lower crusts. All alike were poor, and as a rule young, with the race of life before them, full of hope and ambition. They all commenced at the same starting point; how they severally have reached the goal is now known of all men. It is enough for me

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his lines would say, "Now, girls, we are ready; go along." Indeed I was told that his horses knew what he said as well as his wife and children did, and minded him a great deal better. If every man should always speak to his wife as pleasantly as Jim Kenney did to his horses, there would not be so many divorces wanted.

When the coach was fairly started he would hand you an illustrated paper to read and set his music box going, and what more could any stage driver do for the comfort of his passengers than Jim Kenney did for his?

The Hastings Banner, July 27, 1911, records the death of the last surviving stage driver of that county, William Burroughs, of Johnstown, aged eighty-one years. His and Hiram Merrill's route ran from Hastings to Battle Creek in the early fifties.

to know that the great majority of them have nobly and valiantly stood their ground, and by their industry and Herculean labor hewn their way through the forests to now happy and contented homes."

In speaking of the roads and homes as they then existed he said: "Each settlement, and sometimes several of them, would combine to make trails, for such they were. These trails were made to avoid hills and swamps as much as possible, hence were crooked, running at all points of the compass. The consequence was we had to travel much farther than now to reach a given point. The pioneer's home (if it may be called a home) was generally but a rude structure, and in many instances made without nails, using wooden pegs where nails are now used. The floor of the cabin was made of rived shakes, and adzed as smooth as could be done with that tool. The roof was made of long shakes and sometimes of hollow logs split in two parts, inserted and held down by large logs running the whole length of the roof. But rude and uncouth as those dwellings appeared they generally sheltered kind and hospitable people. The latch string always hung out."

Continuing he says: "In 1840 this country contained one thousand two hundred inhabitants, and, strange to say Yankee Springs, with her extensive hills and plains of sand, then contained more inhabitants than Hastings, Rutland, Irving, Hope and Baltimore combined."[12]

It would seem fitting before bringing this paper to a close that some mention should be made of the last survivor of those who were here in the city when Mr. Goodyear commenced his life work in Hastings.

Mrs. Willard Hayes[13] came here in 1837 with her father, Daniel McClellan and still is with us—a girl of seventeen summers then. Her paper written in 1894 giving reminiscences of Pioneer days in Hastings ought to be read by every one who has a desire to know of the early history of this city. It can be found in volume twenty-six of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. Her description of the trip from New York to Hastings is filled with interesting incidents. Leaving Yankee Springs[14] for the county seat she says: "We expected to find quite a town, something like those through which we had passed, so when we met a man, uncle asked him how far it was to the center and he said, 'you are right in the city.' We asked for the building and he said, 'can't you see that shanty through the woods there?' This was the home of Slocum Bunker."

In politics Mr. Goodyear was an ardent, pronounced and consistent Democrat. He never changed his faith although he did not always agree

[12]In 1839 there were sixty-one voters in Hastings.

[13]Mrs. Willard Hayes died March 7, 1911. See Vol. XXVI, p. 235, this series.

[14]Calvin Lewis was the first settler at Yankee Springs. His father, William Lewis—called "Yankee Bill Lewis"—soon followed, arriving August 26, 1836. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXX, p. 289.

with a portion of his party on the money question. He believed the principles of democracy were best calculated to promote the country's good. He was never offensive in the advocacy of his politics, but considerate and respectful always. There is a personal incident connected with his early life I must not omit. Growing out of the fact that he was a druggist and had been schooled to an extent in the use of medicines and kept a stock on hand in his general stock of merchandise he was called "Doctor" by many pioneers. It was the wish of his family that he write a history of his early life and pioneer days in Hastings and especially the part acted by himself in those stirring days. He started such a history and I have here the first page written by him. The history was never finished but it will be of interest to know how he commenced it. The doctor he refers to was Henry A. Goodyear.

"In the very early forties there was a certain young man with us, who to a limited extent became one of the little society here. He was dubbed doctor for some reason, still all the while disavowed being a doctor, notwithstanding his repeated disavowals the name clung to him. This young man was of a retiring disposition, modest to the verge of timidity. This feature in his character was taken advantage of by his companions hence become the butt of their witticism. This kind of treatment however did not deter him in pursuing the even tenor of his ways. Posing as a sort of Artemus Ward he permitted himself to be regarded as a 'tender foot.'" The paper ends here. It is to be regretted he never finished it. Those of us who knew the diginified Henry A. Goodyear can hardly conceive of conditions when he should he regarded as a "tender foot."

On Sunday morning, May 5, 1901, he died. The legislature was in session at the time, and the Journals of the House and Senate of May 7, 1901, show concurrent resolutions of the regard tendered the last surviving member of the Representatives of 1845 and of the State Senate of 1852.

THE INDIANS AND THE TRADING POSTS IN THE NORTHWEST OF BARRY COUNTY, MICHIGAN[1]

BY CHARLES A. WEISSERT[2]

For many years it has been believed that Middleville[3] stands upon the site of an Indian village. Research among the few sources of history of the aboriginees who inhabited the land now included in the northwestern portion of Barry county, adds nothing to support this theory; on the contrary, it proves that the modern village was built not upon the site of an Indian settlement, but upon a spot on the banks of the Thornapple where the red men held councils and powwows. Under the great trees they gathered to deliberate, to perform mystic religious rites, to hold festivities, to try offenders against tribal laws and to consider peace or war, after which they went their various ways by trail or by canoe to meet again at the next call. To this spot, abloom in spring with the thornapple, the red-bud, the wild plum, the wild crab and scores of varieties of flowers; in summer made beautiful by the rich, heavy foliage of gigantic oaks, maples and beeches; and in autumn gorgeous with multitudinous colors, they must have come from times immemorial.

It is not difficult, however, to account for the source of this popular error. West of Middleville lay an extensive oak-opening, which was called a prairie and afterwards named Scales' Prairie.[4] Over this stretch of land on which burr-oaks occasionally grew not unlike trees in an orchard, passed the deep-worn trail connecting Pockatink,[5] the Indian village on the site of Grand Rapids and Match-eben-ashe-wish

[1]Read at the Barry County Pioneer meeting, June 9, 1911. Published by courtesy of *The Hastings Banner.*

[2]For original information I am indebted to the following pioneers: Joseph Cisler, of Yankee Springs; Charles Williams, John Wickham, William Bennett, John Williams, the late John Fuller, the late Waitstill Hastings Cressey, all of Hastings; the late William Brown, of Prairieville; Cornelius Mason, of Richland; William Burroughs, of Banfield. Historical aids—*Michigan Historical Collections;* D. B. Cook's *Hunting and Fishing in the Wilderness West of Gun Lake in 1839; History of Barry and Allegan Counties;* Bartlett's *Tales of Kankakee Land; Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* Vol. II; Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812;* Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson;* Washington Irving's *Life of Washington;* Kelton's *Annals of Fort Mackinac;* J. Fenimore Cooper's *Oak Openings;* Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolf.*

[3]An incorporated village in the northwest township of Thornapple with a population of 831 in 1904. Its first name was Thornapple. When the postoffice was established with Mr. Dibble as postmaster it was proposed to call it Dibbleville. From its distance to Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids it attained its present name of Middleville.

[4]Named from Robert Scales a pioneer settler. See *supra.*

[5]For illustration see Vol. XXXV, p. 145, this series.

on the site of Kalamazoo. Here, grouped in the vicinity of a block-house erected by French traders, were a few wigwams, which might have been known as the "Middle Village," for this settlement was located about midway between Pockatink and the town with the ponderous name on the Kalamazoo. When eastern speculators platted a forty-acre townsite on Scales' Prairie, they appropriated the white settlers' cognomen of the little group of wigwams huddled about the trading post, and called it "Middleville." These lots were sold in the east. No attempt was ever made to build upon them, and years afterward those who had invested in them, came west to view their property only to find that they had been victimized, like many today who buy in the west land which they have never seen. The investors neglected to pay taxes on these lots, and therefore lost them. Like the townsite of "Trenton," platted three miles south, "Middleville" was forgotten by all except the speculators' victims. When Calvin Hill[6] and others cleared away the council grove two miles west of the trading-post, the name was revived and given to their settlement, which has developed into one of the principal towns in Barry county.

Of the lives and habits of the Indians who resided in Barry county we know little. The hardy men who first came among them were too busy hewing down the mighty forest to give much attention to the red men, but seldom did they associate with them sufficiently to learn their true values as men and women. Indians were "Injuns." That they hunted, fished, trapped, wandered, were unwholesome in their habits, and stubbornly refused to adopt the white man's manner of living, is common knowledge. Few were deeply interested in their lives, and with several exceptions, of course, there was no attempt to understand them, or to judge them by any standard except the white man's. And because they were not like white men and refused to live like them, in other words, to change their habits at once—something psychologically impossible—they were considered an inferior race, regardless of any virtues they might possess.

Thus has been lost to us material for comprehensive studies of their family and tribal lives, and too little is known of their human attributes to assign them to any absolutely definite position among men. Acquaintance with them was not easy, and their intimate lives were known only to those white men who associated with them. Those who came to know

[6]Calvin G. Hill, familiarly known as Squire Hill was a native of New York state, who came to Michigan in 1834 and purchased 400 acres of land which included the present village of Middleville. He filled at some time nearly all the township offices. His descriptions of surveys are very primitive, like "line running N. to certain plowage and E. to woodpile." His son, Alpheus M., made a plow drawn by six or more yoke of oxen which he used to break up land for the settlers. His son, Albert C., died in the Civil War. Mr. Hill died in 1867. *Hist. Barry Co.*, p. 487.

them best were undoubtedly the sons of pioneers who chose Indian children for their playmates and grew up with them, learning their methods of hunting, fishing, trapping and their home life. These friendships lasted until the red men were moved by the government. With remarkably preserved memories two men, Joseph Cisler,[7] of Yankee Springs, and Charles Williams,[8] of Hastings, still give interesting accounts of the Indians of the northwestern part of Barry county. Mr. Cisler, who is in his eighty-seventh year, is the last connecting link of the early days in this county with the present. At the age of ten years he came to Bull's Prairie, in Irving, with his parents, and has ever since resided in Barry county. Mr. Williams, a younger man than Mr. Cisler, was born in this county. He played with the Indians and became as expert as they were in hunting and fishing.

Tribes of Chippewas, Potawatomies and Ottawas of the Algonquin branch of the Indian race occupied this part of the state. The Ottawas were refugees from Canada. The Potawatomies occupied the St. Joseph valley, the Ottawas and Chippewas the northern and eastern portions of the state. In 1707 LaMotte Cadillac, the French governor, urged the concentration of the tribes. For a century and a half afterward the Ottawas and Potawatomies occupied Barry county. During the summer the Ottawas went north, the Potawatomies back to the St. Joseph valley. Occasionally some of them went to Detroit to spend the warm months near the French settlement. These tribes were at war with the eastern tribe of Iroquois, who were under the influence of the English, the rivals of the French for the supremacy of North America. The Indians of Western Michigan assisted the French in defeating General Braddock at Fort Duquesne in Pennsylvania, and in raiding the English settlements as far as the Appalachians. Some of them fought under Montcalm, and later they swarmed to aid Pontiac in his conspiracy. So soon as the French sustained several defeats, they lost the confidence of the red men, who afterward passed under the dominion of the British. Several hundred Michigan Indians fought in Burgoyne's army, and also participated in raids upon the settlements in Kentucky and in Virginia. Many of them were slain in the battle of Fallen Timbers, and the survivors fled before the victorious Americans under "Mad Anthony" Wayne. In 1780, Indians and traders, commanded by British officers, marched to the Mississippi, and captured from the Spanish the important city of St. Louis. A year later these same raiders were astonished when the Spanish, led by Don Francesco Crusat, suddenly appeared in Michigan and destroyed in the heart of the Potawatomie country Fort St. Joseph, which had been in existence since the

[7]Joseph, son of Huston Cisler and Rachel Scott. See *Hist. Barry Co.*, p. 488.
[8]Charles Williams, a pioneer of Hastings.

advent of the first Frenchmen. Leaving their colors flying the Spaniards, satisfied with their retaliation, went southward. In 1789 all of the tribes of Indians met General St. Clair, governor of the Northwest territory, and signed a treaty of peace, but they hated the Americans with a feeling which never abated.

Into the wigwams in the solitudes of Michigan penetrated news of the westward spread of the English colonial settlements. Gradually the country of the red nations was being submerged by the advancing tide of Anglo-Saxons. Afar, and still secure in their ancient haunts, the Michigan Indians had for several generations watched the subjection of their race. The defeat and fate of King Philip, the shattering of the Iroquois confederation, the humiliation of the strong tribes of the south with all of whom they had been at war for centuries, bred among the savages still in possession of their lands, a spirit of impending doom that broke out in fervent oratory at their councils. The French had come among them as missionaries and fur traders. Between the Gallic and Indian temperaments there was a peculiar bond of sympathy which was strengthened when French adventurers married squaws and were frequently adopted into tribes. They acted as mediums of commercial intercourse between the great mercantile establishments of Paris and the suppliers of furs, which were everywhere in demand in the courts of Europe. Half-breed children were reared in customs and traditions of the wigwams. Through the infusion of their blood whatever antipathy the savages felt for the English was strengthened by the enmity which centuries of misunderstanding and strife had bred between the two greatest Latin and Anglo-Saxon nations.

It was not from the Canadian provinces that the red men feared the source of future extermination. On the Plains of Abraham, at Quebec, the Indians had fled with the French when the British and Colonial forces from the Atlantic coast forever ended French dominion in America. Here and in other conflicts they felt the force of a new native power, which was later expressed in the independence of the colonies.

New countries are first inhabited successively by traders, missionaries and soldiers, and often they are havens of refuge for groups of people advocating freak social or religious beliefs which are ridiculed and not tolerated in their native countries. Rather than give up their ideals they go abroad where they may live or worship as they please. The French colonists were traders enslaved in the traditions and religion of their mother country. Broadly viewed, the English who settled on the Atlantic seaboard, came in order to secure independence of thought. With an impetus which gained strength as the settlements grew, this new dynamic social force developed unity of interests and ideals and a spirit of self-reliance, which combined with aggressive unrest of the

Teutonic race, led to alienation and final freedom from the mother country.

The reviving effect upon the savages when several important British posts were destroyed as a result of Pontiac's conspiracy, was merely transitory. The supremacy of Great Britain soon became permanently established. The savages watched the ominous westward advance from the seacoast settlements. They had witnessed the conquest of the French by the English, but now they saw with consternation the forces of the most powerful monarchy on earth overcome by those sturdy men from the settlements which had been pushing them steadily westward. They hated the new government, not because it was American, but because it represented an increasingly centralized system of government that was ultimately to rob them of their subsistence and the lands which the Great Spirit, the Master of Life, had given them so long as the grass grew and the sun shone.

Throughout the new republic, as far west as the Mississippi, the tribes were ready for hostile protest. Alone they could not successfully cope with the strong arm of the young nation. They needed an organizer like Pontiac.

In 1810 and 1811, the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, began a movement to unite all of the tribes in a confederation with the object of stopping the American advance. When the celebrated chief heard that the United States and Great Britain were likely to engage in war he hastened to offer his services to the Great Father in London. This was accepted, and with arms and supplies furnished by the British, who also offered liberal bounties for American scalps, they took part in the battles of Brownstown, Fort Dearborn, the River Raisin and on the Maumee. At Tippecanoe General Harrison so severely chastized the Indians that they fled back into the Michigan fastnesses. At the Battle of the Thames, in which many of the Barry county Indians participated, Tecumseh was slain, and the power of the savages was forever broken. They signed a treaty with General Harrison a year before the war with England was ended, and the dispersed, dispirited remnants returned to renew their life in this part of the state. They remained sullen, but peaceful, supplying the French and English fur traders until Black Hawk, in 1832, sent runners inviting them to join in his rebellion against the Americans. They painted themselves, held several pow wows and dances, but finally decided that the Wisconsin chieftain must fight his battles without them.

Between the close of the war with Great Britain in 1815 and the beginning of settlement of Barry county in 1830, numerous fur trading posts were established in this part of the state. Some were built and conducted by individual traders and others by the agents of the Ameri-

can Fur Co., of which John Jacob Astor was the head. Louis Campau,[9] a noted French trader of Detroit, established a post at Green Lake a few miles west of Scales' Prairie in Barry county. Rix Robinson,[10] an employe of the American Fur Company, took charge in 1821, of a post at Ada at the confluence of the Grand and Thornapple Rivers. These streams were then known by their musical Indian names. The Grand was the Owashtenong, or "far distant river." The Thornapple was the Sowanquesake, or "forked river." This post had for a number of years been conducted by Monsieur LaFramboise,[11] and after his death by Madame LaFramboise, who was succeeded by Rix Robinson. In 1828, a French trader named Moreau,[12] an employe of Robinson, moved up the Thornapple and erected a trading post in Barry county, a mile east of Irving station.

Though the Indians of this state were no longer under their dominion, the British continued to send them annual gifts for services rendered in the War of 1812. Every June until 1834 the Indians received these annuities at Malden. The Indians were a great source of revenue for fur buyers, who disposed of cheap goods at extravagantly high prices. Mackinaw was the principal point of distribution. Merchandise was conveyed there in sailing vessels, and distributed to traders who carried them in large Mackinaw boats, bark canoes and French bateaux down the coasts of the lakes and thence up the rivers where the Indians were encamped with furs packed ready for barter. Some merchants sent their goods into the interior packed on horses. Marten, beaver, mink, muskrat, otter, racoon and fisher skins were bought in this locality. It is generally conceded that beaver disappeared from this vicinity at about 1830,[13] but they were not exterminated until later.

After the War of 1812, the Indians lived here in small bands. Their power was thoroughly broken. A number of the old chiefs still held a nominal sway over bands often composed of members of the Ottawas, Potawatomie and Chippewa tribes. In several instances petty chiefs of other tribes commanded them. There was no talk of war because the red man had a difficult enough time to make his living without engaging in hopeless enterprises. He was a catcher of fur and he had to labor harder in later years because he needed funds with which to purchase

[9]Louis Campau, see *ante* p. 65. It is said he papered the cupola with wild cat money returned to him as worthless. See XXX, p. 294, this series.

[10]See Vol. IX, pp. 241-3; sketch, XI, pp. 186-200, this series.

[11]This name is spelled La Flamboise in a sketch given in Vol. XXXII, pp. 176, 177, this series. Mrs. LaFromboise was the first white woman settler on Grand River.

[12]James Moreau established a trading post on Scales Prairie in 1835. His house was often used as a hotel by travelers. In 1837 he sold his place to Robert Scales and moved to Kalamazoo where he died.

[13]In 1780 reports gave the value to Great Britain annually of the fur trade in the Upper Country alone as £200,000 or about $1,000,000.

from white men commodities which he had learned to find indispensible. Thus contact with the white men increased the Indians' wants and consequently his cost of living.

The names of the first men who penetrated the wilderness of this part of the state are forever lost. French traders and adventurers undoubtedly frequented the streams and penetrated the heavily timbered lands long before the first settlers arrived in the early thirties. At that time there were several settlements of Indians in the northwestern part of Barry county. There was a settlement grouped about Moreau's trading post at Bull's Prairie, a band at Gun lake, and a larger community in a stretch of oak openings south of the Little Thornapple, or about four miles north and one mile east of the village of Middleville. There was also a collection of wigwams on Scales' Prairie. Moreau abandoned his post at Bull's Prairie and removed to Scales' Prairie, where a Frenchman named Charboneau owned a blockhouse in structure similar to those in existence to-day in the isolated parts of Quebec province. When Mr. Cisler arrived at Bull's Prairie in October, 1836, Moreau's post there was still standing. It was a small log building located near the spot where the railroad today crosses the river. In dimensions the building was about sixteen feet long and twelve feet wide. Mr. Cisler is the only man alive who knows where it stood. The building was in ruins when he first saw it. He found buried casks which had contained whiskey. Moreau traded "skit-awa-boo," or firewater, to the Indians who were always ready to exchange for it furs at very low prices. When Moreau thought his customers had enough whiskey he buried his casks so that he might verify his assertions that he had no more.

When the land upon which Moreau's post stood passed into the possession of A. E. Bull,[14] the trader removed to Charboneau's blockhouse on Scales' Prairie. Who the Frenchmen were that built this house no one knows, for it stood there long before Moreau occupied it. It was one of the most pretentious structures of its kind in western Michigan, and for years it was a great social center. It was built of logs, hewed square, and dovetailed. The lumber was sawed by hand at the Green lake post. This house was designed to resist any attack that might be made upon it. But Mr. Cisler says that never during his long life did he ever hear of a hostile shot being exchanged between the white

[14]Albert E. Bull, born in Sheffield, Berkshire Co., Mass., March 4, 1808. His father, William, was an English Quaker. Albert graduated at college, studied law, became a civil engineer, coming to Michigan in 1832, and became a prominent pioneer of Schoolcraft. He came to Barry County early and was an extensive farmer till his death, March, 1865, at Great Barrington, Mass. He married Lydia A. Shaw of Volinia, Cass County, in 1846. In 1866 she married Albert E. Bull, nephew of her first husband. Her last husband died October, 1878. *Hist. Barry Co.*, p. 480.

and red men of Barry county. He accounts for this, by the fact that all of the land was purchased by treaty and paid for by the federal government. The interior was roomy. The lower story was divided into two rooms used as a dining room and a bar room. There was a brick chimney in the center, with fireplaces opening into each room. The guest chambers were upstairs. Bricks for the chimney and fireplaces were conveyed a great distance. Here Moreau traded "notions" for furs which the Indians brought. Moreau was a thick-set, dark-complexioned Frenchman, who originally came from Detroit. With him was Robert Scales, of Kentucky, after whom the prairie was named. These trading posts were the mediums of intercourse between the white men and the Indians.

Occasionally a traveler found his way into the new country; and Moreau, like many modern hotel men who have no competitors, made the most of his monopoly whenever he extended the hospitality of his establishment to anyone desiring shelter and food. The patrons found the accommodations poor and the rates exorbitant. When a traveler objected to paying five dollars for supper the privilege of sleeping on the floor, and breakfast, Moreau politely informed him in broken English that "It ees no sign of a zhentleman to dispute a bill."

The solid old block-house occupied by Moreau and his unknown predecessors, stood until recent years. In it sixteen men cast votes at the first town-meeting held in Thornapple township. After Moreau abandoned it, the venerable structure many times changed ownership; and it is estimated that one hundred families had been domiciled under its roof. The heavy timbers began to decay, the ridge sagged, the expense of more repairing was too great, and a number of thoughtless persons ruthlessly burned this historic building as the easiest way to obtain possession of the few square yards of land it occupied.

The rivers were the great highways of the red men. They migrated where food was the most plentiful. They occupied wigwams made of poles covered with bark, cloth or skins. With the exception of a few who remained in one place longer than others, they were always moving. During the season of huckleberries and cranberries they changed residence to gather crops. They always had plenty of ponies, dogs and canoes. The first thaws of spring found them in the forests making maple sugar. Loading their families into canoes, they passed up the river to Muski-so-wan-que-sake or Thornapple lake, where they fished. During the summer they raised corn on the prairies, and traces of their garden beds were visible until recent years. The autumn found them in localities where game was plentiful, and when weather became colder they trapped with dead falls. It was a precarious life, of course, but the red men were happy and lived comfortably until the white men brought whiskey among them.

Into this part of the State Black Hawk sent runners to invite the Indians to rise against the settlers. When Mr. Cisler arrived at Bull's Prairie the few settlers were just recovering from the fright the Indians had given them during the Black Hawk war. Some of them had become so scared that they returned to "York" state, while others, too poor to get out of the country, were compelled to remain here in terror. This feeling was intensified when Robert Scales and several others, while returning from Chicago with a drove of cattle, met a party of Indians covered with war paint and making hostile demonstrations. They did not declare war, however. Among the well-known Indians was Adoniram Judson,[15] whom General Lewis Cass had educated in an eastern university. After completing his studies he returned to the Thornapple Indians, resumed his blanket and moccasins and resided with his compatriots until he finally froze to death in Wayland township, Allegan County. Mr. Cisler knew him well. One day Mr. Cisler was astonished to see pass a young Indian decorated with red and black paint. Judson laughed and said "He is for war." War never broke out in this vicinity because the older Indians with wisdom bought by dear experience counciled the hot-headed youths, and reminded them of the terrible rout they had received when Tecumseh was killed. At Monroe, where Mr. Cisler had resided before he came to Barry County, he was acquainted with settlers and others who had participated in the War of 1812. He often mentioned Tecumseh's name to the Indians and they always heard it with great respect.

The Indians, or rather the squaws, engaged crudely in gardening. They were excellent judges of land, and cultivated the prairies or the black soil of the river flats. Bull's Prairie comprised about thirty acres of clear rolling land studded here and there with burr-oak and wild plum trees. Here the Indians cultivated about seven acres, planting their corn not in rows, but hap-hazardly. When Mr. Cisler arrived the stalks were still in the fields. This corn was softer and whiter than that brought by the white men; and in order to preserve it, the Indians smoked it and then buried it in the earth. This was probably the original maize commonly raised by the Indians in this country. To prepare it for food, the squaws pounded the kernels in a mortar made by burning a bowl in the end of a log. They often made soup of it, or cooked it in sheet iron kettles with venison or other meat. They preserved meat by smoking it. Often when not properly cured, it became decomposed, but this made no difference to the red men, who ate Mr. Cisler says, whatever a dog or wolf would devour. They liked to vary their bill of fare whenever they had an opportunity, and almost

[15]Named from a missionary of that name whose descendants lived in Allegan County.

anything seemed to appeal to their palates. When a horse belonging to a settler who crossed Bull's Prairie died the Indians immediately took possession of it, cut it up and distributed the meat, and a great feast followed. This they ate when they might easily have killed a deer, or other game.

That white men had been in this vicinity many years previous to the arrival of the first settlers is proved by the fact that apple trees[16] had been set out on Scales' Prairie. When the Frenchman Charboneau, who owned the blockhouse found these few apple trees, he took them up and carried them all the way to Grand Rapids where he planted them.

Into the wilderness had penetrated the Canadian voyageurs and coureurs du bois, who brought from the station at Mackinac goods which they bartered for furs. Prepared with an outfit and provisions to last them many months, they coasted down Lake Michigan until they sighted among the sand dunes of the desolate shore clefts which marked the debouchure of the river up which they were to work their ways to Indian encampments. There was something in the buoyant spirits of these Frenchmen, which enabled them to fraternize readily with the Indians. They found life in the wigwams congenial, and the wilderness harbored no perils which daunted them. The strongest always go to prepare the way for the weak; they are the first to blaze the trails and to conquer resistance for those conservative ones who await safety for themselves and their property before leaving the security of the old settlements.

Who were these Frenchmen? Why had they penetrated hundreds of miles west of the lonely St. Lawrence settlements to bury themselves in a forbidding wilderness that they might engage in a traffic in which profit was small compared with the risks involved? What amazing affinity was there between these Gallic men, many of them trained in the courts of Europe, and the red savages who needed only slight provocation to slay them? Why had they left the sunny plains of Languedoc to wander in an unknown land, braving the additional hardships of the severest winters? Unlike the Spaniards they were not seeking for gold; unlike the solemn-faced Puritans, who "fell upon their knees and then upon the aborigines," they had not come to exploit a religious propaganda. They were loyal to the faith of Rome, but the social conditions of France were such that strong men of independent minds preferred the freedom of the wilderness to submission to the tyranny of a monarch who was adding poison to the national decadence that ultimately found eruption in the Revolution. Among them, of course, were criminals and scoundrels of various kinds—fugitives from justice like those who used

[16]Near Saugatuck the American Fur Co. had a post called Peach Orchard, from trees of that name planted by the Indians. *Hist. of Barry County*, p. 29.

to find refuge in our own wild west. Some returned across the Atlantic, but most of them, like the "Lotus Eaters," were ensnared by the lure of a happy-go-lucky life; they remained with the Indians, married their women, raised families of dusky children, and passed with them into oblivion. If we knew the facts about the planting of those apple trees on Scales' Prairie, the remotest history of white men in Barry county would be bared.

From its confluence with the Grand to its headwaters in what is now Eaton county, the Thornapple flowed through the vast silent wilderness, breaking into silvery rapids at shallow places, or stopping in deep pools in which the tired waters seemed to collect for meditation. With banks hidden by dense overhanging branches, the island sat upon the water like great masses of foliage ready to detach themselves and float away. The banks, high on one side and low on the other, were lined with immense trees that darkened the waters with their shade. Far over the current leaned the silvery trunks of sycamores, equalled in height only by elms that overtopped the surrounding forest. Beneath the taller trees, cedars darkened the gloom of the woods. Scattered along the banks were pines, which seemed to realize that they were not natives and were in strange company, for they grew in groups with branches fraternally interlaced. Deer wandered into the water in droves to drink, the stags being ready to "whistle" an alarm at the first scent of danger. Springs poured their pure waters in babbling runs into the river. Here and there the sound of falling waters betrayed the presence of beaver dams across tributary streams. On the steep banks were "slides" worn smooth by the otter.

The sounds of Nature's children alone awakened echoes in the eternal silence of these fastnesses. With a roar like thunder, vast flights of pigeons shut out the sun as they passed over in their migrations. With almost human cries, bears called to each other; wild turkeys gobbled on the oak ridges, while occasional swarms of wild bees went buzzing in black clouds through the tree tops. In those days the robin and quail —birds which followed in the wake of the settler—had not yet arrived. The pigeons and turkeys have passed away, and the cock-of-the-woods, a gigantic woodpecker once very plentiful here, now makes his home in the north woods. Sturgeon, often weighing seventy pounds, and muscallonge and bass so large as those dreamed of by the most imaginative piscatorial fakirs of today, were captured with astonishing ease.

The forests were like great parks, for the Indians each year burned away the underbrush so that game might be discerned at considerable distance. Up this stream the Indians pushed, making portages whenever they encountered shallow rapids, until they reached Muski-sowan-quesake, or Thornapple lake. The red men had no means of communication

except by signal fires, and thin columns of blue smoke threading upward were often seen on the shores of this lake, which was a favorite haunt of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawatomies.

Into the east end of this lovely sheet of water flows the Thornapple and the Nagwahtick, or Mud creek, as it is now called. These streams gave easy access to great hunting grounds east and northeast of the lake. In addition, the Thornapple was part of the water route across the peninsula. The Nagwahtick has its headwaters in a chain of lakes that lie along the boundary of Barry and Eaton counties. It is a slow, sluggish stream, still overarched in many places with ash, elm, sycamore, walnut and butternut trees which were part of the primitive forest. At its mouth squaws gathered rushes from which they made matting. Up and down its dead waters glided the canoes of Chief Sobby[17] and his band, who frequented the lake district; and years afterwards the light craft of Sundago and Askasaw and other red men who were the last to leave the ancient hunting grounds.

Scales' Prairie was a beautiful stretch of country about sixty acres in extent, surrounded like the banks of a lake with a high forest and dotted with occasional islands of burr oak trees which rose above grass six feet tall that undulated in long billows before the breeze. Into this stretch of open land deer and bear often wandered, and thousands of flowers attracted swarms of wild bees. At Bull's Prairie there were a few prairie hens which had so little fear of man that they often roosted upon the roofs of the first cabins. There were none at Scales' Prairie. At Bull's Prairie the few Indians lived in wigwams made of poles covered with cloth and peeled bark. They had frequented Scales' Prairie for many years, and some of their habitations took the more permanent form of log huts, though many of them lived in wigwams made of cotton or other cloth.

These settlements were picturesque, indeed. Some of the squaws wore brightly colored broadcloth skirts, and were often loaded down with numerous trinkets. The men wore white blankets, and breech clouts, to which they often added leggings of deer skin. In summer they were clad in hardly anything. All wore leather moccasins decorated with beads, and clusters of wild turkey feathers in their hair. In their belts they carried tomahawks while butcher knives replaced the former scalping knives. They were armed with flint-lock muskets.

The assertion in history that the British with Malden as a distributing point continued to make annual gifts in June to the Indians after the close of the War of 1812, is verified by Mr. Cisler's statement that all of the guns, tomahawks, knives, and a specially made hoe, known as the "squaw hoe," all bore the mark of the British crown. The red men

[17]Perhaps a corruption of the word Macksawbee, a Chippewa war chief well known to the whites of this region.

and women wore thin silver brooches and other ornaments. Some of the men varied the fashion by wearing brooches in their noses. They also decorated their faces and bodies with red, green and black pigments.

The Indians liked animals, and their villages and encampments swarmed with mongrel dogs, tame wolves and foxes. They also kept ponies.[18] At night the wolves in the forests established communication with their relatives in the camps, and the voices from the timber sounded like distant locomotive whistles. Instead of tethering their ponies, the Indians placed hobbles of deer hide upon the fore feet, and the horses moved about by hopping. These ponies foraged for a living, often pawing to a depth of two feet in the snow to reach dead grass and leaves, or standing upon their hind legs to browse on branches eight feet above ground.

As it is well known the squaws did all of the hard work, while the men hunted and fished. They also tanned the deer skins which could be purchased at very low prices. They carried their babies strapped to boards upon their backs. The vices of the white man had already been introduced among them. The men drank whiskey whenever they could get it. They also loafed a great deal about the camp playing "old sledge," a game similar to "seven up." They were enthusiastic hunters, however, and provided all the necessary game. The fawns arrived in May and June, and the Indians hunted the deer before sunrise and before sunset. With rude dead-falls they captured all kinds of fur-bearing animals. Mr. Cisler saw a beaver caught in Duncan Lake, and describes it as a beautiful animal with fur like silk. During the winter the Indians hunted and visited their traps on snowshoes, their feet being covered with blanket cloth which was always wet.

In the spring fur traders arrived. Among them was Louis Campau, a picturesque figure whose costume included a blanket and moccasins. While "Yankee Bill"[19] Lewis, the famous landlord of the tavern at Yankee Springs, was attending a session of the state legislature in Detroit—for he had been elected representative from Barry county—Mr. Campau's nephew, Edward, courted and finally married Lewis' daughter, Phoebe, much to the indignation of "Yankee Bill" when he returned and found a son-in-law had been added to the family.

A glimpse of the character of the red men is shown by two incidents related by Mr. Cisler. Cattle and sheep were very scarce and valuable, and were driven from Ohio to the settlements. The Cislers owned two

[18]Mrs. H. Amelia Webb of Williamston, Mich., in a paper speaks of the wonderful endurance and strength of these Indian ponies. She says Miles Carr told her he carried on one pony one box of seven by nine glass, one pail, one iron kettle, ten pounds coffee, one pound of tea, one axe, ten pounds of nails, four window sash, six splint bottom chairs, one tin reflector oven and sat in the midst of the load.

[19]See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 289-302.

sheep. One day an Indian's dog worried the sheep and Mr. Cisler's brother shot it. A month later the Cisler brothers saw a light up the river and went to investigate. They found encamped an Indian and his squaw. When the Indian saw Mr. Cisler's brother he seized a tomahawk and ran at him shouting "Kittapoo motchie!" meaning "You killed my dog." The squaw rushed upon her husband and grasped the tomahawk just in time to stop the attack. A. E. Bull, a Massachusetts man, who settled at the prairie named after him, kept a number of horses which were running in the woods. They were frequently worried by a pony belonging to the Indians. One day, Mr. Bull shot this horse, and the Indians afterwards found it dead. They learned who had killed it and threatened to waylay and kill Mr. Bull while he was traveling through the woods. In order to purchase immunity, Mr. Bull paid to Leonard Slater[20] the missionary of Prairieville, $25 and this sum was given to the owner of the horse. Though they were naturally vindictive, the Indians never forgot favors. If they were kept all night in a settler's home, or permitted to sharpen their knives, fish spears and hatchets upon Mr. Cisler's grindstone, a choice piece of venison expressed their gratitude.

Mr. Cisler says that the Indians were excellent doctors. They knew the medicinal values of all kinds of herbs. One day when his little sister was seriously burned an Indian appeared, obtained some basswood leaves, wilted them in hot water and bound them on the wounds stating that in "three sleeps" the girl would be better. And this proved true. In after years a squaw doctor cured Mr. Cisler of a disease which white doctors with the best medical education were unable to conquer.

Though there was no village on the site of Middleville, the red men held mysterious powwows and councils there. To attend these gatherings they came in scores from all over the country. In order to summon them the Indians who had the ceremony in charge stretched a deer skin over a log which had been hollowed by fire. Then they made a flute of a species of reed which grew along the river. For a week or two the hollow and monotonous booming of this drum was heard through the forest, and word spread that a great council was being called. The noise of this orchestra, if it may be so called, was continuous. Soon the red men began following the trails which led to the council place, until the necessary number for deliberation were gathered. Mr. Cisler remembers watching with awe a noble-looking old chief deliver a speech which lasted half a day. He spoke as fast as he could in the Indian language but his interested white listener was unable to understand a word. While the aged man was talking the drum was beaten, the flute

[20]See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 142-155.

played, and young men and squaws danced before him in circles chanting monotonously and rhythmically—

"Ana—he—ana —hi—ana— ho—ho—ho."

What the occasion of this meeting was Mr. Cisler never knew.

Ada, which had been laid out as a French town, and which had long been a rendezvous of the fur traders, was also a great gathering place for the Indians, for it was situated at the confluence of two rivers that gave access to one of the most prolific fur-producing countries in the middle west. In canoes they came up the river from "Pockatink," or Grand Rapids. Some of them pushed on up the Owashtenong to the interior of the state. Others came up the Sowanquesake to "Skin-Wigwam," as they called Moreau's post on Scales' Prairie. Others went overland to "Shampatang," or Gull Prairie, not far from the first important water highway of the south, the "Kekalamazoo" river, "the bright bubbling or sparkling water," beyond which led the trail to the St. Joseph valley, the haunts of the Miamis and Potawatomies. These were the ancient highways of the red men.

Through the gloom of the great forest led trails deeply worn by moccasined feet. Along these sinuous paths the red men found their ways through the wilderness which covered the Michigan peninsula. There was a thin net-work of trails in Barry county. Over one of them, called the "Canada trail," the feather-crested warriors filed when they visited Fort Pontchartrain, or crossed the Detroit river to visit tribesmen in Canada, or to receive the annual tribute from the British at Malden. Another, traversing the western part of the county from north to south, connected the village of Match-eben-ashe-wish on the site of Kalamazoo with the village at the Rapids of the Grand, now Grand Rapids. Those who followed this trail forded the Thornapple near Middleville. Short trails connected the principal ones. One of them crossed the Yankee Springs sand hills to Penasee, or Gun Lake, from which the canoes went down the Gun river, flowing through a country still noted for its good hunting, to the Kekalamazoo river. From the south bank of this beautiful stream started a trail which passed over the watershed to the St. Joseph river, thence over the next watershed to the Kankakee. Many modern highways are laid wholly or in part along these ancient pathways. Nearly obliterated by shrubbery, the lingering traces of some of them may be discerned in the primitive forest still standing.

In connection with the water-ways, these trails formed a complete system of communication. The Indians covered so much of their journeys as they could by water. Drawing their canoes upon land, they secreted them in hollow logs, or hid them so skillfully with shrubbery that discovery was difficult. Following one another with a steady swinging stride, or "lope," they quickly crossed the intervening land to the

river or lake which was the next water-link in their journey. If the distance was not too great, they made a portage and carried their canoes and goods with them. Thus from times immemorial their warriors and hunters traveled eastward and southward into the countries of the Iroquois or of the Shawnees, or they followed round the foot of Lake Michigan the Sauk Trail which took them among the tribes of Illinois and Wisconsin and beyond to the Mississippi. By these same routes the Michigan peninsula was accessible to marauding bands from surrounding territory.

These migrations were made in pirogues or dug-out canoes, or large birch bark boats. The dug-outs were made with great labor from white-wood logs. They were very narrow, and one inexperienced in handling them was sure to be capsized. As there were few canoe, or silver birches in this vicinity materials for bark canoes were obtained in the north. These canoes were built of strips of bark sewed together and made water-tight with pitch. On wide and deep rivers, like the Grand, the Indians hoisted sails of bark or cloth. The squaw always sat in the stern dutifully paddling, while her husband stood in the bow with a two-tined spear waiting for fish. The migrating Indians frequently came to Scales' Prairie, but they did not like the tavern, and could not be persuaded to sleep in it. On one occasion a squaw slumbered in the front yard in a snow storm rather than go into the house.

Burial customs of the Indians varied. Those who frequented this part of the state buried their dead in the ground. For a long time a conspicuous mark on Bull's Prairie was a post painted red which showed the last resting place of a chief. When Mr. Cisler arrived he heard Robert Scales relate a story about a murder among the Indians long before the white men arrived. According to the Indian custom, the relatives of a murdered man had a right to put to death the murderer. While looking for a stray cow years afterwards, Mr. Cisler found the grave of the victims of this tragedy. Chopping into a mound covered so skillfully with poles that it was water-tight, he unearthed the skeletons of two men facing each other in sitting postures. Between them was a kettle, bow and arrow. Here were the remains of the murderer and his victim facing each other until the elements should disintegrate their bones.

According to provisions of treaties with the Indians they were to abandon Western Michigan. The Pottowattomies were to receive full pay. Some of the Ottawas or "Tawas," as they were often known, were unwilling to leave hunting grounds which their tribe had so long possessed. In order to expedite their departure the government sent troops to gather them together for removal. Mr. Cisler was always a good friend of the Indians. One day when a dragoon in full uniform, armed with rifle, pistol and sword, rode up and asked him whether he had

seen any Ottawas, he replied that he did not know an Ottawa from any other kind of an Indian. According to another provision of the treaty, the government was to pay certain sums of money to the Indians. The specie, which consisted of a wagon load of half dollars, was brought overland from Detroit under an escort of troops. When the Indians went to Grand Rapids for the first payment the river presented an unusual and barbaric sight for it was covered with a procession of canoes passing down the swift current. When they returned the squaws possessed the half dollars. As soon as they began to circulate this money, white men made counterfeit coins of iron coated with silver.

All of the Indians in this vicinity were nominally subjects of Newequa Geezig, or Noonday,[21] the chief of the Ottawas, who lived at Grand Rapids, and afterwards moved with Missionary Slater to Prairieville. Noonday was an associate of Tecumseh and helped carry that chief's body off the field after he was killed in the battle of the Thames in Ontario. Among the lesser chiefs in the northwestern part of the county were Chippewa, Kennebec, Pokanabno, and Muckatawagoosh, or "Black Fox."

Chippewa and Kennebec were leaders of the small band of Chippewas who lived in an oak opening south of the Little Thornapple, four miles north and one mile east of Middleville. For knowledge of them, I am indebted to Charles Williams, of Hastings, who played with the Indian boys of this village. The Indians in this band numbered between two and three hundred. When Mr. Williams knew them they were somewhat above the low state of savagery. Chippewa, the chief, Mr. Williams describes as one of the handsomest men he has ever seen. He was tall, fleshy, well-built, good-natured, and his whole presence expressed nobility of character. His features were like those of an American. He resided in a log house, the only one in the village, and spoke good English. Kennebec, an older Indian supposed to be the chief of an extinct band, also lived in this village. In character he was the opposite of Chippewa. He was very large and raw-boned. Deep-set and treacherous eyes added to the sinister aspect of ugly features. He had been through many adventures, and often boasted of scalps he had taken in wars with the whites. Mr. Cisler also knew Kennebec, and his description corresponds with that of Mr. Williams'. If Chippewa had taken scalps, he never said so. The difference in the characters of these two chiefs is further illustrated by the fact that while Chippewa dressed like white men, Kennebec retained the Indian garb and wore feathers in his hair. These men seldom carried weapons. The wigwams in this village were placed regardless of regularity, and were rude affairs similar to those already described. The women were better looking than

[21]For sketches, see Vol. X, p. 61, this series.

the squaws of other tribes. The village was infested with curs of all kinds. Though the Indians never got drunk in camp, they frequently became intoxicated after visiting Ingraham's tavern on the Grand Rapids stage road. The squaws cooked their victuals in kettles or on sticks. Coon and woodchuck were suspended over the fires, and the squaws sat turning them. These Indians were great fishermen and owned many dug-outs from which they threw spears with remarkable accuracy. Standing with their feet on the narrow gunwales they balanced themselves on their light arrowy craft and many of them were able to throw a spear across the river and transfix the quickest moving fish. They preserved the fish by drying them over a fire made of decayed wood. The women were expert in tanning deer skin. They smoked it, grained it and worked it in a solution made of water and deer brains. Just when these Indians left this county Mr. Williams does not know. But it was some time before the war of the rebellion.

Mr. Williams was privileged to see one of the first murder trials in this county. While drunk an Indian slew another member of his party, and fully 500 Indians assembled at the council grove at Middleville to decide his fate. They gathered in groups to deliberate. The murderer, however, was able to furnish his multitude of jurors with a liberal supply of whiskey and tobacco, and they finally decided not to punish him.

Mr. Williams knew the Indians intimately enough to have a very high opinion of their integrity and honesty. For a playmate he had Kelsey, Chippewa's son, with whom he used to have trials of marksmanship with the bow and arrow. The burial ground of these Chippewa Indians is located on the south bank of the Thornapple about a mile west of Irving station in what the first settlers called "Wild Goose Bend," because wild geese during their migrations halted in the deep waters. With the bodies were buried beads, arms and cooking utensils, which the red men believed would be of use in the Happy Hunting Grounds. Somewhere among them rest the bones of the old warrior, Chief Kennebec. Chippewa and his band moved northwards, and nothing was afterwards heard of them, though Mr. Williams has often longed to see again his playmate, Kelsey.

There were tragedies among the Indians, for there was nothing in their manner of living that restrained their primitive passions. While John Williams of Hastings, was a youth, he resided not far from Gun lake, a favorite haunt of the Indians. One day Mr. Williams heard sounds of a fearful turmoil and went to the lake to discover the cause. The savages were gathered about the headless body of one their members. He learned that the man had become involved in a quarrel with a young squaw, who declared that he "was no good," seized a knife and cut off his head. During the excitement she rushed to the tethered horses, cut

the rope which held one of the animals, and was off on the Canada Trail before her companions knew what had happened. Their pursuit was too late to catch her, and the body was buried on the shore of the lake.

The red men have left no permanent monuments behind them as have the nations who built solid habitations. They have passed away like the game which was once so plentiful in this country. A memory which is gradually fading is their only memorial. In days to come what little we know about them may be lost. Among future generations some will be interested in the aboriginees and the early settlements of this county. A costly monument has been placed at Ada to commemorate Rix Robinson and his trading post. Historic places in this, and in many of the eastern states have been marked. There are few localities in Michigan which possess so many historic spots as Barry county. We ought to be proud of this heritage. Why should we not provide modest but appropriate markers for the trading posts, Yankee Springs tavern, the Indian villages, and the Slater Mission Indians?

STORY OF EARLY DAY LIFE IN MICHIGAN

BY MARGARET LAFEVER

Mr. McQueen[1] came to my father in the town of Murray, Orleans Co. N. Y. and in glowing terms gave a description of Michigan. This was in 1836. My father got the western fever and sold his nice farm, for the man said there was plenty of good land near his place that could be had of the government, for the asking. He and his family had been neighbors of ours in "York State" and my mother gave her consent to come. So after I had been duly christened and could stand the sunlight a little, my mother and father took their six children, and started for Michigan. We had two covered wagons, well stocked with provisions, bedding, clothing and cooking utensils also mother's little linen spinning wheel, which she said had once belonged to her mother, and which she would not trust to come with the other goods later on. We had two strong teams of horses, one cow and a nanny goat, the latter to supply us with milk at all times of day. Father was advised to buy a large quantity of dry goods, boots and shoes and provisions and ship them across the lake on a line boat, as the freighters were called. He did so and that was the last he ever saw of them. From Detroit to Dexter and

[1]In 1836 J. McQueen entered 160 acres in section 32 and 160 acres in section 33, Eaton County.

thence to Eaton Rapids there were trees, with a chip taken out, every little ways. Two men had gone through and blazed a road to Ionia. The Charlotte road was called the Dexter road for many years.

After three weeks hard work, traveling through dense forests and fording most of the streams, the family arrived at Eaton Rapids worn out and homesick. We occupied the wagons until the shanty was built, which did not take long for kind neighbors soon came to our assistance. The custom was, if any one heard the sound of wood chopping in a new direction, Mrs. McQueen would blow loud and long on her horn and all of the neighbors would come to her to learn where the sound of chopping came from. Then with axes on their shoulders the men would go to the newcomers assistance, clear a patch of ground, and build two shanties, one for the people and one equally as strong for the beasts, for bears and wolves came at night, the latter in large droves. One night the first week of our sojourn wolves were fighting on top of our shanty and two fell down the stick chimney. Father and my brother despatched them with axes.

Father found there was no government land and so had to buy of the man who deceived him. His wife was a noble woman and she and mother could not part again so we settled down and soon had all we could do with ague. Some of the poor sick people were at the starving point when one cold winter day father and brother went to the north lot to get wood and try and get a deer, but came back in a short time bringing on the sleigh an Indian sick and nearly frozen. The children were badly frightened to see him for the white men in authority had given all the Indians notice to leave the country. Some of them who had large families felt very badly and strange to say, thought it was not just to rob them of their land. I shall never be able to see why God permitted those poor peaceable Indians to be driven like wild beasts from their homes. The soldiers came from Detroit and took most of them but a few managed to stay around the country. I only heard of one Indian that was bad and one of our citizens saw him fall from his canoe into Duck Lake.

The Indian father brought home was named Jack and he seemed nearly dead. When my mother had tried all remedies without his reviving, she thought he was dying and taking her rosary and kneeling by his side, began to repeat the prayer for the dying. Soon Jack opened his eyes and reached a feeble hand, took the crucifix and kissed it (an image of Christ was on the cross.) Mother then prayed for the restoration of the living, Jack joining in a feeble voice. He proved to be a Canadian half-breed and a Catholic. A bond of friendship sprang up between Jack and the family and he proved a great blessing to the poor white people some of whom were near the starving point. Jack brought

down with his gun plenty of game and distributed it among the families that were needy. He also took medicines that he had made of roots and herbs, to those who were ill and they were many. He taught our boys and men to make traps to catch game, for ammunition was too expensive to be had at all times. All this was repeated to me as I grew old enough to understand. The first I remember of Jack was one day when he made whistles for brother and me out of bass wood and popple boughs. One night my mother and brother thought they heard a woman screaming down near the creek. They hastened in that direction in the pitchy darkness when a hand was laid upon them and in silence they waited. Soon the screams were heard again and with the report of Jack's gun a large panther fell nearly at their feet. Jack had understood the screams and saved their lives. He taught the boys how to make splint brooms out of hickory saplings. The waste splints were treasured for kindlings as we started fires with flint and steel and punk, by striking the flint on steel and having a piece of punk under to catch the sparks it would soon be all on fire, then the splinters would be added and then the wood. I have known mothers to send a mile to us to get coals to start their fires, not having flint and punk. We always kept ours. Out by a stump was a place made with stones in a hollow of the ground where we kept coals covered with ashes, which we usually made our fires from.

While in the small shanty that was our home for nearly two years, all the new arrivals came to us and how the shanty held them at night is a wonder to me as I think of it. One man tried to claim relationship with mother but she told him "no you are not even Irish." "Well" said he, "my wife's cousin married an Irishman." All the neighbors were good in those days and when sorrow, sickness and death came, all were ready to render assistance and comfort them in their affliction.

McQueen told father, who was suffering with ague, that he would go to Detroit and get the goods for him, taking his son and father's two teams. Father gave him the receipts for the goods and after a long three weeks had passed he came back and said that he had lost the receipts and that the goods had not yet arrived in Detroit. After waiting a time father went to Detroit and was shown the records where a man claiming to be him took the goods away. It was a great loss to us.

Mother tanned and made our shoes of deer skin, made large and lined with coon fur in the winter. Each child had to knit so many rounds on the plain part of their stockings every evening, mother putting in the heels and narrowing off the toes. She had to knit for the store both linen and wool. Father built a new house nearer to the road. It was of split logs and was large with good chamber room and board parti-

tions. Mother began to hope to have all the comforts of home as she had them in "York State," but ague followed my father.

A doctor[2] at last came to settle in the village. I will give a brief history of the first three. Dr. Sumner[3] was tall and nice and very dignified. He would enter a house hear the patient's story of shaking and suffering in perfect silence. Then he would say, "yes, I see, all run down, very weak, billious, debilitated. We must draw off all the bad blood and give you a chance to make new and get strong again, give me a bowl and a bandage." They were brought and the poor victims gave up poor thin blood that was merely keeping the heart beating. The charge for a visit was a dollar, and fifty cents extra for bleeding. So every one in the house, who were ailing, sometimes a whole large family had to be bled. The doctor forgot his lance one day and so took his jack knife and sharpened it on his boot leg and bled all of the family of Mr. Reagan. When he came to little Susan the hurt and fright were so great that she died in his arms. He came to our house but mother would not let him touch one of her children. Father was growing worse and tried the doctor's remedy, in fifteen minutes he was dead. Another doctor came who said that was no way to do, he never bled his patients, he wound them in a wet sheet. A promising young man, one of the very best, Sumner Hamlin was wrapped in cold, wet sheets and died. Yet another doctor came and he sent a man and team down to Grand Ledge to get a load of hemlock bark which he would steep strong and give them hemlock sweats when they were so weak that they died from the heat and exhaustion. You may ask did these doctors get rich. Oh, no, they got the shakes, took some of their own medicine and soon died. They lie in our cemetery among the unknown dead that were removed from the old burial ground.

Now about our preachers.[4] One day Mrs. Benjamin Knight with Mrs. Conklin in her wagon came through our neighborhood and stopped at every house. Mrs. Conklin went in and invited every family to meet at her home on such a date to hold religious services and bring the children, sure. Enough responded to the call to more than three times fill her house so we all went out and sat on the grass in the yard. Mrs. Conklin read some from the Bible, prayed and preached. All sang and

[2]Mrs. H. Amelia Webb, of Williamston, said in 1842 they were obliged to either go to Dexter or Argentine to mill, a distance of thirty-five miles, to Howell for a doctor, to Detroit, Ann Arbor or Dexter for merchandise, carrying it on the backs of Indian ponies. The mail was carried once a week from Howell to Grand Rapids on a pony, over what was called the Detroit and Grand River trail.

[3]A. Sumner entered 156 acres in section 26 in 1836. No mention is made of Dr. Sumner's name as physician in any of the records we can find, and undoubtedly he could not be called a regular physician.

[4]Long journeys were taken to attend meetings. One woman rode ten miles on horseback carrying three children with her. Often a man would take an ox team, travel many miles to attend the first service at nine a. m. and two other meetings and reach home before dark.

I think it must have been the best as well as the first religious service held in Eaton Rapids. Meetings and a Sabbath school were organized by this brave woman. In one short year they met to show the respect and love they bore her and then followed with the sorrow stricken husband and placed her in her grave, dust to dust but the spirit to God who gave it. On her tombstone this meeting is recorded. You may read it, but uncover your head for her ashes and her memory are sacred to every old pioneer. She was only twenty-one years old when she died.

Amos Spicer's[5] family and brother and Samuel Hamlin and family with Benjamin Knight[6] and family were here when we came. Ed Knight was the first white child born in this town and the second in the county, the first being a Mrs. Rogers[7] who resides in Bellevue.

A skein of thread cost five cents for cotton, ten for linen. It would measure three yards. Mother with her little wheel spun flax into thread and colored it with walnut shucks and supplied people for miles around, for women only used cotton on baby clothes and making their husband's dickies, a front piece like a shirt bosom tied in place with a string around the neck and waist and worn under the vest on their marriage day and on other grand occasions. No white shirts were then worn. When a man died they had a shroud without any back for bleached cotton was from fifty cents to one dollar a yard, calico fifty and colors that would fade. It did not wear long either, so our mother got unbleached cotton, the coarse kind, for thirty-five cents and colored it with sassafras and butternut bark, a sort of brown, for our summer dresses. We got sheep and mother made our dresses of wool in winter, paying Mrs. Morse for weaving by spinning for her and giving her linen thread. She never received money for her thread but Indians would come and exchange fur for it. White folks would bring a calf or pig or some hens and exchange for linen cloth or thread. Mother had brought some flax seed with her and had sown it near the marsh the first year we came. Our boys wore tow cloth in summer and our bed ticks and bags and towels were all made of linen. Mother worked hard.

[5]Amos Spicer. See Vol. XXII, p. 505, this series.

[6]Benjamin F. Knight was born in New York state, July 12, 1807, son of Joseph and Martha Knight. When fifteen years of age he removed with his parents to Roscoe, Ohio, where he grew to manhood. On April 17, 1834, he married Alethea Spicer, daughter of Amos and Lucretia Spicer. In 1836 he went with his family to Michigan and settled at Eaton Rapids. Mr. Knight erected the first sawmill in the county and built three small board houses. He formed a land company and laid out Eaton Rapids. In 1852 Mr. Knight went to California, but returned on January 9, 1854. A year from that day he died. He had five children: Amos, a doctor; Edwin, a resident of Eaton Rapids; Lucretia, widow of Joseph Earl; Martha, wife of Benjamin Slade of Ypsilanti, and William, who died when forty-three. Mrs. Knight married for her second husband John H. Waldron, of New York state. *History of Barry and Eaton Counties*, 1891, p. 818.

[7]In Mr. Foote's *Sketch of Early Days of Eaton Co.*, Vol. III, p. 384, this series, he states that Sarah Fitzgerald, wife of John A. Spaulding, was the first white child born in the county.

Many times after our father passed away I have wakened wrapped in a blanket in a fence corner with mother and the boys near by gathering and piling stones to get the field ready on time for the fall wheat, so by moonlight they piled them for mother had to have the daylight for her spinning.

The first pigs we owned mother got by exchanging a new black silk dress with Mrs. Leader. The dress was made before she had thought of moving to Michigan. She had no use for it, but did have for the pigs. You who would like to hear more of the pioneers, come some pleasant day and go with me to the cemetery and I will tell you of Mr. Hamlin and his good wife, how cheerful they were although sickness and sorrow came and how much they did for others. Also of the Gallerys[8] and Spicers and Winns, liberal hearted good people, and of Mr. and Mrs. Knight whose many acts of kindness it would take years to tell. It lives in the memory of all the old settlers. Many more I might mention but will close.

Sorrowful memories come to me of my mother's struggles to keep her six children together. Five years to a day after we lost our father just as spring came with a warm gladdening breeze and robins were chirping around our door the worst stroke came to us poor children. Our mother passed to the great beyond. Our home was broken up and we were scattered never more to meet under one roof.[9]

HENRY HARRISON APLIN

Henry Harrison Aplin, formerly one of the best known public men in Northern Michigan, died at his home in Bay City, July 23, 1910.

His parents, Thomas and Elvira (Metcalf) Aplin, came to Michigan in 1835, settling in Thetford Township, Genesee County, where Henry H. was born April 15, 1841, the family removing to Flint in 1848. The son's education was received in the public schools of Flint. The family returned to the farm in 1856 where the son remained until the outbreak of the Civil War when he enlisted on July 3, 1861, in Company C, 16th Michigan Infantry, which was attached to the first division, Third Brigade, Fifth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac, serving until the close of the war and leaving the service July 16, 1865, with the rank of second lieutenant.

Returning to Michigan he engaged in the mercantile business at Wenona, now the west side of Bay City. He was postmaster of West

[8]See Vol. XXII, p. 509, and Vol. XXXII, p. 588, this series.
[9]This was written for a Woman's Club of Eaton Rapids, October, 1904.

Bay City from November, 1869, to June, 1886, and was again appointed to the same office October 1, 1898.

In 1886 he was elected auditor-general of the State. His personal popularity was shown by his having led his party ticket by over 10,000 votes in the State and by nearly 2,000 in his own county. He was re-elected to the same office in 1888. After the expiration of his term he with others undertook the construction of a system of electric street railway in West Bay City, of which he was general manager until he closed out his interest in the enterprise in 1891.

At the time of his death Mr. Aplin was a member of the Union Ice Co., and engaged in farming. The summer resort known as Aplin Beach was named in his honor.

In 1894 Mr. Aplin was elected to the lower house of the State Legislature from the second district of Bay County, serving during the session of 1895. He had represented the Republican Party for many years and was a delegate to the national convention that nominated Blaine and Logan in 1884. He was a member of the Republican State Central Committee from 1888 to 1892 and had been chairman of every local committee, congressional, senatorial, representative, county, township and ward. He served as township clerk and township treasurer, each for three years.

Mr. Aplin was elected to the Fifty-seventh Congress, October 15, 1901, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of R. O. Crump. He was defeated in the convention that nominated George A. Loud for the Fifty-eighth Congress.

On his father's side Mr. Aplin was of Scotch descent. He was a member of the Masonic fraternity, of the Knights of Pythias, the National Union, the Royal Arcanum, the Order of Foresters, the G. A. R. and National League of Veterans and Sons and had been commander of Ralph Cummings Post, of the West Side, for several terms.

Mr. Aplin was married at Maumee City, Ohio, in 1879, to Miss Frances L. Patchen, daughter of Malcolm B. Patchen, who with one daughter, Daisy A., (Mrs. Sigurd Oleson of Chicago), and one brother, George Alpin, of Bay City, Mich., survive him.

JAMES H. BAKER

BY MRS. JAMES M. SKINNER

James H. Baker was born in Norwalk, Ohio, September 16, 1839, and came to Lansing with his parents in 1849. They located some land at the corner of Washington avenue and Shiawassee street and built a house which was occupied by the family for many years. The old house still stands as one of the early day landmarks of what was then called Middle Town. Mr. Baker attended the public and Mr. Taylor's private schools until about sixteen years of age. He then became a dry goods clerk and sometimes he used the brush very skillfully. When about eighteen he was engaged by Messrs. Woodhouse and Butler, of Lansing, who had secured a contract with the State to manufacture chairs on the grounds of what was then the State Reform School for Boys. Most of the boys at that time were employed in these shops. Mr. Baker was foreman of the caning department and he taught the first boy in that institution to weave a cane seat. He held this position until August 21, 1861, when he joined a company of sharpshooters, standing the test of expert marksmanship. He and his brother, A. L. Baker, left Lansing to go into camp at Detroit. Mr. Baker was made second lieutenant of Company C, First Regiment United States Sharpshooters. He was sent with his company to Weehauken, New Jersey. They were sent to Washington and went into camp on the heights, about one mile north of the Capitol, where the regimental organization of the company was perfected. They remained in this camp until March, 1862, when they entered upon the Peninsular Campaign with McClellan. In February, 1862, Mr. Baker while home on recruiting service was married to Miss Ednah DeLano who survives him. He fought in many of the hardest battles, being three times wounded. His last engagement was on the mountain top of Wapping Heights on the skirmish line July 27, 1863. Here he was wounded and returned to Michigan on leave of absence, resigning at close of the war.

Mr. Baker was twice promoted, commissioned first lieutenant, Oct. 18, 1861, and captain, Aug. 31, 1862; honorably discharged, Nov. 21, 1863. He was highly complimented by Col. Berdan for gallantry and skill he displayed while under fire at Gettysburg, was also recommended for a medal of honor by the commanding officer.

After his recovery he and his brother, Oscar A. Baker, started a chair factory on the north half of the site of the present Buck store. A year and a half later he sold out to his brother.

In 1866, through the recommendation of Mr. Robinson, then superintendent of the reform school, Mr. Baker was appointed assistant superintendent. One year later Mr. Robinson died and Mr. Baker acted as superintendent for several months. After nearly three years he resigned to enter the lumber business with a Toledo firm. He built the home on Shiawassee street which he occupied for nearly forty years.

In 1885 he was superintendent of the lumber interests of Mr. Orlando F. Barnes at Harrison and Smith Creek, Gladwin County, which consisted of a saw and shingle mill. Ten years were spent in this locality until the business was closed out. He returned to Lansing and was employed as purchasing agent for the Lansing Spoke Company, owned and conducted by Mr. E. S. Porter of Lansing. After ten years of steady service his health failed and he resigned in 1908. He died Aug. 3, 1909, aged sixty-nine years.

ARTHUR C. BIRD

Arthur C. Bird, state dairy and food commissioner, and one of the leading business men of Lansing, died early Friday morning, May 27, 1910, at his home in East Lansing of heart failure, superinduced by pneumonia.

Mr. Bird has been active politically in this State for many years and was well-known throughout the State, but to Lansing he was one of its leading citizens, interested in every enterprise for the good of the city and out at the college, he will be best remembered as a man anxious for the college to progress at all times, while many students have occasion to remember him for his many kindly acts and interest in their welfare.

He was born in Highland, Oakland County, May 22, 1864. He attended the public schools until he was thirteen years of age, when he entered his grandfather's bank at Fenton and laid the foundation there for the business career in which he was such a success. At the age of sixteen he entered the Agricultural College, graduating in 1883. For a number of years he was engaged in farming in Oakland County, and during part of this time he edited the farmer's club department in the Michigan Farmer and also organized a Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Co., which was conducted successfully under his direction. He was founder and first president of the State Association of Farmers' Clubs and it was in this connection that he first entered politics. Governor Pingree, when he entered office in 1897, appointed Mr. Bird a

member of the State Board of Agriculture and a few years later he became secretary of the college, a position in which he displayed talent for organization and thoroughness in business matters which accomplished much for the institution. Since quitting that post he retained his intense interest in the college, doing for it in any way at any time. He was a member of the Eclectic Literary Society and to him more than any other man the society owes its fine building erected a few years ago.

In 1904 he became superintendent of the State census and in 1905 Governor Warner appointed him dairy and food commissioner. Mr. Bird's business career in this section began when he became associated a number of years ago with C. D. Woodbury and Edward Cahill in platting the subdivision of Oakwood, in what is now East Lansing. There he erected a fine and commodious home in which he resided at the time of his death. Later he acquired an interest in the Clippert & Spaulding Brick and Tile Works, and devoted considerable time to its affairs. He was also interested in the Hammond Publishing Co., the Auto Body Co., and had large real estate holdings in the city, including the Oakland Block which he erected, and the brick stores and wholesale warehouses on East Michigan avenue.

He was one of the organizers of the Lansing Business Men's Association, was deeply interested in its work and was a member of the board of directors at the time of his death.

Mr. Bird was married in 1889 to Josephine St. Johns and she with two sons and two brothers survive him. He was a member of Lansing Lodge No. 33, F. & A. M., and Lansing Commandery Knights Templar and the Mystic Shrine of Detroit.—*Lansing State Republican*, May 27, 1910.

DELOS A. BLODGETT[1]

BY W. H. ANDERSON

In the death of Delos A. Blodgett, which occurred in Grand Rapids, Michigan, November 1, 1908, the business and financial world sustained a distinct loss; the State of Michigan one of its most eminent citizens, society an active influence for good, and the worthy poor and unfortunate, a generous, sincere and unostentatious friend.

Mr. Blodgett was a native of the State of New York, having been born in Otsego County, March 3, 1825, and continued a resident of that State until he had attained his majority. About that time the family

[1]Read at the annual June meeting, 1910.

moved to Illinois, and later to Wisconsin. The great lumbering industries of the northwest were then undeveloped, and the dormant wealth of the pine forests was comparatively unappreciated or unknown. Young Mr. Blodgett, possessed a keen foresight, which in later life, was recognized as wisdom and shrewdness, and quickly saw in the vast forests an opportunity for gaining riches. The life of a lumberman at once fascinated and appealed to him, and he decided to enter upon it as a vocation. His elementary knowledge of timber, and the process by which it was converted into lumber, and made ready for market, was obtained in the sawmill and lumber camps, where he found employment as a common laborer. He was never afraid of honest toil, whether it was swinging the axe, pulling the saw, or risking his life upon the treacherous river "drives," by which means logs were floated from the forests to the mills. He shared the rough life and coarse fare of the woodsmen, and was in every sense one of them. But while he was toiling at the very bottom of an industry then in its infancy, he was active and alert to the opportunities, which the pine woods presented, and his ambition was to make a place for himself among the foremost. This position he ultimately attained, though not without a struggle, experiencing hardships and disappointments, such as come to the lives of the pioneers of any wilderness.

Mr. Blodgett's success in life was reached by slow and steady stages; the passing over many rough highways, and meeting and overcoming the usual difficulities and reverses, by the employment of that energy, determination and will power which ever characterized his undertakings in later life. He chose for his field of operations, Muskegon and the country tributary thereto, and began the career which did not end until he had reached a position among the strongest lumbermen of the Northwest, and had amassed a fortune among the largest. His initial venture in felling the forest on his own account, was made in company with Thomas D. Stimson. The undertaking resulted profitably for the two young lumbermen, and gave encouragement and furnished inspiration for more extensive operations. Faith in Michigan pine caused Mr. Blodgett to re-invest his money from time to time, and to gradually extend his holdings of valuable timber. He formed a partnership with Thomas Byrne in 1871, and for ten years, until the death of Mr. Byrne, the firm of Blodgett & Byrne, was among the best known of the half hundred mill owners and operators in the "Sawdust City," as Muskegon was then called. Following the death of Mr. Byrne, Mr. Blodgett continued the business without disturbing the interests of his late associate, and with such ability, fidelity and loyalty did he conduct the affairs, that when they were settled up, he turned over to the heirs of his former partner, more than one million dollars. Mr. Blodgett continued his

operations in Michigan pine, until its early exhaustion became to him apparent. He then turned to the south, making large investments in some of the choicest tracts of timber in that section, which like his Michigan holdings, ultimately yielded him large profits. In 1881, Mr. Blodgett located in Grand Rapids, and soon became an important factor in the city's financial life, by identifying himself with several of the leading banking institutions, and becoming active in their conduct; he also invested heavily in real estate, and erected imposing structures for housing commercial enterprises. He, at once, became a part of the financial, commercial and political life of the city, and of western Michigan, being recognized as a strong man in all of his business connections and undertakings.

But it is Mr. Blodgett, the man, the philanthropist, the citizen and friend, rather than to Mr. Blodgett, the millionaire and lumber king, to whom it is desired to pay tribute in this article. One of his closest friends and business associates, in speaking of him, summed up his characteristics, in these concise words, which though brief, correctly describe Mr. Blodgett, as he was known in the community where he lived and died: "In business matters he was unswervingly honest and just. The man who tried to do right, found in him a friend, but he hated deceit in any form, and despised a sham."

He was sensible, pre-eminently modest, and without foibles. The accretion of wealth left him always the same simple unostentatious gentleman. His sympathies were with the unfortunate, and neither creed or color influenced his action. If the unfortunate was worthy, he did not ask in vain for assistance, and many times help came in the absence of any appeal. The extent of his quiet and unheralded charities will never be known, except to the many who at different times were beneficiaries of his kindness. His tender and sympathetic interest in the little homeless waifs, brought into the world only to become outcasts, was beautifully shown in the magnificent building erected and endowed by him for the care of such unfortunates in Grand Rapids, which will ever stand as a monument to his generous impulses.

Mr. Blodgett was not a church man, in the general acceptance of the term; that is, he was not a follower or subscriber to any of the orthodox creeds or faiths, yet he was a friend to all churches, and all denominations recognized him as such. When in need, they made their wants known to him, and whether Protestant or Catholic, black or white, they were rarely turned away empty handed. He recognized in all of them an influence for good, and to assist and encourage the good, to uplift and better moral conditions, and to help his fellow-man, was Mr. Blodgett's religion. Who will say such is not a beautiful faith, and who will deny that the world was benefitted by Mr. Blodgett's life, and his daily living and practice of this faith?

GEORGE H. CANNON[1]

BY JOHN E. DAY

George H. Cannon was born at Day Township, Saratoga County, N. Y., December 26, 1826 and died in Macomb County, December 10, 1909. His early life was one of privation and hardship and as soon as he was old enough he started to help in the support of the family. Being early taught that education was of greater value than anything else, he was always studious both in the school and at home. Books were few, difficult and hard to obtain but he borrowed what he could and with the first money he earned as his own, which was seventy-five cents, he purchased a second-hand Goodrich's History of the United States. This he read and reread until it was mostly committed to memory, thus he found a taste and desire for the more useful class of reading. This was at the age of seven or eight years. Soon after this he had the advantage of three terms in the Academy of Rochester, Michigan, a private school, organized by Peter Moyers and afterwards taught by the late Prof. R. S. Kedzie, later of the Michigan Agricultural College. This was all the school education he received. From this time he taught school four winters and worked as occasion offered during the summer. In the autumn of 1846 he joined an exploration party to search for minerals in the Lake Superior region near the site of Ontonagon, on a tract upon which he had discovered a vein of copper. It was upon this locality that the "Norwich" Mine was discovered and the village[2] of that name was built which gained some fame at one time, but has since been deserted. He passed the winters of 1846 and 1847 here and on his return home had saved up $100 and a good deal of useful experience. In the spring of 1849 he entered the employ of William A. Burt, a noted practical surveyor and engaged in the examination and correction of the surveys of the public lands of Upper Michigan. It had become known to the Surveyor-General that much of the contract work of the field survey had been negligently and fraudulently done and would have to be corrected before anything like accuracy could be obtained. Judge Burt was assigned a large portion of this work and at this time invented his solar compass,[3] in the use of which Mr. Cannon became an expert.

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1910.

[2]The Norwich is one of the old mines of this locality having been started in 1850. Much of the capital raised was expended on roads and a few houses. The mine never paid a dividend. In 1863 it was reorganized but abandoned in 1865. A few squatters located on the land on account of the improvements.

[3]See this volume on Hist. of Burt's Solar Compass.

In 1850 he was given entire charge of as much of the work as he could handle. In August of that year he was appointed Deputy United States Surveyor but was hindered in the prosecution of the work by a severe attack of typhoid fever. Upon recovery he was assigned a contract south of Black Lake in Cheboygan County, completing the work late in the fall of 1852. As he and his party were leaving this work on the way home and while crossing the straits from Cheboygan to Mackinaw in a small open boat they encountered a severe storm of snow and wind which upset the boat, and all his fixtures and reports were emptied into the lake. One of the party was drowned. The remainder of the party were washed ashore and Mr. Cannon, being unable to walk, crawled on his hands and knees a half mile to the cabin of some Indians who attended to his needs. The field notes were in a small box and were rescued by some Indian hunters. They were returned to the surveyor's office and afterward to him. This work brought Mr. Cannon the sum of $700 and this enabled him in the following season to fit out a party for the survey of a tract of land lying between Higgins Lake and Elk Rapids, Mich. This was a good contract and enabled him to lay up some $1,500, and on his return home he was married to Lucy M. Cole, a niece of Judge Burt, with whom he enjoyed a congenial companionship for more than fifty-five years. The work of Mr. Cannon seems to have been quite satisfactory to the Surveyor-General so that in 1852 and 1853 he was employed to survey the islands in Saginaw Bay and vicinity, and also to examine the condition of the surveys of Upper Michigan, west of the "Soo," a distance of over one hundred miles. In the years 1855, 1856 and 1857 his work lay near the village of Cheboygan and along the headwaters of the Tittabawassee River. In 1858 he was awarded the contract to survey a district of township lines along the northwest shore of Lake Superior extending to the national boundary, and also the survey of the Indian Grand Portage Reservation.

This work of Mr. Cannon was successfully performed and was approved by the Surveyor-General at his office in St. Paul, he having removed to that city from Detroit. This report was, at the request of the Surveyor-General, made by Mr. Cannon in person and the visit to the office and the city of St. Paul was greatly enjoyed and often referred to by him in later life. St. Paul was then a very small city and Minneapolis a hamlet of a few houses. The work on the Grand Portage Reservation was the last of Mr. Cannon's work on the public land surveys.

The later years of his life were mainly employed in dealing in wild lands and in estimating timber. He defined and marked individual boundaries. He took an active part in the early development of Osceola County in clearing up a large farm and in building one of the first business places of the village of Evart. Early in the sixties he erected

the house upon the homestead at the village of Washington, Mich., in which was passed the latter fifty years of his life, surrounded by noble trees planted by his own hands, and in the midst of books and periodicals which had become such a part of his life that he could not be without them.

He was always active in the affairs of historical interest both in his own county and in the State, often an officer in both societies and a frequent and welcome contributor to their literature. His paper on "Our Western Boundary"[4] published in the Pioneer Collections attracted much interest, as it clearly showed that a mistake had been made in defining that line, and the State had been the loser of a large amount of mineral land now occupied by Wisconsin and that efforts should be made to recover it to the State of Michigan.

Both Mr. Cannon and his wife were early members of the Baptist Church at Mt. Vernon, Mich., but later removed their membership to the Union Church at the village where they lived. As a man of business he was a model of honesty, integrity and thrift. His word was never questioned and his judgment was shrewd and correct. As a father he was indulgent, generous and a faithful example to his family. As a friend he was steadfast, loyal and true. As a statesman and politician he was alive to the best interests of his country and demanded of all office-holders that as servants of the people they must be found true to the trusts and responsibilities which they assumed.

Thinking of such lives as his (and there are many) we may well say we have none to spare.

REV. RILEY CROOKS CRAWFORD[1]

BY HENRY S. BARTHOLOMEW

Riley Crooks Crawford was born January 27th, 1817 in Richmond, Ontario, N. Y.; died November 18, 1910 at Grand Rapids. His paternal grandparents came to Richmond from Saratoga, N. Y. His maternal grandparents came from Massachusetts to Richmond. His mother's father's name was David Crooks; his mother's mother's name was Knox; a direct descendant of John Knox. This ancestor was frequently referred to by Mr. Crawford with quaint humor and simple pride; especially because, notwithstanding his dominant Methodism, one side of his family tree was all Episcopal, and the other pure Presbyterian.

[4]See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, Vol. XXX, p. 244.
[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1911.

In 1819, he, with the family moved to Ontario, Canada, near the place now known as Port Stanley. Here they remained six years. In 1825 they came by ox-team to Michigan by the way of Detroit, father, mother, the eight-year-old boy Riley and his three younger sisters. Going from Detroit to Troy Township, Oakland County, they made their new home in the forest.

During the following ten years of boyhood and adolescence there were no incidents conspicuous enough to claim our attention; but to understand the unique character we are considering, and to appreciate the attitude of the mature mentality, we must remember that they were years of hardship, toil and adventure. Independence and initiative were nurtured into strong activity. Book learning was not neglected but it was almost out of reach. Poverty everywhere; and pauperism unheard of.

In 1836, however, when Michigan was an independent commonwealth, governed by elective officers and a legislature, unrecognized by federal authorities; with no territorial government and no representative in Congress, young Crawford stepped into the limelight of history, marching in the vanguard of Michigan's Army of invasion.

The fact that he joined the patriots under Gov. Mason to defend our border against our enemies the Ohioans under Gov. Lucas at Toledo, is a significant indication of the temper of the man. In all his after life he was never found idling at home when there was a chance to fight for the common good.

In the later years of his life, it was his boast, that no other man living in Michigan had shaken hands with Gov. Mason who was only about one year older than the young fifer who cheered the weary pioneers on their patriotic march. This mention of playing the fife in the Toledo War is the first biographical indication of his musical taste and abilities which played so large a part in his life. Later on he learned to play the violin and he could always sing, so truly and with such loudly resounding spirit, and fervid enthusiasm, that only the most recalcitant sinner could hold back from the mercy seat.

In 1835 he again moved following his father and family into Shiawassee County near where the village of Byron now is. Here he worked with his father, piloted land lookers and entertained the neighborhood with his violin, his songs and great gift of narrative and anecdote, until 1838, when he was converted. He really thought that he had been leading a frivolous and sinful life, but the more liberal view now-a-days would undoubtedly be that he deported himself like a high-spirited, well brought-up youth, who had many friends because of his charming personality and kindly unselfish character.

Soon after this he began to act as a volunteer exhorter among the

Methodists. At the quarterly conference held at Pontiac in May, 1841, he was licensed to preach and recommended to be admitted as an itinerant minister. That fall at Coldwater he was admitted on trial, as junior preacher in the Palmer circuit, which was a strip from five to fifteen miles wide, extending from Lake St. Clair northward along the river, and twenty-five miles along the shore of Lake Huron. There were twenty-five preaching places. Into this wilderness he sallied—seventy years ago at the age of twenty-four, after relatives and neighbors had contributed his equipment. The salary was $100 a year, but that was a mere theory, he only received sixty dollars and his board, such as the brethren were willing to donate. It was on this circuit that he became acquainted with a little boy who always took care of his horse at one of his stopping places. They remained friends for many years, and even after the boy grew up to be Gov. Jerome, he referred to himself as the "Rev. Crawford's Hostler."

Knowing this good man's character as I do, it is very easy for me to imagine the cheerful willingness with which he encountered the privations of such a life. I can picture him riding his horse through the bogs and forests of St. Clair and Sanilac counties; perhaps there was a road; certainly the journey was a long one, and Michigan weather was the same then as now but he is singing, loudly and tunefully, not a dirge, but a glorious old revival hymn of praise and holy joy. If fortunately there had been a traveling companion the wayside would have heard much laughter and genial chat. If this companion had been a devout Methodist, the young preacher would have regarded him as a very exceedingly good man; if he had been of another faith or none at all, he would have regarded him merely as a very good man.

I know, however, that he recognized the existence of mean, sordid, selfish, people because I have heard him tell funny stories about them.

The next year his circuit was changed slightly and his salary increased to $200 ($150 received) because he married Mary Warren, the daughter of Abel Warren, also a Methodist preacher. She was six years younger than her husband and died at Grand Rapids in 1897. There were no children. Though there never was bitterness nor rebellion, the loss of his dearly loved wife and the lack of children caused sorrow so profound that all his triumphant faith in the goodness of God and the goodness of all creation, was needed to uphold his spirit during his lonesome last years, for not a friend remained to him on earth who had been a friend of his youth and this he often told me is the one great affliction of very old age.

For forty-one continuous years he preached in Michigan having his home in twenty-four different places up to 1883, when he went to Oregon on a visit and having preached in many times that number of places.

He was twice chaplain of Jackson prison. After having returned from the western trip, which was his first journey out of the State since the memorable march to Toledo, he tried to take up work again but his strength was not sufficient. For a short time he acted as chaplain for the Soldier's Home at Grand Rapids but even this was too much and he was obliged to cease work altogether. For a few years he lived with his sister at Byron and then went to the home for superannuated preachers at Grand Rapids where he died last year in his ninety-third year.

From nearly the beginning of this Society his name appears frequently on the records as contributor and chaplain. He served the Society on the executive and historical committees, but more often as the author of narrative verse for he had a wonderful facility for rhyming.

In person Mr. Crawford was below the average height with the bold features of a strong man and the kindly expression of a very good man. He didn't care much about theology; to him the differences between Christian churches were too insignificant for serious consideration though his loyalty to the Methodist Episcopal church was steadfast and strong. No one was more benefitted by the yearly meetings of this society than Mr. Crawford because he could meet so many dear old friends, gathered from the twenty or thirty places where he had lived during his eighty-five years in Michigan.

It is a noteworthy fact, that in referring to any of these many "abiding places," as he called them, he always spoke first of the *people* of the community—the good men and women made the place, to him life was a complex of human relations, and people constituted a brotherhood welded by affection. His faith in God was as strong as that of any martyr that ever burned, but it was a God not only of love, justice and ethics but of clean wholesome humor of poetry and of song.

JOHN WETMORE DEWEY

John Wetmore Dewey, one of the earliest settlers of Shiawassee County, died at his home in Owosso Township, Sunday night, September 11, 1910, at the advanced age of ninety-two years, three months and seven days.

He was born in Erie County, New York, June 3, 1817, and was the son of Apollos and Abigail Wetmore Dewey. Mr. Dewey remained at home until twenty-four years of age. Previous to this he had purchased eighty acres on what is now section 32 in Owosso township, paying four dollars per acre. This tract of land was his home for almost all

the remainder of his life. His father had given him 160 acres across the road on section 29. His mother advised him against building a house until such time as he could erect a permanent one and he acted upon her judgment. Of the 240 acres he improved all but forty acres of timber.

When Mr. Dewey's parents located in Owosso township they brought plenty of supplies until they could raise crops. This was in 1839 when Owosso was a part of Middlebury township. The pioneers walked through the woods as there were no roads. Mr. Dewey and his father helped clear up most of the woods in their section of the country. The elder Dewey had in 1835 taken up 240 acres of government land. They built a row of shanties sixty feet long and had to split lumber for floors and benches. Five years later Apollos Dewey built a brick house, with brick made on the farm and he handled every brick in the structure. He lived in the place until his death. He made his home with his son for seven years after the latter's mother died. This was during the time of wildcat money. Apollos Dewey deposited some money in a Pontiac bank, but the institution failed before he got around to draw it.

When John W. Dewey came to the township, Owosso consisted of but a few huts. The first grain grown by his father in Michigan had to be cut with a sickle, threshed with a flail and cleaned by the wind. When taken to the mill in Detroit the farmer was forced to wait for the wind before it could be ground.

Mr. Dewey had seen hundreds of Indians in a body with Governor Cass negotiating a treaty with them. Then the Indians used to go through to Detroit on their trails, once a year, to receive their pay from the government. He had seen half a mile of them in a string.

Mr. Dewey was originally a Whig, but later a Republican. He represented this district in the state legislature during 1881-82 and was present at every session. He served as justice of the peace for eight years and three times as highway commissioner. He never sought office, however, the office invariably seeking him. He was educated in the district schools of Oakland and Shiawassee counties.

Mr. Dewey was a constant supporter of the M. E. Church at Bennington, and for many years one of its valued trustees. He was an honored member of the Pioneer societies of the State and county, and a familiar figure at all those gatherings. He bore the distinction for many years of having lived longest in the State.

Mr. Dewey was twice married, first to Fidelia S. Mather, who bore him one child, which died in infancy, and who was soon followed by its mother. Later he married Mrs. Nancy M. Frink with whom he lived many years in the greatest harmony till she too was taken from him in 1899.

Four orphaned children found a home under his sheltering roof. They were Burr Curtis, a nephew; George P. Jenkins, both now deceased, Mrs. A. M. Hume of this city, and Mrs. Ellen Dewey Wimple, who has remained in the home. The only near relative surviving him is a sister, Mrs. Mary Tranger of Niles, Mich.

CHARLES E. FOOTE

BY ORAMEL B. FULLER[1]

Colonel Charles E. Foote, Department Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, died at his home in the City of Kalamazoo, June 5th, 1909.

I had the honor of serving in the legislature with him in 1895 and 1897, and served on committees with him and we became intimately acquainted. Through our association I was drawn to him by his manly qualities and appreciated his sterling worth. He gave the same devotion to the interests of his constituents and the state that he gave to the Nation in its hour of need. His vote in the legislature was always given for the right, and in opposition to everything that appeared to him to savor of wrong.

Colonel Foote resided at Cobleskill, New York at the outbreak of the rebellion, and at the age of twenty-two he enlisted on July 18th, 1861 at Milford, in Co. D., 3rd. New York Cavalry and served with that command until August 11th, 1864, being mustered out at Bermuda Hundred, Va. While in the service he was severely wounded in an engagement with the 2nd North Carolina Cavalry.

The 3rd New York Cavalry was one of the hard working cavalry regiments of the civil war. They were in the Army of the Potomac, and operated in the states of North Carolina and Virginia. The records in the office of the Adjutant General in Albany, N. Y., show that the regiment was in one hundred and twenty-six engagements with the enemy, and that they suffered a loss of 207 men by death. This establishes the fact that Colonel Foote was not a holiday soldier as he served over four years with his regiment during the war.

After peace was declared Colonel Foote returned to his home in New York state, and still evinced his patriotism by taking his place in the civil walks of life and did his part in healing the sores caused by the greatest conflict recorded in the history of the world. He came to Michigan in 1883 in the service of the Pension Bureau; his first place of residence

[1]Read at the annual meeting, June, 1910.

was Jackson. He moved to Kalamazoo in 1888 and by his efforts in behalf of the soldiers, their widows and orphans he was able to give relief in thousands of deserving cases, and made happiness and comfort prevail wherein, without his aid, would have been despondency and despair. His first care was the interest and welfare of his surviving comrades at arms, and no labor was too severe or arduous for him in their behalf.

While death is the common heritage of man, the death of Colonel Foote coming at the time it did, on the eve of the encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic in his home city, is fraught with the deepest sadness and sorrow. The summit of his ambition had been attained in his being Department Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the crowning act of his administration as commander would have been at the encampment. I remember his plea to the State Military Board to allow the regimental battle flags to be taken from the Capitol and carried in the parade of the Grand Army of the Republic at Kalamazoo, and how he became personally responsible for their safety, his idea being that the veterans be allowed to march once more under the flags that they had followed on the fields of carnage and blood, the flags they loved so well and under whose gleaming folds they had offered all and dared all that the Nation might live. The Military Board granted the request of Colonel Foote, but it will be the last time the flags will ever leave the Capitol as they are sealed in cases in the rotunda ever to remain to the honor of Michigan, and to the patriotism and bravery of her sons.

That Colonel Foote was loved by the soldiers and by the citizens of his home city is attested by the many heartfelt tributes to his memory.

To know Colonel Foote was to love him, his strong, sturdy character, his manly qualities and love of truth and justice attracted men to him. He was a typical American gentleman, a chivalrous and brave soldier, an upright, honorable citizen, and in his death Michigan has sustained a great loss.

MRS. THOMAS D. GILBERT.

MRS. THOMAS D. GILBERT

BY CLAUDE R. BUCHANAN[1]

Mary Angelina Bingham (Angie Bingham Gilbert) was born March 21, 1830, and died at Grand Rapids, Michigan, November 8, 1910.

What an eighty years this has been, everything for Michigan, pretty much everything for the United States and is there any other eighty years to compare with it in the world's history which has brought into existence modern England, the Republic of France, the German Empire, the mighty changes for Slav and Oreintal, the opening of Africa and the general modernizing, civilizing, liberalizing and enfranchising of our present day world, with business, commerce, transportation and communication practically revolutionized?

She was born at Sault Ste. Marie, in the house then down near the river in which General Cass signed the treaty with the Indians. Her father, the Rev. Abel Bingham, was for a quarter of a century a missionary to the Ojibwa Indians and was stationed at the Soo until the family moved to Grand Rapids in 1855.

Mrs. Gilbert was reared at the Soo and spent the first twenty-five years of her life there, with the exception of about three years spent, during her girlhood days, at the Female Seminary at Utica, New York. Her real life, as the younger generation understands life to-day, her childhood and young womanhood, was spent at the Soo, and, after that, at Grand Rapids, in the early days, up to the time of her marriage in 1871. Notice the Dr. Osler period—practically forty years unmarried. Then came another forty years, twenty-three of marriage and seventeen of widowhood, making eighty years of great activity. To think of this woman as anything but vigorously active, alert and always stirring is impossible—active physically to her last sickness, active mentally to the last hour when, without lingering sickness or struggle, she fell asleep.

From the merry dance our young people are giving us nowadays, I think there may be something in this Oslerizing business of chloroforming people at forty, that is, for some of the machine-made products of the younger generation. For the old settlers and pioneers, no! Give them another forty! Mrs. Gilbert took it, and what splendid use she made of it! If her girlhood days at the Soo were grand and joyous, strenuous and exciting, with Indian, French and soldier in a virgin territory springing into being in that life giving rejuvenating air and

[1]Mr. Buchanan was a nephew of Mrs. Gilbert, and read this memoir annual meeting 1911.

splendid region of the North; if her young womanhood in Grand Rapids, singing in the choir of the old Congregational church and for many a charity, teaching piano playing for a livelihood and looking after her aged parents until they passed away in the sixties, was beautiful; so also the other forty years of her life as wife and widow were a blessing to her own, to her friends and a fine example to the public and to the younger generation, reared so differently, of what one reared in the early days and under pioneer conditions might be.

She loved her own, but it did not end there. She had her close friends, but it did not end there. She had a warm heart for the rich and the poor alike. She was not envious of the rich nor supercilious with the poor. She had the universal instinct, a genuine love for and faith in humanity. She loved the Indian because she knew him not only outside but inside. She knew his heart, his brain, his imagination, his virtues and his vices. She knew him in his native tongue and the Indians knew her. They wept as they met and talked with her at the Sault when she visited there in recent years, and no one could stand by and hear them talk unmoved.

She greatly regretted that so little has been left of the old landmarks of the Sault and particularly that the big stone called Mutchee Monedo, near the Mission and on the site now occupied by the Court House, and supposed by the Indians to be a spirit, and before which they were accustomed to bow three times, had been broken up and removed, and also that so little in the way of the old forts and roundhouses had been preserved.

Only a few years ago Mrs. Gilbert and Mrs. Buchanan, while visiting the Sault with me, wanted to shoot the falls. I said no, most emphatically, but we did the next best thing—we walked for miles up and down the river. They renewed their youth and were never fatigued, while I was exhausted by the tramp.

Mrs. Gilbert has written much about the Sault. It is not the province of this paper to go into those matters, but if the writer of this paper lives to have the opportunity to do so, all of these papers and reminiscences will be collected and put in proper form and made available for future library use. The knowledge of these pioneers who really knew should be carefully collected and preserved. Some day the mass of it will become of great value and Michigan should furnish a rich portion.

Mrs. Gilbert was a great reader generally and intensely interested in early Michigan reminiscences. I think her story of the John Tanner-James R. Schoolcraft episode will be found to be the true one, historically, just as her surmisings and opinion regarding James Ord being the son of Mrs. Fitz Herbert and George the Fourth have finally proved true.

Let me say in this connection that Mrs. Gilbert had a ready pen. She was gifted in this particular and had a style and quality of her own. Practice and experience in other channels of writing would have enabled her to have done creditable work and to have earned a livelihood with her pen. She has written quite a number of poems of excellent quality, including the Centennial Invocation to the flag, The Bridge, Devil's Kitchen, Mackinaw Island, and her last poem, Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep.

Mrs. Gilbert was exceedingly patriotic. Patriotism meant something in those early stirring days of the war when she lived on Jefferson avenue with her father and mother and sister, whose husband was in the war, at the home they called Hardscrabble. My earliest recollection of anything is when she took me down town at the time of Lincoln's assassination and pointed out to me the signs of mourning. Lincoln to her was a sacred name and she took great interest in the new things that came out from time to time about him. Her patriotism took literary form in the ode to the flag and she read it to the Evening Press newsboys. Mr. Gilbert presented her with a flag in 1876 and it has done valiant service since. On all holidays it has been in evidence. When Cook discovered the North Pole it was unfurled to the breeze, and when Peary rediscovered it, it was again unfurled without regret.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert took an intense interest in the development of Grand Rapids, and all that related to civic virtue, and since Mr. Gilbert died, in 1894, she certainly did her full duty, relating to the city's interests and welfare, both by word and pen.

"The man that hath no music in himself," Shakespeare says, "let no such man be trusted!" But what of a woman that has music in her soul? I never knew of one more intensely interested in music—music of all kinds—but particularly the one greatest thing in all music—the human voice. Almost my earliest recollection goes back to the old Congregational church, on the present Porter block site at the head of Monroe street, and the old choir loft and the red curtains that hid the choir from view when not singing, and of accompanying her there, when I was a child and she was a young lady. She sang there. Of course I liked her voice the best of any. Now that I think back and think it all over I am not willing to change that opinion, for as I recall it in its prime, it was a high soprano—a lyric soprano we would say now-a-days—of the colorateur quality, exceedingly pleasing and natural, of the creamy, velvety quality, without that tremolo, vibrato and shako suggestive of chills and fever of the early Michigan days, and with which our beloved singers of the present generation are well equipped. I never knew anybody more eager than Mrs. Gilbert was to see people get up and sing, to sing in unison and to see everybody sing, and she

never gave up the habit of sitting down at the piano, of playing and singing and of sometimes composing the music for a song.

She knew the words of songs almost by the hundreds and had the grand old songs and favorites always near her ready for use. What do you hear nowa-days as you pass from door to door and street to street? The Three Twins, the Merry Widow, the Chocolate Soldier, Madame Sherry, and the like. They are nice, but they will not last, while the old songs, the old real heart throbs, never die.

Mrs. Gilbert was an active church worker all her life and in the benevolences. She worked with organizations and organized effort. She did her share of charitable work in person, among those she knew and she did it systematically, in a practical way. In settling her estate I found she carried two meat accounts—one her own and one that she gave away. Some of her needy friends will miss her.

She loved the Bible and kept up the reading of it all her life, as the numerous editions about the house will show, but she had no fixed creed. Although the sacredness of the church and reverence for worship were dear to her, she saw this spirit gradually slipping away and she grew and developed with her age and broadened with it, but not without some regret and discomfort. She did not go the whole length of the modernism of to-day and it is quite likely that she was partly right.

In looking over her papers, while dictating this brief and hasty sketch, I found an interesting letter of the early days from Professor Strong, so many years in the public schools of Grand Rapids, to Mrs. Gilbert, and written about two months before her death. One evening he, P. R. L. Peirce, Judge Holmes and other leading dignitaries of the early days of Grand Rapids, were discussing the question, "Who is the most influential person in Grand Rapids?" After a heroic struggle they decided to exclude themselves from consideration, and discussed one man after another. The idea of mentioning a woman had not been thought of. Finally, P. R. L. Peirce, afterwards Mayor and a great wag, broke the silence. I quote:

"Suddenly P. R. L. Peirce said he had a candidate, and he named, without more ado, Miss Angie Bingham. Being challenged to make his proofs, he said something like this: 'Well, Miss Bingham is one of the best known persons in town; hardly any person is better known; more people know her by sight than the Mayor. Then she is favorably known; every one speaks well of her and wishes well to her. She is exceedingly gracious and willing to accommodate herself to occasion and circumstance. If asked to sing for any charity or on any festive or patriotic occasion, she rarely refuses when it is possible for her to comply. In this way all persons, in all circles, Jew and Gentile, Roman Catholic and Protestant, have heard her pleasing voice and would gladly

do her some service in return.' He spoke also of her uniform geniality and high spirits and said that she brought smiles and sunshine wherever she went. "But this geniality," he further urged, "did not prevent her from having strong and well grounded opinions and holding to them." He thought her judgment excellent on given thought, "Finally" —and he made a great deal of this point—"she is very thorough. She does nothing by halves and leaves nothing half finished, but does it right out to the end."

In looking over her papers yesterday I found another letter, written by Mrs. Gilbert about a year and a half before her death, to an old friend, who was evidently getting cracked on the subject of religion. I quote:

"I think it is a very dangerous, a very risky thing to allow the mind of the strongest amongst us to dwell too much upon one subject, even the highest subject of all, our relations with God, the future life and the forms of our religious belief. It all seems very simple, and plain, and practical to me. This earth is God's world, as much as is Heaven. It is good enough and beautiful enough for me, but for the sins and the sorrows. If we attempt to peer into Heaven we are lost."

Again she says:

"The simple life, the simple, natural beliefs, the inward sense of conscience—these are what appeal to me, and for the rest I can wait."

When her husband died she felt as if she did not want to live; that her life had gone out with him. She went to church and sat in the old pew. She could hardly endure it. She wanted to leave the service when the first song was sung, but she remained and fought it out right there. I quote:

"I went home determined to question and argue no more; to accept life; to try to do my duty from day to day, and determined to make my home and life as pleasant, as happy and as helpful to others as I could and let creeds and theories and questionings and settling things go."

And here is her declaration of religion:

"I like a simple, natural, plain, easy-to-understand system of religion and life; so plain that 'A man, although a fool, need not err therein;' that 'He who runs may read;' that commends itself to all classes of people and conditions; gives help, comfort and cheer to the weary laden and keeps the many sided thing we call mind, sane, natural and healthy.

"Give us a little more familiarity with the ten commandments, throw in a little more of the 'shall nots,' put a little more backbone into the anatomy of mankind and teach the world to bring up their children a little more in the fear and admonition of the Lord. 'Pure and undefiled religion before God and the Father is this, to visit the widow and the

fatherless in their affliction and to keep yourselves unspotted from the world.' "

Tennyson, with mastery of word, meter, poetic imagery and careful workmanship, has given us his swan song.

When one clear call should come for him, he wanted no sadness of farewell and hoped to see his pilot face to face when he should cross the bar.

Notice, Tennyson hopes. That is modern.

It is remarkable how people of dissimilar ideas and temperaments, when they contemplate the great hope, approach each other in thought.

Ingersoll, at his best in his swan song, "The Declaration of the Free," asks:

"Is there beyond the silent night,
An endless day?
Is death a door that leads to light?
We can not say.
The tongueless secret, locked in fate,
We do not know.
We hope and wait."

This beloved woman wrote her swan song not so very long before her death of two dozen lines, a dozen of which I will quote:

"Now I lay me down to sleep,
Now the stars, their vigils keep;

With the turning of the wheel,
Will I wake to think and feel?

Will I sleep, to know no waking?
Will I rouse to fear and quaking?

Will the spirit, freed, unfettered,
Soar beyond its earthly record?

Who can answer, who can tell?
God, who made us, knows full well!

While his stars their vigils keep,
I will lay me down and sleep!"

BISHOP GEORGE DEN. GILLESPIE

The Rt. Rev. George DeNormandie Gillespie, D. D., first bishop of the diocese of Western Michigan, was born in Goshen, N. Y., June 14, 1819, and died in Grand Rapids, Mich., March 19, 1909. He was the son of John DeNormandie and Susan Bedford Gillespie, was educated in New York, graduating from the General Theological Seminary in 1840 and was ordained a deacon the same year by Bishop B. T. Onderdonk of New York. In 1843 he was advanced to priesthood by Bishop De Lancey of Western New York. In 1846 he married Rebecca Perrett, daughter of Joshua and Rebecca Perrett Lathrop of LeRoy, N. Y. She died some years ago. His priestly work was at LeRoy, N. Y., 1840-1844; St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, 1844-1851; Zion Church, Palmyra, N. Y., 1851-1861, then St. Andrew's Church, Ann Arbor, 1861-1875. In 1874 he was elected first bishop of the diocese of Western Michigan and on February 24, 1875, he was consecrated by Bishops McCoskry of Michigan, and Talbot of Indiana, Bissell of Vermont, Robertson of Missouri, Paddock of Massachusetts and Wells of Wisconsin, none of whom survive him. Bishop Gillespie was a member of the State Board of Corrections and Charities from its beginning in 1875 and was its chairman from 1881 until he resigned on account of ill health in 1907. At that time the Board showed its appreciation of his faithfulness and good works by passing fitting resolutions July 11, 1907.

He was buried from St. Mark's Pro-Cathedral, Grand Rapids, Mich., March 23d, his coadjutor and successor, Bishop McCormick, officiating, assisted by the bishops of Marquette, Southern Ohio, Chicago and presiding bishop, while the bishops of Milwaukee and Michigan were also present. The interment was at Ann Arbor, Mich. In his convention address in Trinity Church, Monroe, May 12, 1909, the Rt. Rev. Charles D. Williams, Bishop of the Diocese of Michigan, said: "Dr. Gillespie labored long in the diocese as rector of St. Andrew's Church, Ann Arbor, whose beautiful house of worship stands as his monument. He also served efficiently and faithfully for many years as secretary of the Diocese. Like his Master he was the 'friend of the publicans and sinners' and the memory of his gentle and merciful wisdom and gracious ministrations abides like a benediction in almost every institution for the unfortunate, the delinquent and the criminal throughout the length and breadth of this State."

MRS. EBENEZER OLIVER GROSVENOR

BY ETOLIE T. DAVIS

Mrs. E. O. Grosvenor was born in Auburn, N. Y., April 11, 1821. She died at her home in Jonesville, July 6, 1910, aged 89 years, 2 months and 25 days.

The known records of her family date back to 1652 when John Savage of Hartford, Conn., settled in Middleton, Conn., and was married to Elizabeth Dubbins. Mrs. Grosvenor was a direct descendant from this family. Her mother, Harriet Garder, married Elisha Powell Chaplin, who was one of the first settlers in Lenawee County.

Mrs. Grosvenor was the eldest of ten children. Only one brother, E. P. Chaplin, and one sister, Mrs. Caroline Chaplin Deal of Jonesville, survive her. She came with her parents to Tecumseh, Michigan, in 1825, but soon returned to New York and entered school at Elbridge. Later she was sent to a boarding school at Poultney, Vermont, where she remained until she was eighteen years old. She then came to Jonesville where her parents had located some years before and was a resident of the place seventy-one years.

She was married to Hon. E. O. Grosvenor, February 22, 1844, and from that time until his death, was constantly at his side, sharing the honors which came to him and likewise the trials and sorrows of their united lives. She was a loving, devoted mother, and in the companionship of her only child, Harriet, she found an enduring happiness. Her daughter was married in 1873 to Charles E. White, but mother and child were seldom long separated.

For several years it was the custom for one of her grandsons, Oliver S. White or Charles G., to take dinner at the Grosvenor home, although they lived only across the street. This daily visit was a source of much pleasure to Mr. and Mrs. Grosvenor and they often spoke of the enjoyment it afforded them. Although home and family ties came first, Mrs. Grosvenor was largely identified with church and social interests. She was a member of the Presbyterian Church for over seventy-eight years, and a faithful, consistent Christian. When nearing her eightieth birthday she would often deplore some passing weakness and then add with her sweet, cheerful smile, "You know the Bible says, 'the days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength, labor and sorrow." She was given to hospitality, and her enjoyment of the society of her friends was real and unaffected. She liked to have young people around her, and

MRS. EBENEZER OLIVER GROSVENOR.

all who came to her hospitable home were given a cordial welcome. "The places which once knew her shall know her no more forever," but she will long live in the loving memory of those who knew her best.

Always closely identified with her husband's interests, his prominent positions in the State, with their accompanying extensive list of acquaintances, brought to her many additional social duties and obligations, which she cheerfully assumed until failing health and advanced years led them both to seek quiet and retirement in their dearly loved home.

When by reason of advancing age she could no longer engage in more active social or home duties, she was not content to remain idle but was usually occupied with some light sewing or knitting work. In her old home hangs a beautiful picture of her, taken as she sits in her favorite chair, beside the window with her knitting in her hands. No one can look at it without recalling the dear, motherly presence that for sixty-six years of wifehood gave to "home" a tender meaning.

Mrs. Grosvenor was fond of traveling and with her husband spent many summers in the mountains or at the seashore. She did not care to cross the ocean, but delighted in the wonders and beauties of her own country. She was in declining health for a number of years, and yet, was considered exceptionally active for one of her age, until the death of her husband. From that time she failed rapidly, and died only three months later. United in life far beyond the average time, in death they were not long separated.

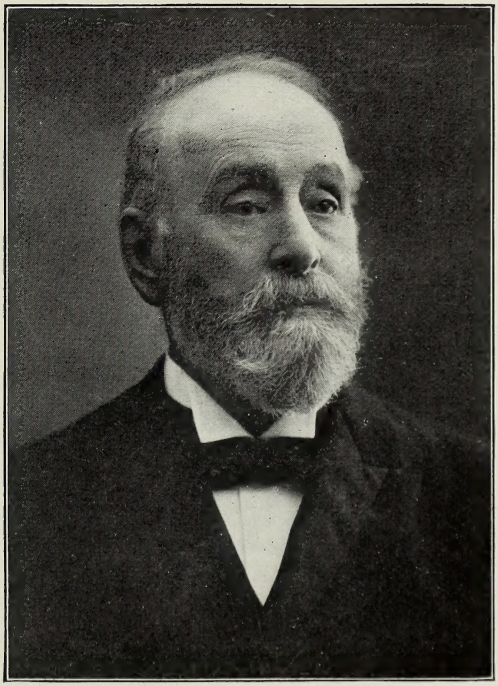
A ship at my side spreads her sails to the morning breeze and starts for the blue ocean. She is an object of beauty and strength and I stand and watch her until at length she hangs like a speck of white cloud, just where the sea and sky meet and mingle with each other. Then some one at my side says, "There she's gone! Gone where? Gone from my sight that is all. She is just as large in hull, and mast and spar as when she left my side, and just as able to bear her load of living freight to the place of her destination. Her diminished size is in me and not in her. And just at that moment when some one at my side says: "There she is gone," there are other eyes watching for her coming and other voices ready to take up the glad shout, "There she comes," and that —— —— is dying.

EBENEZER OLIVER GROSVENOR

BY ETOLIE T. DAVIS

Hon. Ebenezer Oliver Grosvenor was born at Stillwater, Saratoga County, N. Y., January 26, 1820. He died in Jonesville, Michigan, March 26, 1910, aged 90 years and 2 months. He was a descendant of the Grosvenor family that settled in Pomfret, Conn., in 1650. His grandfather, Rev. Daniel Grosvenor, when only seventeen years old, was drafted with many other young boys, to protect Bunker Hill after it had been taken by the Americans. The musket he carried is now in the possession of his great granddaughter, Mrs. Harriet White of Jonesville. She has also a colonial chair which he whittled out with a jackknife. Mr. Grosvenor's father was Ebenezer Grosvenor, sr., who was born in Worcester, Mass. His mother was Mary A. Livermore. Through her he was connected with Mary A. Livermore, the noted philanthropist. His ancestors on this side were soldiers in the Revolutionary War. An old tradition in the family says that all the Livermores were fighters, and all the Grosvenors were chaplains, in that great struggle for liberty. His maternal grandmother brought over her pewter service from England. It is related that during the perilous times in the colonies, she melted it, and ran the metal into bullets, which were used in the war. Two plates and two spoons were saved from the sacrifice, and her great granddaughter has one of the plates and spoons.

Mr. Grosvenor was the third child in a family of nine children, only one of whom, Mrs. Adeline Ranney of Albion, Mich., survives him. His early life was spent in New York State. In some localities, educational methods were still primitive, and he learned to write with a pointed stick on a sand table. He attended the Lancastrian Academy at Schenectady for a brief period, and later the Chittenango school. At the age of thirteen he enrolled as a student at the Polytechnic Academy in the same town. He remained there two years and made a brilliant record for application and accuracy in his scholarship. Thus early in life, he manifested something of the reasoning power, the grasp of details, the retentive memory, and sound judgment, that later marked him as one of the most successful business men of his times. At the early age of seventeen he was thrown upon his own resources. He believed that the West held greater opportunities for young men, and came to Michigan in 1837. Michigan had been admitted to the Union on the anniversary of his birth, January 26 of the same year, but there was not a railroad within the State. He started from Chittenango. From



EBENEZER OLIVER GROSVENOR.

Buffalo he went across the lakes to Toledo, and thence by stagecoach to Jackson, Mich. He often related a little incident of the trip, to illustrate the good fellowship which existed in those days, and the slowness of travel, compared with the rapid transit of modern times. At Toledo he found all the seats taken. A good natured countryman on the seat with the driver offered to walk if the driver would carry his kit of tools, and let him take his place. The offer was accepted, and when the stage, after a slow and tiresome journey, reached Jackson, they found the man, sitting on the tavern steps waiting for them. The next day young Grosvenor continued his journey to Albion, then called "The Forks of the Kalamazoo."

He hired out as clerk in the store of his brother, Ira R. Grosvenor. The old Territorial road runs a little north of the present site of Albion. One of his duties was to carry the mail from the Forks to the Territorial road. At one time he was very sick at the tavern at the Forks. In his declining years he often referred to his first doctor's bill for medical attendance during this illness. The bill was made out in due form with all formality, and signed by the attending physician, Dr. Millington, "For service, advice and medicine—12½c." This ludicrously small bill he kept as a souvenir and it was found at his death well preserved and readable.

In 1839 he left Albion and was employed for over a year in the State Land Commissioner's office at Monroe. The State was then supervising the construction of the Southern Michigan railroad, and his position was a responsible one, embracing many important interests. August 14, 1840, he came to Jonesville, which was then only a hamlet, one of the places where they changed stages on the old Chicago turnpike. He had accepted a position as clerk in a dry goods store. How little did he imagine on that summer morning when he entered the town that he would live seventy years within its precincts, that he would see the generation that welcomed him pass away, and he, himself, be laid to rest on the green hillside, then but a forest glade. In 1844 he was married to Miss Sally Ann Champlin, who was his constant companion and helpmate for over sixty-six years. Of this union one daughter was born, Mrs. Harriet White, who with her son, Oliver S., now occupies her father's old home in Jonesville. Her other son, Charles G., and a little granddaughter reside in the same town. A few months after his marriage Mr. Grosvenor entered into partnership with R. S. Varnum in a general mercantile business. He remained in this business, sometimes in partnership and sometimes alone, until 1869, when his interests were purchased by his partner, the late John A. Sibbald.

He organized the banking firm of Grosvenor & Co. in 1854, and became its president. This bank, reorganized in 1891 under the name of

the Grosvenor Savings Bank, and still retains the same name, and is a lasting and worthy monument to his integrity, straightforward honesty and business ability. Mr. Grosvenor was bank president over fifty years, and was one of the oldest bankers in the United States. In these days too much honor cannot be paid to the bank president whose integrity, judgment and business ability have been unquestioned for over half a century. Business men of his type are a strong, sustaining prop in the financial world, and a mighty influence for the uplifting and moral upbuilding of any community. Nor can we commend too highly the industry, perseverence and ambition that places a man through his own efforts in such a position of trust and responsibility and lays the foundation for honest, substantial gains.

Besides the banking business Mr. Grosvenor had many local interests, being identified with the Jonesville mills and other branches of business, and he also owned several hundred acres of land in the vicinity. He was a promoter, stockholder and vice president of the Fort Wayne, Jackson and Saginaw railroad. He was also the organizer and director of several fire and marine insurance companies in Detroit and other places. He was continually on the alert in looking after these interests, with the concentration of energy that helped to make him one of the eminent, selfmade men of the State. He was identified with the growth of Michigan from the time of its admission into the Union. First, last and always, he was a good citizen and while he was called to occupy some of the highest positions in the State, he was not unmindful of lesser obligations.

In referring to him a prominent official of Michigan writes, "Years ago he placed me under everlasting obligations by an act of kindness that it has never been my pleasure to have the opportunity to repay. I cannot forget that much of the small measure of success that has attended my efforts is due to the kind interest that he took in me when such support meant most." Another notable business man, speaking of the years spent in his employ says, "I have always felt that my training under him was of great value to me. I find myself almost every day, ruling on propositions, and afterwards, I recall that I have followed some precedence established by him."

"When a good man dies,
For years beyond our ken,
The light he leaves behind him,
Lies upon the paths of men."

As a young man, Mr. Grosvenor was prominent in local politics. In the early days when Jonesville and Hillsdale were in the same township, he was elected supervisor, and he was the first supervisor in

Fayette Township after the old township was divided. He was a member of the local Board of Education over forty years. He often referred to this office with seemingly more pleasure and pride than to much higher positions which he held. In his work with this board, he was decided in his opinions and often tenacious in retaining them, but once convinced that any measure was right and expedient he became its strongest supporter. The worthy, deserving teacher found in him a true friend, a wise counselor, and an ardent defender. He was a staunch Republican from the time of the first Republican convention, held "Under the Oaks" in Jackson. Previous to that time he was a member of the old Whig party and cast his first presidential vote for the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison, in 1841.

In 1858 he was elected State Senator. Two years later, soon after the breaking out of the Civil War, he was appointed aide-de-camp on the staff of Governor Blair. He served in this capacity until March 10, 1865. His associates on the board were Jerome Croul, Detroit, and Mr. William Hammon, Tekonsha. This board supervised the letting of contracts for clothing, equipping and subsisting the troops. It was an important branch of the military service. Mr. Grosvenor, through his prudence and judgment, made an enviable record, and later, was made president of the State Military Board. In 1862 he was again elected to the Senate. When the Legislature convened he was appointed chairman of the finance committee. One of the important acts of this committee was a recommendation in favor of a bill authorizing an increase of the war loan of $250,000, and providing that moneys might be drawn from that fund and paid out on bounties to volunteers.

These were the years that tried men's souls. The years when the nation literally passed through a baptism of fire, and we should pay a just meed of tribute, not only to those who fought on southern battle fields, but also to those at home who stood staunchly by the old flag, and bore honestly and manfully their share of the burden that weighed so heavily upon every state. The Legislature of which Mr. Grosvenor was a member never wavered in its allegiance to the Union, although personal animosities were openly declared, and personal expressions were often acrimonious and bitter. Individual members denounced Abolitionist, the Emancipation Proclamation and even the President himself, but all seditious remarks were promptly greeted with hisses and yells of derision, and the Legislature in joint resolutions declared its unalterable purpose to stand by and for the government, and the Constitution of the United States, against all secret enemies and armed traitors, and pledged its support, irrespective of party, to every legitimate measure for restoring the Union to all its former magnificence, prosperity and power.

In 1864 Mr. Grosvenor was elected lieutenant-governor on the ticket with Governor Crapo. In 1871 he was appointed vice president of building commissioners for the capitol. With James Shearer of Bay City, Alexander Chapoton of Detroit, and the secretary of the board, Allen Bours of Lansing, he superintended the erection of the present State Capitol. At its dedication he gave the report of the commission and submitted a voucher, certifying to the payment of all demands. It is a remarkable evidence of his honesty, judgment and watchfulness as chairman of the commission, that while every requirement had been met in the construction of the building, less money had been used than the appropriation and an unexpended balance of $15,110.46 was turned into the State treasury. It would need close search to find a similar transaction in the erection of any other capitol of the United States. It is also worthy of note that he was never absent from a regular monthly or even a special meeting during the eight years which he served on the board, although his attendance was often at the expense of his own interests.

In 1879 he became a member of the Board of Regents of the University, which at that time was engaged in an investigation, involving large sums of money. His financial ability, his familiarity with complex situations, his thoroughness and decision, enabled him to be of material service in bringing the costly litigation to a satisfactory conclusion, thus saving the State further expense and the University additional notoriety and unpleasantness. He practically demonstrated throughout his long and useful life the value of systematic, concerted action. Always regular in his habits, he proved conclusively the truth so often asserted that success and the inspiration that follows it, must first come from routine work, the regular performance of duties, often insignificant in themselves, but far reaching in their results.

In referring to Mr. Grosvenor's political life an article which appeared in one of the leading papers soon after his death says: "A man of his mental caliber, executive ability, and integrity could not long be allowed to remain in the obscurity of public life. He has a clean record as a statesman, and was known as a firm supporter of measures that contributed to the advancement of the State. In his public life no odium was attached to his name, no selfish motive was imputed to his acts, and his friends may look back upon his political career with pride and satisfaction."

Mr. Grosvenor was a man of fine presence. He retained even when nearing the ninetieth milestone the erect carriage, dignified manner, and pleasing address that characterized his earlier years. He often referred with justifiable pleasure and pride to the pioneer days of hard work and economy. Those days laid deep the foundations of his char-

acter along resolute and, perhaps even stern lines, but left him still the courteous, genial gentleman that he was. They also made possible the ease and comfort, which he and his ever loyal and loving companion, enjoyed in their maturer years.

Coming to Michigan at an early date, his stories of pioneer life were interesting and amusing. He was well acquainted with the Indians, then found in great numbers in the vicinity. One season while the Potawatomies were gathered in Jonesville for their harvest dance, they were surrounded by officers and driven to what is now the Park. They were kept there all night. They were cold, frightened and hungry. Mr. Grosvenor with several other citizens went through the town and gathered enough provisions to feed them that night. The next morning they were given additional food to take with them on their enforced march to Wisconsin whither they were driven. Mr. Grosvenor described it as one of the most pathetic sights he had ever seen. Braves, squaws and papooses were packed on Indian ponies and started on their journey, not knowing where they were going or what evil fate might befall them. Their pitiful plight touched his sympathies although he was so strongly prejudiced against them that he often jokingly quoted, "The only good Indian is a dead one."

During the troublesome times occasioned by the passage of the Fugitive Slave bill and other measures, Jonesville, then the county seat of Hillsdale, was a sort of half-way place for slaves escaping into Canada. Mr. Grosvenor in common with many northern men, believed as William H. Seward declared in the United States Senate, "Above the Constitution and all acts of Congress there is a Higher Law, a Divine law of justice and freedom," and he several times rode on the stage knowing there was a darkey in the boot.

Mr. and Mrs. Grosvenor celebrated their golden wedding while they seemed only in the high noon of life, although both were over seventy. Both were early identified with the Presbyterian church at Jonesville, On the occasion of their sixty-sixth wedding anniversary, which comparatively few are privileged to celebrate, the board of Elders sent to them the following letter:

"As a token of our appreciation of you, and the high esteem in which we hold you both, we send you sixty-six carnations, one for each year of your happy married life. May the blessings of our Heavenly Father be yours to-day, and may you be His in loving trust and confidence, all the remaining years of your earthly life."

Mr. Grosvenor was a charter member of the Odd Fellows lodge in Jonesville in 1849, and passed all the chairs. He joined the Masonic order in 1853. He was fond of books, but was never an indiscriminate reader. He cared only for the best literature and never read but one

novel in his life, "Ten Thousand a Year." His reading, which was extensive, followed the line of political issues, the great questions of the day, the advancement of civilization in all parts of the world, and books of biography and travel. In his old home, which remains in all essentials practically unchanged, will be found a valuable library, bearing on such topics, and many old volumes in quaint bindings.

Three score years and ten are the allotted years of man, but Mr. Grosvenor lived to be past ninety. On his last birthday the following tribute was sent: "The Board of Bank Directors extends greetings and congratulations upon your attaining so many years of happiness and successful usefulness to the community and commonwealth. Few men are privileged to enjoy so long a period of successful activity, and we, your friends and associates, desire to express the high esteem in which we hold your friendship and our proud satisfaction in the record of your achievements."

DR. J. W. HAGADORN

Johnson W. Hagadorn, a leading physician of Lansing, died at his home, Sunday evening, April 17, 1910.

Dr. Hagadorn was born near South Lyon, in Oakland County, in 1839. He attended the school there, entered the State Normal School at Ypsilanti and afterward taught for a few years. He entered the medical department of the University of Michigan and graduated in 1870. For two years he practiced at Ovid and in 1873 came to Lansing, where he soon took his place as one of the leading practitioners of the city. Dr. Hagadorn also ran a large farm east of the city on which he raised many fine horses, of which he was always a lover.

In the death of J. W. Hagadorn Lansing loses one of its most respected citizens. He was one of those rare men who looked upon the practice of medicine as a mission rather than as a profession. To the physician comes opportunities for doing good, kind acts that no other profession offers and Dr. Hagadorn was one who never shirked the responsibilities that his position thrust upon him. To his clients he was a friend first and one whose knowledge of medicine only gave him greater opportunity to show his friendship.

The deceased is survived by the widow and two brothers, Dr. A. D. Hagadorn of this city, and Albert Hagadorn of California. He was a member of Lansing Lodge 33, Free and Accepted Masons.

WILLIAM H. HAZE, M. D.

BY MRS. ANGELINE HAZE HUNGERFORD

Many of you who were present at the meeting of the State Pioneer and Historical Society two years ago doubtless remember the meeting and greeting of two gray-haired men who had served in the Michigan Legislature together, over a half century ago, one the Honorable Peter White of Marquette and the other Dr. William H. Haze, of Lansing, sole surviving members of the legislature of eighteen hundred and fifty-seven. Mr. White in his reminiscent speech stated that he had supposed he was the only member living until meeting Dr. Haze that day. The next roll call of your society found that Peter White had answered to the final summons and the meeting of today shows that Dr. Haze also has been translated into that larger life which is untrammeled by human limitations.

Dr. Haze was born of American parents who were living temporarily at Port Hope in Ontario, Canada. When but a few months old his parents returned to the United States, settling in the town of Wilson in Niagara County, New York, where he grew to manhood, working on his father's farm and teaching school to help pay his college expenses at the old Methodist college at Lima, New York. In eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, his father sold his farm in New York and came to Michigan, finding the beautiful city of Detroit, with its present half million inhabitants a little struggling village with the mud so deep in front of the present Pontchartrain Hotel that the horses nearly mired and the wagon had to be pried out. He went on to Farmington, where he bought a farm about three miles from the village. Dr. Haze followed at the close of his college term and taught school in his father's neighborhood. Desiring to go farther south he started for Kentucky but found he was a little late and stopping at a hotel in Wooster, Wayne Co., Ohio, he asked the proprietor if he knew of any school about there where a teacher was needed. He told him, yes, one was wanted for advanced pupils about three miles from there and one of the gentlemen who had spoken to him about it was in town and his horses were in his stable. On his arrival after a short conference with him, Dr. Haze's trunk was loaded into his wagon and he took him home with him and after supper they went over to see his brother-in-law, the school director, and he was engaged to teach that winter. They immediately put up a building for him and he taught what they called a select school. As former President Roosevelt, the best loved man in America, had not then come

upon the stage of action to advocate phonetic spelling, Dr. Haze equally progressive for his time started a spelling school inviting the parents as well as pupils to attend. One evening one of his scholars requested the privilege of walking home with a young lady classmate. She told him she dare not let him as her father was there, and he had looked rather frowningly at the attentions to his daughter of the fun-loving harum-scarum boy. Like many another boy if he couldn't walk home with her he didn't want any of the other boys to, so he stepped up to Dr. Haze and said: "Here schoolmaster go home with this girl." The schoolmaster readily complied, immediately stepped forward and offered his arm to Miss Lydia Emrich the daughter of the school director. Later on he offered his name to this favorite pupil and the fourteenth of the following July, eighteen hundred and forty, they were married and had they lived until the fourteenth of next month would have lived together seventy years. It is but fair to add that the harum-scarum boy, himself one of Dr. Haze's favorite pupils, and a link in the chain of Providence to unite two lives, became one of the leading physicians of Ohio, served with distinction in her state senate and went to his grave full of years and of honors. Dr. and Mrs. Haze after their marriage lived for a short time in Ohio, then came to Michigan, settling on a farm near Howell where he taught school during the day and spent his evenings burning brush to clear up his farm. After a few months they returned to Ohio, remaining there a time but coming back again to make Michigan their permanent home. At that time he joined the conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and so became a circuit rider in the early forties, preaching at Flat Rock, Dearborn, Wayne and Trenton, but owing to frail health he was obliged to give up the ministry, studied medicine and in eighteen hundred and fifty-two was graduated from Western Reserve Ohio Medical College, at Cleveland. He returned to Michigan and began his successful practice in partnership with his only brother the late Dr. C. W. Haze, of Pinckney, Livingston County. He remained there two years but finding that his children were being brought up on the ague instead of breakfast foods like the present generation, he moved to Farmington, which in that respect was not so marked an improvement as the inhabitants of Wayne and Oakland counties might imagine. He practised his profession a number of years in Farmington. Among his patients being the parents of the present Governor of our State and also of his estimable wife. In eighteen hundred and fifty-six Dr. Haze was elected to the Legislature and as chairman of the committee did everything in his power to aid in the establishment of the Agricultural College at Lansing. In eighteen hundred and sixty-two he was re-elected. There was a strong agitation in favor of moving the Agricultural College to Ann

Arbor. Dr. Haze did signal service for Lansing and also for the State by throwing the weight of his influence as chairman of the committee in favor of its retention at Lansing. Having removed his residence from Farmington to Lansing when it was incorporated as a city he was elected the first alderman of the first ward and in eighteen hundred and sixty-six was elected mayor of the city. Having all his life been an ardent temperance advocate, during his term of office, he did everything in his power to enforce the liquor law, especially interesting himself in individual cases. Early one morning he saw a man whom he had forbidden the saloonkeepers to give whisky going into a saloon. He hurriedly entered and the quickwitted Irishman seeing him turned to the saloonkeeper and said, "I positively forbid you giving Dr. Haze anything to drink." Dr. Haze was of a genial sunny temperament, always fond of a joke even upon himself and used to tell that and laugh about it as long as he lived. Always optimistic in trouble one of his favorite quotations was, "We walk the wilderness to-day; the promised land to-morrow." For many years he owned a large farm near Lansing, and one of the dreams of his life was to build a home there and in his old age gather about him his children and grandchildren. Then came a great sorrow, the death of his eldest daughter, the wife of the Honorable John S. Tooker, whom President Arthur appointed Secretary of Montana and who is still a resident of that State. In speaking of it to a brother-in-law long after he said, "My daughter's death changed all that plan." His brother-in-law replied, "Henry there is never to be another Eden in this world." A few years ago his eyesight began to fail, resulting in total blindness, but he bore this affliction with patience and cheerfulness. No one ever heard him murmur or complain. The 24th of January, 1910 we laid to rest in Mount Hope Cemetery all that was mortal of Dr. Haze.

Dr. Haze was a lifelong Methodist. His power in Central Methodist Episcopal Church was felt and acknowledged. No official surpassed him in devotion or efficiency. He loved his church, was true to his pastors, appreciated Methodism and was elected a lay delegate to the General Conference in Philadelphia in eighteen hundred eighty-four. It was due to his sagacity and foresight that the Central Methodist Episcopal Church of Lansing secured its present ideal location. When any objection was raised he would say, "Oh, yes, we want it there, facing the beautiful park kept up by the State." When the new church was built he was made chairman of the building committee and his first subscription was a thousand dollars. Later in his feebleness and blindness he would sometimes say, "I did all I could in every way when we built our church and I feel as if it was a kind of monument." Dr. Haze was very fond of poetry and of scripture and had stored his mind

with beautiful things. In his last days he would sit in his corner in a chair presented to him by Central Methodist Church on his eightieth birthday and recite many beautiful hymns. He was fond of scripture and when any of us would read a chapter of the Bible to him he would repeat right along with us so many of them. The real shock which caused his death, undoubtedly, was his wife's death with whom he had lived nearly seventy years. She died December 26, 1909 and he, January 21, 1910. So their separation was less than a month. He was an earnest man, enthusiastic, helpful and hopeful, showing by example as well as precept the way to better things. His public professional domestic and personal life was so pure and good that everybody respected him, loved him and mourned for him. The city flag at half mast proclaimed the popular grief when the sad news went out that Dr. Haze had passed away and an editorial in a Lansing paper in closing said; "The sorrow and grief of a wide circle of friends is tempered by the belief that to Dr. Haze has come a reward above, well earned and richly merited."

DWIGHT N. LOWELL

BY JOHN E. DAY

Dwight N. Lowell, resident of Romeo, Macomb County, Michigan, was born on a farm a little over a mile south of Romeo village, Jan. 15, 1843. He traces his family on his father's side to Norman ancestry. Percival who was the first in America came from Bristol, England, in 1639, and settled in Newburyport, Mass. The ancestor of Percival Lowell "came in with the Conqueror" and was a participant in the battle of Hastings. So far as known the Lowells of America trace their family history back to Percival Lowell. The great grandfather was a native of Massachusetts and was a soldier of the Revolution. Josiah Lowell, grandfather, moved early in the last century to Moriah, N. Y., where Nelson Lowell, father of the subject of this sketch was born in 1810. The mother of Dwight N. Lowell was Laura Ewell of Middleburg, N. Y., whose parents were Scotch descendants of John Ewell who came from Scotland in 1734.

The subject of this sketch passed the early years of his life upon the farm, attending the district school winters until 1854 when he commenced a course of study as a member of the Dickinson Institute of Romeo, which continued until 1862. He then further pursued a preparatory course at Jackson, soon after which he entered the University of Michigan and graduated June 26, 1867, and was chosen class poet.

He studied law at the University and in 1868 entered the law office of the Hon. Elisha E. Meade. Upon examination in open court before Judge James S. Dewey, he was admitted to the bar, a full-fledged lawyer. In 1869 and 1870 he was clerk of the judiciary committee of the house of representatives at Lansing. On Nov. 1, 1869, he opened an office in Romeo, and here he practiced till his death. He was engaged in many important suits. Although in no sense an office seeker, he filled many important positions, as prosecuting attorney of his native county, president of the village seven years and its attorney many times. He was for more than twenty years director of the Romeo High School and always manifested a great interest in educational and historical matters. He spent much time in compiling a complete history of the various schools of Romeo, with a complete list of all the pupils of the same, together with the personal history of each so far as known, also a history of each successive schoolhouse and church of the village. He took great care to make this entirely reliable and succeeded in leaving to the community and to future generations a work of great interest and value. He was a Republican and for thirty years was a member of the state conventions as they occurred. In 1904 he was delegate to the national convention which nominated Roosevelt candidate for presidency. Though not a member of any church his sympathies were with the Congregationalists. A high Mason he served his lodge in every capacity and was always prompt and faithful. He was twice married, first in 1882 to Nellie J. Horton, who died two years after. In 1899 he married Marion Stone who survives him. He died at his home in Romeo, July 27, 1907.

MRS. HENRY J. MARTIN

Mrs. Martin whose maiden name was Martha E. Jones, died at Vermontville, Michigan, February 7, 1910. She was born in Pennsylvania in 1835, and came to Michigan in 1865. She was a graduate of Oberlin College and was a successful teacher in the Vermontville high school until 1867, when she married Henry J. Martin. She was very active in church, temperance and missionary work and a faithful, consistent member of the Congregational Church and of its choir.

She leaves a husband, two sons, J. J. and C. W. Martin of Battle Creek, and two daughters, Jennie and Edith of Vermontville.

WILLIAM C. MAYBURY

BY REV. JOHN CONNOLLY[1]

It is not the purpose of this humble appreciation of the life and labors of William C. Maybury, to enter into any lengthy or fulsome eulogy of his career. Rather it is the aim of the writer to state as simply and tersely as possible the salient facts and features of that career, which conduced so much to the up-building of his native city and State.

William Cotter Maybury was born in Detroit on the 20th of November, 1849, and died in his native city on May 5, 1909. His life, therefore, covered a span of sixty years; and that these were years full of usefulness and uplift for his friends and neighbors, no one who knew him, or of him, will dare gainsay. His father, Thomas Maybury, was born in Bandon, County Cork, Ireland, in 1809, and was there married, in 1832, to Miss Margaret Cotter. Two years later the young couple emigrated to America, first settling in Lockport, New York, but shortly removing to Detroit, making the then tedious and difficult journey by way of the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes. They were the parents of eight children, most notable of whom was William C. Maybury, the subject of this sketch. At an early age he entered the old Houghton School, and after successfully completing his studies in the grammar grades, he was graduated into the old Capitol High School, from which institution he received his diploma in 1866. Immediately thereafter, he entered the literary department of the University of Michigan, which institution conferred upon him the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In 1871 he graduated from the law department of the same institution, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Laws. Subsequently, in 1880, his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts as a signal token of its appreciation of his high standing in the professional life of this commonwealth.

He entered the law office of the Honorable George V. N. Lothrop, at that time the leader of the Michigan Bar, and subsequently the Minister of the United States at the Imperial Court of St. Petersburg. Upon his admission to the Bar in 1871 he formed a professional partnership with Edwin F. Conely, under the firm name of Conely & Maybury. Subsequently, Honorable Alfred Lucking became a junior member of the firm, which continued for some years under the firm title of Conely, Maybury & Lucking. In the early '90's, Mr. Conely withdrew from the firm, and for some years the firm was known as Maybury & Lucking,

[1]Read at midwinter meeting, Kalamazoo, January, 1911.

but in the late '90's it became, by the addition of two junior partners, the firm of Maybury, Lucking, Emmons & Helfman.

While he was engaged in the pursuit of his profession, Mr. Maybury found time to take a prominent part in public affairs. His kindly personality and his rare mental gifts and attainments made him a popular favorite with the people of his native city. Always a staunch Democrat, he became recognized as the strongest man of his party in Detroit, and held that distinction for many years. From 1875 to 1880, he occupied the position of City Attorney of Detroit. In 1882, he was elected to represent the First Congressional District of Michigan in the Forty-eighth Congress and was re-elected in 1884. His record during both terms was one which reflected credit not only upon himself, but upon the great constituency which he represented. So quickly were his masterful abilities recognized, that he was accorded membership on the important committees of Judiciary, and Ways and Means. Amongst other peculiar benefits which he obtained for his native city, was the erection of the new postoffice building in Detroit; and securing the necessary permission from Congress to erect the bridge which connects the City of Detroit with Belle Isle Park.

After he had completed his second term in Congress, he retired to private life, and to the practice of his profession. His executive capacity was early recognized by men high in financial circles, and he was chosen, during this period, as the managing director of the Standard Life & Accident Association. For ten years he combined his profession and the care of his duties as the responsible head of the insurance company. Citizens of his native city were loath to deprive themselves for all time of his valuable and appreciated services, and on the 10th of April, 1897, he was chosen to serve as mayor for the unexpired term of Honorable Hazen S. Pingree, who had been elected Governor of Michigan at the preceding fall election. He was successively elected and reelected until 1904, when he again retired to private life. During all his term as Mayor, he held in the highest degree the warm affection of the public. He was noted as a man of the kindliest sympathies and the most unostentatious yet generous charity. At Christmas time, and at other appropriate seasons of the year, he personally visited all the charitable institutions of the city, and spoke words of cheer and comfort to the inmates. He inaugurated the system of grade separation which is now being pushed to completion in the city of Detroit. He successfully celebrated the 200th anniversary of the founding of Detroit by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, and as a recognition of his services in that regard, he was elected by the French Government to the honorable position of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor of the French Republic. Not a breath of scandal ever attached to his administration

as mayor of the city, nor to the administrations of the several departments by men whom he appointed. He seemed to have the happy faculty of selecting trustworthy and efficient men, and of inspiring them with his own burning desire to faithfully serve his native city. Intermingled with this active life of public and professional usefulness, Mr. Maybury occupied a unique social position. It has been said of him that he was the most skillful press agent that any city ever possessed. Under his regime Detroit came to be known as the Convention City of the United States, and his skillful, tactful and happy manner of greeting the citizens of other communities gave him a nation-wide reputation as a public speaker.

Mr. Maybury was a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity, having passed every grade in both the York and Scottish Rite bodies, including the thirty-third degree. In 1898 he served as Commander-in-Chief of Michigan Sovereign Consistory, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite. No Masonic function was complete without his presence. In religion he was attached to the Protestant Episcopal Church, for many years acting as Senior Warden of St. Peter's Church, and was a director of the organization of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, a church organization of that religious denomination.

Mr. Maybury possessed a broad catholicity of spirit. He was incapable of personal or factional bitterness. He recognized in its fullest extent the brotherhood of man; and, more than any other man of his native city, sought to realize the obligations of that brotherhood in his daily life.

The people of the City of Detroit, by public subscription, are building a magnificent monument to his memory.[2] It is to be placed in Grand Circus Park in Detroit, opposite that which commemorates the fame of the great Hazen S. Pingree. It is peculiarly fitting that the man of heart, the man of gentle words and gentle ways, should be set opposite the man of force and achievement so that they who come after us in the future days of this commonwealth will learn from both to acquire that blending of character which will indicate both strength and gentleness, both power and kindness.

[2]This statue of William C. Maybury is being made by the famous sculptor Adolph Alexander Weinman who also designed the Alexander Macomb statue of Detroit. It will be in bronze.

JOHN C. PATTERSON

BY M. AGNES BURTON

John C. Patterson, one of the most prominent and influential citizens of southern Michigan was born in a log cabin in Eckford township, Calhoun County, March 27th, 1838. His parents were David and Harriet (Waite) Patterson, his father being a descendant of William Patterson of Argyleshire, Scotland, founder of the Bank of England. His boyhood was spent upon the farm and in attending school in the winter months. Later he attended the Seminary at Albion. In 1859 he entered Hillsdale College and worked his way through by teaching, waiting on table, working on the farm and ringing the bell. He graduated from the institution in 1864. His ambition led him to pursue his studies in the law school in Albany, N. Y., from which he graduated in 1867 and was admitted to the bar the same year. His first cases in the Supreme Court Michigan were argued before Judges Cooley, Campbell, Christiancy and Graves. After practicing two years he entered into partnership with William H. Brown and continued his profession in this State until the time of his death May 24, 1910.

In August 1867 he married Minnie Ward, a college classmate, well-known as a scholar, artist and writer. In politics he was a Republican. For four years he was elected State Senator, his only political office, serving on the most important committees. By personal influence he secured the passage of an amendment to the general railroad law against the opposition on railroads and an adverse Senate, which made the Detroit, Toledo and Milwaukee Railroad from Allegan to Toledo through Marshall a possibility. He drafted, introduced and secured the passage of the statute of limitations to real estate mortgages, which has settled the titles to thousands of homes. He was chairman of the committee on taxation and introduced a bill suggesting a plan of tax commission to prepare a tax law which would relieve the taxpayers from double taxation by enabling the State to collect taxes on non-resident lands and thus removed the necessity of re-taxation upon the property owners who had already paid their just share.

Mr. Patterson also drafted the bill which placed probate judges on a salary according to the population. In 1901 he was prime mover and drafted the bill which made Calhoun County the thirty-seventh judicial circuit. In 1903 as chairman of the committee on legislation and law reform of the State Bar Association he drafted the bill re-organizing the Supreme Court by adding three more judges. At that time his

name was mentioned by friends and the press for one of the new judgeships, but he refrained from resorting to the prevailing methods of securing office. Mr. Patterson was a member of the Michigan Bar Association and the Calhoun County Bar Association of which he was president for several years.

He was an enthusiastic member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society since 1886 and contributed many valuable articles to its volumes. He spent several years on the paper "Marshall Men and Measures in State and National History" which was delivered before the Society in January 1909. In this paper he gives Isaac E. Crary the credit of having introduced at the first Constitutional Convention the three great measures which produced the school system which we have and of having expanded and perfected this system in 1850 until it was able to provide for the free school system of today. He places John D. Pierce, to whom many historians have given the credit of the system, after Crary, giving him the place of organizer of the system. According to Mr. Patterson, Marshall gave the Fugitive Slave law its deathblow and hastened the Civil War. The affair of Crosswhite a fugitive slave from Kentucky, who resisted the efforts of his former owner to detain him, the popular sentiment which it aroused and the open demonstrations of the citizens of Marshall in 1847 resulted in Kentucky drawing up resolutions and presenting them to Congress demanding the Fugitive Slave law of 1850. The strengthening of this law aroused more sympathy for the oppressed and lead to the organization of a new National party opposed to slavery. The Republican party Under the Oaks at Jackson, Mich., showed much spirit and took a prominent part in this new movement.

Mr. Patterson not only contributed from his pen to the Pioneer Society but was successful in obtaining from Mrs. Belona Crary Frink, former widow of Isaac E. Crary, the oil portrait of that gentleman, and presented it to the Society. Mr. Patterson was highly respected by all and his influence was widespread. He left a widow and two sons, Rev. George Leo Patterson and Dr. Frank Patterson.

THEODORE E. POTTER

BY REV. WILLIAM PUTNAM[1]

Theodore E. Potter died at his home in Lansing, October 25th, 1910, aged 78 years, 8 months.

Probably most of you have known him as a member of this Society. I feel it a great honor to tell you of a long, active, busy, useful and honored life like his. My purpose is simply to present an outline from his birth to the time of his death. He was born in Saline, Washtenaw county, and with his father and his family he came to Eaton County when twelve years of age. His father settled on a farm where Potterville is now located, and which is named after him. When Theodore was fourteen his father died and his portion of parental duty was to aid in the sustenance of the family. This was before Lansing was located, and with his ox-team he helped to bring the material for many of the first buildings in Lansing.

At twenty he left his home and with others went with his ox-team and entered the western wilderness in search of gold in California. They were six months in crossing the plains. That journey was intensely full of tragic incidents and dangers of the desert, wild animals and wilder Indians. After reaching Sacramento he went to the gold fields where he remained five years. This was in 1852. In 1857 he returned to Michigan and remained one or two years. But inducements were strong in Minnesota where lands were just opening up for settlement. On reaching there he almost immediately engaged in conflict with the Indians. The Spirit Lake Settlement massacre had just taken place but he was there to see twenty of the Indians hanged. For three years he was constantly engaged in fighting and in a siege of one of the towns he organized a company of mounted men and drove away the Indians. He constantly went on expeditions against them either as first lieutenant or captain, and finally in command of the mounted men, and at last subdued the Indians and expelled them from the State. A large number of the men requested him to raise a company of men for the Civil War. It took him just four days to recruit the number, take command and join the regiment that was sent to Tennessee, where he was on duty until peace was declared. This was the 11th Minnesota regiment. At the close of the Civil War he returned home for the purpose of improving the farm, two miles out of Garden City, Minnesota. But this was the year of the grasshoppers and the crops were destroyed. Dis-

[1]Read at annual meeting, June, 1911.

couraged, Mr. Potter brought the family back to Potterville, where they remained until 1891 coming then to Lansing.

One incident which happened after he came to Michigan must not pass unnoticed. At the time he went to Minnesota to dispose of his home and farm, desperadoes were at work in the country—the James boys and the three Young boys together with a guide. This guide went to Mr. Potter's farm pretending to buy up grasshopper infected farms. Upon leaving he said to Mr. Potter, "You will hear from us again." Mr. Potter did, and they also heard from Mr. Potter. They were followed over the country and the gang scattered, one part going one way and the other part another. Mr. Potter headed a company of men after the James boys but they had crossed the Missouri river so they returned and joined the other band of men. They followed the other gang of desperadoes and wounded three, then captured them.

Mr. Potter returned to Michigan in 1891. In 1901 he was elected commander of the Grand Army post in Lansing. We were very intimate the last ten years of his life. Nine years ago an incident took place that I must record. Mr. Potter was deeply interested in the production of his life history, not theoretically but practically. He had written in pencil short notes of his life and many stirring events, these he brought to me for completion under his supervision. This was continued at intervals for three years, and in writing that autobiography in which I had part would probably fill three hundred ordinary pages and type of book. These incidents took place all after the bank robber incident.

He was very devoted to the Grand Army of the Republic. He was intensely loyal and patriotic and interested especially in the increase of the Grand Army of the Republic in this city. By his personal efforts he succeeded in adding by reinstatement nearly 200 of our old soldiers. He received the highest commendation from Commander Vincent, as the most active and successful recruiter in the United States. He publicly made this statement and honored him very highly.

From Mr. Potter's writings I learned three predominent characteristics; one, his remarkable memory. All of his life, incidents connected with it, places, dates, persons, he recalled to memory. He said he had never written a dairy or memorandum of any kind. It astonished me to know that one could go through so much and remember everything.

The second characteristic, I should say, was his tenacity of purpose. He never gave up anything and saw that it was executed. I never saw him have a failure, in matters of his patriotic endeavors. For years he was a voluntary instructor in patriotism for the State. He spent time and no small amount of money to enlist the youth of the State in patriotic matters such as giving prizes for the best essays on patriotic subjects by pupils of the public schools.

The third characteristic I think, was his temperament, his always calm, always friendly, always ready to meet a friend, always winning the respect and regard of all who knew him. He never showed the slightest indignation, ill-will, bad temper and never hatred of those who did not agree with him. He would argue his point calmly and deliberately and usually at the close take the person by the hand.

He was governed by two rules—"If you have anything good to say about anyone say it at once, if anything bad wait twenty-four hours and you will be glad that you have not said it"; "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

Mr. Potter was a member of the Military Order of Loyal Legion of the United States, which met in their Memorial Hall at Detroit and pronounced a eulogy on the brave veteran. Captain Potter was married in 1858 to Miss De Graff of Battle Creek, Michigan and their five children were born to them in their Garden City home, and thirteen grandchildren survive him. The eulogy recounts his brave and efficient military service and pays a glowing tribute to his manly character.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of October, 1910, he telephoned me to come to his office. I spent all the morning making plans for future work for maintaining the interests of the Grand Army of the Republic throughout the State. We discussed and talked until noon. I learned afterwards that he went home to dinner, and then went to the office but not feeling well, again returned home. He said to his family, "I am not feeling well, I will lie down; I shall soon be better," and would not have a doctor. He lay down on the couch and simply went to sleep, the sleep without an awakening until the last Resurrection Day.

DR. CARL LUDWIG ROMINGER

BY DR. A. C. LANE

Dr. Carl Ludwig Rominger, who died April 27th, 1907, at Ann Arbor, had been State geologist of Michigan for a longer time than any other. He was born at Schnaitheim, on the Brenz River, Würtemburg, December 31, 1820, and was the son of Ludwig and Johanna Dorothea (Hoecklin). He worked and studied four years in a drug store, and in the fall of 1839 went to the University of Tubingen where he received his degree as M. D. in 1842. While Dr. Rominger was in the university he obtained two prizes, one for a paper on the circulation of sap in plants, the second (1845) for a map of the neighborhood of Tübingen.

The motto he chose in competition for the latter was as follows: "Only through detailed investigation does it become possible to establish general laws." This is a characteristic motto which might be applied to all his scientific work, which is characterized by careful and thorough investigation of details. The report of the faculty upon his work praised its detailed and exhaustive character, its thorough and assured mastery of even the most difficult points. The minor criticism they make that the paper was so weighed down with instructive observations that a clearer picture of the whole was not given, might also perhaps be applied to his later work. In the award of the prize his home is given as Waiblingen, a considerable town not far from Stuttgart.

From 1845-1848 he had a grant of 400 gulden yearly for geological travels and thus he had a chance to see Germany, Bohemia, the Tyrol, Switzerland and the northern part of France and Belgium, and published some short notes of his observations in the (Leonhard's) Geological Year Book.

He was assistant in the chemical laboratory under C. Greulin. About this time the movement for freeing Germany, in which Karl Schurz took so prominent a part, was agitating the country. Dr. Rominger sympathized with the young fellows and (as he told me) frankly expressed it to the Minister of the Interior who agreed to his proposition to continue his travel stipend another year, with the understanding that he would go to America and not come back. This interruption to his geological studies was regretted afterwards by Dr. Rominger, for he came to this country not quite fully equipped, in his own estimation, to continue in the geological line, and moreover he landed in New York, after a fifty days trip in a sailing vessel from Bremen, with practically no knowledge of English, so that he could neither understand nor be understood. To the day of his death German was his mother tongue. In consequence he had to fall back on his profession as a physician, practicing among the German settlers.

He had geologized up the Hudson and across to Buffalo, and finally found himself at Cincinnati where the collection for paleontologists is famous. Here he lived for some months practicing his profession, but really more interested always in geology and especially in fossils, and quite poor. The temptation to dabble in Cincinnati mud and clay for fossils was too much for the good of his practice even in days when antisepsis was not the medical fad. He did not stay many months but went to Chillicothe where he remained eleven years.

By 1854 he had got ahead enough to marry, at Tübingen (Nov. 30th) Frederica Mayer, by whom he had a son, Dr. Louis Rominger of Louisville, Ky., and two daughters, Louise and Marie. In 1860 he changed his residence to Ann Arbor and there obtained a much better income

from his practice. There as at Saginaw he received a valuable contingent. Many of the "Lateinische Bauern" were men of education, rank and means who came here like Rominger owing to their sympathy with free institutions and were able to appreciate a man like Rominger. During all this time he had retained a lively interest in the Natural sciences and developed it according to circumstances. The great variety of shells from the Ohio and its tributaries and the paleontology and geology of other places of residence attracted his interest and by collecting and exchange and the correspondence which went with it he became known in a wider circle as a scientific man.

Upon the reorganization of the Geological Survey of the State in 1869, under Prof. A. Winchell, Dr. Rominger was employed as a paleontologist, and when Prof. Winchell resigned in 1871, Rominger, Brooks and Pumpelly were each kept in charge of their own particular fields and when Brooks had finished his work on the iron country and Pumpelly his on the copper country, Rominger remained in full charge of the Survey. He continued in charge until 1884 and from his pen comes the third part of Volume 1, Volumes III and IV and the first part of Volume V of the state reports. His special interest was paleontology, and his interest in fossils and his zeal in collecting them was unwearied. He was a genuine scientist of the old school, brusque in his manner, with no idea of running the Survey as a bureau, and not always too patient toward those who asked, what seemed to him, foolish questions. His language could be picturesque as his appearance. I shall never forget the first time I saw him. I was standing on the steps of the wrong house when a dachshund came down the street followed by a bent and grizzled form which I knew at once must be Dr. Rominger. I had no hesitation in leaving the porch and going to the house in which he turned.

All those who have worked over his reports can testify to the conscientious character of his descriptions. Go where he went and you will see what he described. While his primary training and interest was in paleontology, in preparation for his later studies on the copper and iron bearing rocks he made and ground his own thin sections, made his own analyses, and conscientiously tramped up and down the innumerable knobs with which this part of the country is covered.

After his retirement from the State Survey at the ripe age of seventy years, which I am informed was due to the fact that he had announced that the Survey of the State was nearly finished, he remained living quietly at Ann Arbor, studying his collections, and especially the Stromatopora and kindred forms and even after eighty making summer trips for private parties, mainly in the lead and zinc regions and southward, so long as his eyesight permitted.

An interesting story is told by Mr. O. J. Klotz, how when a friend sent him a package of new trilobites from Mr. Stephens in the Canadian Rockies, his eyes fairly bulged when he opened the parcel and saw the treasures of unknown species; he rushed to his wife, slapped her on the back and said: "Wife, life is worth living." He then made a trip to the locality and described them.

He was a pupil of Quenstedt and used to tell with glee how occasionally he and his master would both jump for the same specimen. One beautiful ammonite which Dr. Rominger got first and then turned over to Quenstedt, he gave back to him as a wedding present and it is kept as an heirloom. He had that real love for fossils which was characteristic of the early paleontologists sometimes to excess, as is illustrated by this story which he used to tell: While he had the government grant which enabled him to travel for scientific research, on one of these excursions with a friend, they met a nobleman who was also interested in paleontology and invited them to his castle to see his collection. There was a particularly fine specimen which the friend coveted and wanted very much to buy, but the nobleman could not think of selling anything. However, he invited them to dinner and after a good meal and sundry glasses of wine, felt generous and said: "Here, I won't sell you that specimen but will give it to you," and turning to his servant gave him instructions to go up stairs to the cabinet, on the third shelf in the right-hand corner, etc., and obtain the specimen and bring it down. "But you need not trouble yourself," said the friend, "I have it here in my pocket." Dr. Rominger at one time visited State geologist Hall in Albany, N. Y., and referring to his work on the Bryozoa, probably those around Alpena, which furnish most beautiful specimens, said he had a dream that he had laid out a beautiful garden and the hogs had got in and rooted it all up! Many other stories of his frankness could be added.

Every geologist is at times tempted to become impatient at very natural questions which are asked him concerning pursuits which seem to the casual observer to be utterly foolish. In fact one famous geologist, Clarence King, is said to have owed his life and escape from the Indians several times to their taking him for crazy, when they found him wandering around cracking rock with his hammer. Dr. Rominger sometimes under this questioning became testy. One man told me how he found him walking up and down his plowed potato patch picking up now and then little things, no doubt silicified corals. Watching him a little while and not seeing what he was doing, he sang out:

"Hello, what are you doing there?"

No response.

Again at the end of another row, "I say, old fellow, what are you doing there?"

"You damn fool, can't you see what I am doing?"

But this brusqueness did not mean ill-nature. Like all physicians, he did a great deal of charity ("Lump") practice.

In spite of comparative carelessness or generosity with money matters he did well as a physician in Ann Arbor and had a modest and sufficient competence for his extremely simple habits. He is even known to have torn up a mortgage when he found the people could not pay, though he may have used some not too polite remarks in connection. Like most scientific men, money played a small part in his scheme of life, and he is said to have refused thousands from promoters who wished him to attach his name to certificates, even of the most guarded nature. It may be imagined that he hated to be bothered with petty financial details. A story told me from the Board of Geological Survey illustrates this. The old gentleman brought in a voucher for salary so much and expenses so much, with no items. One of the Board was inclined to question the item and said: "Doctor, how do you know these are your expenses?"

"Why, that is very simple, I put so much money in my pocket when I start out, and have so much when I come back, and the rest is my expenses." It must not be understood, however, that the State suffered under this simple method of account keeping for every year a large part of the appropriation was turned back unexpended into the state treasury. This was also due to the fact that Dr. Rominger never planned to employ other scientific assistants. He made his own analyses, and his own thin sections of coral and igneous rocks and examined them himself.

With Dr. Rominger passes away now one more of the few remaining of the first generation of German pioneers of this state. It is to be sincerely hoped that someone may, right off before it is too late, put on record the many interesting facts concerning this valuable addition to our body politic.

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PALMER HURD TAYLOR

BY MRS. PHILO T. BATES

The subject of this memorial, who passed to the life beyond in the city of Ionia, January 31st, 1911, had, with that date, exactly completed his residence of seventy-three years in Ionia city and vicinity.

He was born in Lewiston, N. Y., July 23d, 1819, and thus, at the time of his death was ninety-one years and six months old; and yet, in spite of physical infirmities, he retained his mental vigor to a remarkable degree. He came, with his parents, from Lockport, N. Y., to Michigan, in 1838, a lad of nineteen years, and drove a cow the entire distance, being twenty-nine days on the road. His parents settled two miles south of Ionia, on what is still known as the Taylor farm, and there the young man made his home for many years working at his trade, as a carpenter. One of the buildings erected by him was his father's farm house.

He was for twenty-years secretary of the Ionia County Pioneer Society and, as was well said, in the obituary notice of a local paper, he was entirely conversant with the history of the city and vicinity and was thus a perfect encyclopedia of local events. Because of his retentive memory and carefully kept personal diary he became an accepted au-

thority in the community on all questions of secular or religious history.

He was married to Arabella Jackson in Monroe, Michigan, in 1854. His married life was comparatively short, Mrs. Taylor dying after nineteen years of wedded life. She was a very bright, attractive woman, but during much of her life was a semi-invalid. She left four little children to whom Mr. Taylor had to be, as best he could, both father and mother and later they repaid this two-fold care by giving to their father, when old age and sickness came to him, the most constant and tender devotion.

At the time of his death Mr. Taylor was the only remaining charter member of the Presbyterian Church of Ionia, organized in 1849. It was a source of great gratification to him that he lived and was able to attend the services at the dedication of the beautiful new church home built on the site of the old frame building erected in 1857.

He was a devoted Mason, said to be, at the time of his demise, the oldest member of the order in the State. He had filled every office in the Masonic bodies, including lodge, chapter, council and commandery, having conferred the degrees upon his own father, the only instance of the kind in Masonic history. He had served the grand bodies as Junior Grand Warden and Grand Captain of the Host. Two years ago the Grand Lodge officers and their staff conferred the Grand Honors upon him at his home, a distinguished honor never before conferred at a private home in the history of Masonry. He was also the only living honorary member from Michigan of the Illinois Veteran Masonic Association whose membership is scattered over the entire globe. Thus outside of the ties of home and kindred Mr. Taylor had an enthusiastic love for, and loyal devotion to his church, the pioneer societies of State and county and the Masonic fraternity. He loved to recall incidents of pioneer days and by his genial, interesting manner always proved an entertaining reviewer of the past. He wrote verse of no mean order. It was a passion with him and many of his poems were widely read. His writings were of a religious character, most frequently picturing the glories of the better life on the farther shore.

The writer's most pleasant impression of our venerable friend was gained years ago through witnessing his devotion to his mother, widowed many years and totally blind for some time before her death. She also lived to be past ninety years of age and was a most lovable, Christian character. Her home was with another son, but Palmer never failed to pay her regular and frequent visits and show her, in every way, the most tender and devoted attention.

DR. EDWIN HOLMES VAN DEUSEN[1]

BY RT. REV. JOHN M. MC CORMICK

Dr. Edwin Holmes Van Deusen was a part of that notable contribution made to the living history of the State of Michigan by the State of New York as the course of immigration of the Empire State took its westward way. He was born in Livingston, Columbia County, New York, on August 29, 1828, and was graduated from Williams College when not quite twenty years of age, in the class of 1848. Even before his graduation he had commenced his medical studies in the office of Dr. Sabine, Williamstown, N. Y., and these were continued at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the State of New York, whence he was graduated with distinction and received at once an appointment as house physician in the New York Hospital. It is recorded by one of his medical memorialists and may here be mentioned as characteristic of his attitude toward his profession and toward life itself, that he was one of those young internes who volunteered their services during the terrible epidemic of typhus fever, nearly all of whom died as martyrs of their duty and devotion. At the completion of his term of service at the New York Hospital he became assistant to Dr. John P. Gray[2] in the Utica Asylum and was immediately associated with some of the most eminent men[3] who were at that time, under many difficulties and discouragements and in spite of much public and even professional indifference or criticism, devoting themselves to the scentific care and relief of the insane. In 1848 the Legislature of Michigan had passed an act looking towards the construction of an asylum, but it was not until 1854 that plans for the buildings were made under the supervision of Dr. Gray and in 1855-56-57 Dr. Van Deusen spent much of his time in Michigan superintending the erection of the Kalamazoo Asylum and helping to create public opinion that should be favorable to the accomplishment of what seemed at that time a novel undertaking on a generous, statesmanlike and scientific scale. On July 22, 1858, he married Cynthia A. Wendover, of Stuyvesant, N. Y., who for fifty years was with him in all his labors and philanthropies. They had two children, one

[1]Read at midwinter meeting, 1911.

[2]Dr. John Purdue Gray, American alienist, born Half Moon, Penn., 1829; died Utica, N. Y., Nov. 29. 1886; graduated from Dickinson college 1846 and took medical degree at U. of P. 1848. He was successively assistant physician and medical superintendent of N. Y. State Asylum at Utica. For many years editor of *American Journal of Insanity. Brit. Ency.*

[3]Dr. Gray, Dr. Chapin, later of of Willard Hospital, Dr. Cleveland, the first superintendent of Poughkeepsie State Hospital and others, were his associates.

died in infancy, the other, Robert Thompson Van Deusen, resides in Albany, N. Y. In 1858 he removed to Kalamazoo as superintendent of the new asylum, retaining the office and carrying on the work with ever-increasing wisdom, honor and success for twenty years. During this long period of intelligent and devoted public service, at a salary for some years of only $800, he not only organized and developed the institution at Kalamazoo, but he created, controlled and directed public opinion throughout the State in regard to the proper treatment of the insane and he was largely instrumental and influential in the building of the Eastern Asylum at Pontiac and the Northern Asylum at Traverse City.[4] He was also, for several years, a distinguished and useful member of the State Board of Corrections and Charities. Those who are competent to speak of his professional career are unanimous in declaring that it was marked with every evidence of zeal, intelligence and leadership and that it was consummated and crowned with dignity, success and honor. His unusual ability was shown not only in the mastery of equipment and administration, but on the technical and scholarly side, in his increasing mastery of the subtleties and perplexities of the psycho-physical conditions of insanity evidence among other achivements by his studies in neurasthenia. We are told by a competent authority[5] that "his pen was the first to describe, under the name of *'Neurasthenia'* the symptom-complex which was noted by him as a frequent precursor of insanity" and that in his monograph upon the subject "he struck a blow for preventative medicine which has made us his debtors for all times."[6]

When Dr. Van Deusen resigned in 1878 the superintendency of the Michigan State Asylum it was not to retire to a life of indifference and detachment. He took with dignity his well earned repose, but he maintained an active and a broadminded interest in all public affairs and displayed an unselfish, a patriotic and a philanthropic attitude toward his neighbors and his fellow-citizens and towards all the concerns of church and State. Conjointly with his wife he was the donor of the splendid Public Library, which is one of the chief utilities as well as one of the chief ornaments of the city of Kalamazoo. He was the chair-

[4]In a report written in 1862 he definitely proposed the plan later carried out by his long-time assistant and successor, Dr. George C. Palmer, known as the "colony plan." Also the plans for the male department of Kalamazoo Asylum, and the ground plans for the Eastern Asylum at Pontiac were wholly his work and only placed in the hands of an architect when completed; the architect's drawings were returned to him for revision before being adopted. *Obituary of Dr. Van Deusen* by Justin E. Emerson, M. D.

[5]See *Obituary of Edwin H. Van Deusen, M. D.*, written by Justin E. Emerson, M. D., in the *American Journal of Insanity*. Dr. Van Deusen was an associate editor of the magazine when it was in its infancy.

[6]This was before Dr. Beard had published his work on the same subject. *Obituary of Dr. Van Deusen*, Justin E. Emerson, M. D.

man of the building committee of the new St. Luke's Church, one of the most beautiful ecclesiastical edifices in Michigan. He was also a leader in interest as well as in gifts in the erection of the commodious and elegant Parish House attached to the church and he joined with Mrs. Van Deusen in large gifts to the Diocese of Western Michigan, particularly for the relief to disabled and infirm clergy and for the permanent endowment of the Episcopate.[7]

These extensions and expressions of much liberality and public mindedness were coincident with innumerable evidences of private and personal kindness and charitableness, which, unknown to us, are not unrecorded in the chronicles of the Heavenly Kingdom. Thus rounding out his days, he passed away on July 6, 1909, in the 82nd year of his age. On July 28 a memorial service, which I had the honor to conduct, was held in St. Luke's Church. There was a large and devout congregation and resolutions from the Academy of Medicine were read by Dr. Ralph Balch, its president; a tribute was paid by Dr. I. A. Noble, the superintendent of the Asylum, who also read resolutions from the joint board of the Michigan Asylums; resolutions were read from the Board of Education and from the City Council and Mr. Frank H. Milham, Mayor of Kalamazoo, made appropriate remarks. An address was delivered by Dean Roger H. Peters, his former rector, and by myself as his bishop. The summary of these tributes leads us to look upon Dr. Van Deusen as an example of the highest and noblest of American citizenship.

Reference has often been made frequently to Dr. Van Deusen's modesty and quietness, his aversion to display or affectation and his desire that, if possible, even his left hand should not know the good deeds which his right hand was every busy in doing. He was a marked exception of that American disease which Dr. Henry Van Dyke has called publicomania,—the insane passion for notoriety and public recognition which taints and poisons so many gifts and so many givers, so many public deeds and so many public doers.

This leads me to refer to the intimate beauty of his private life and to the association with him throughout his whole career in all his tasks and benefactions, of his wife, that serene and gracious lady who still survives him. In these days of family division and of domestic cross-purposes, it was refreshing and uplifting to witness the close companionship of husband and wife, their identity of interests, their united accomplishments of common purposes and common desires. Such characters as apart from the meretricious, noisy and self-centered lives, so alarmingly numerous among us, are the stuff of which republics are made and

[7]He did not become an acknowledged member of any church until a few years before his retirement when he united with St. Luke's Episcopal Church of Kalamazoo. Justin E. Emerson, M. D.

by which alone they can be maintained. By such lives alone can we preserve

"Our peace, our fearful innocence,
And pure religion breathing household laws."

P. DEAN WARNER

BY FRED M. WARNER[1]

The invitation to appear before you for the purpose of paying a tribute to one of Michigan's honored pioneers is one that is thoroughly appreciated. Your organization is one that deserves the encouragement and support of the people of the State of Michigan. You are doing work of importance and of a character that will be of increasing importance and interest as the years go by. You are doing this from motives that are unselfish and that does you honor and the States owes this Society, and those who have built it up and maintained it a debt of gratitude.

The existence of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society is evidence of the fact that there are people who are not entirely carried away with the commercial spirit of the age we live in, but that there are those who can and do devote time, effort and money to the splendid purpose of creating and fostering a feeling of regard and reverence for the pioneers who blazed the way into the wilderness and laid the foundation for the State we honor.

Our great State is your debtor and I believe future generations will commend to an even greater degree than do we of the present generation your labors in gathering and preserving the records of our early history.

I cannot claim the honor of being a native son of Michigan but my respect and love for that splendid Oakland County citizen whose name I bear leads me to express my gratitude to you for the invitation to pay a tribute, however inadequate, as I am certain it will be, to his memory.

The life of P. Dean Warner can well be cited as an instance where a sterling ancestry and a rugged environment brought forth and developed those qualities that made him well fitted to endure the privations and perform the tasks incident to a new country. He was born in Schuyler County, New York, August 12, 1822, and he was less than three years of age when his parents, Seth A. L. and Sally Warner, removed in April, 1825, to Michigan. Their journey from New York to Michigan was not

[1]Ex-governor Warner read this tribute to his foster father at the annual meeting, June, 1911.

unlike those of other pioneer families of that period. The story of the trip, the planning and the preparations for it, the breaking of the old ties and associations, its many hardships and anxieties would not be new to many of you. I heard it from my father's lips who in turn learned it from his parents. It has become part of our family history and the story will be told and retold to succeeding generations. The change in our state since that time, tremendous as it has been, is more than equaled by the change in the method of getting here. The time required for the trip from Detroit to their home two miles north of the present Farmington village, was greater than that now required to make the trip from New York to Lansing. At the age of fifteen it seemed clear to the boy that it was his duty to leave the parental roof and commence his business career. Clerking in a country store was the beginning of a mercantile career that was a long and honorable one. For six years he served in that capacity in the general store at Farmington with the exception of two or three months each year spent in attending school.

Part of one year he attended the Northville school. He spent one year in Detroit clerking, with this exception his entire lifetime was spent in Farmington.

He was early called upon to serve his fellow townsmen in official station, serving as Justice of Peace, Clerk and Supervisor for many years. In 1846 he was able to purchase one-half interest in a small stock of goods and establish a store in Farmington under the name of Botsford and Warner. In 1850 he was chosen as a Democratic member of the House of Representatives from Oakland County and as such he participated in the election of Lewis Cass as United States Senator from Michigan. He served but one term at this time. He was always interested in National affairs as well as State and it was not long after his first legislative experience that he believed it to be his duty to leave the party of Cass with which he had been identified. On the other hand he could not endorse the principles of the opposition. He was therefore ready to accept membership in the new political organization born upon Michigan soil. He was one of those who voted for John C. Fremont and he remained until his death a steadfast member of the party he helped organize.

In 1864 he was again selected as a Representative and served two terms in the House. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the Legislature and was chosen Speaker in his second term. He was deeply interested in the growth and development of the State and his vote and influence could be counted upon for any measure that sought to add to the educational resources of the State or to care for its dependent and unfortunate. He was a friend of the University and the

Agricultural College, believing that money expended for educating our boys and girls would be returned a hundredfold by their increasing usefulness. He believed that the educational advantages denied him should be placed within the reach of every boy and girl. Those enjoying the splendid opportunities at these institutions to-day owe a debt of gratitude to such men as P. Dean Warner, who in the face of strong opposition stood by them and started them on their careers of usefulness. His services as a lawmaker ended with a term in the State Senate in 1869-70. He was an active member of the Constitutional Convention of 1867, a body that numbered in its membership many able and influential men. The Constitution submitted was not adopted, however, sharing the fate of many amendments submitted during a period when it seemed to be the settled policy of the people to vote No upon any suggested change in the organic law of the State.

He was a man of deep religious convictions and was a member of the Presbyterian Church for many years. He was attentive to the minor duties of the good citizen in the home community and was foremost in every movement for the improvement of the little village he loved to call home. Its churches and its schools had in him a loyal friend. He was active in many lines of business, but it was as the village storekeeper and banker that he was best known.

As old age brought infirmities he gave up one by one the business cares and while waiting for the final summons enjoyed the well earned freedom from the cares and activities of a business career lasting nearly if not quite three score years and ten.

He was a friend and counselor of three generations of Farmington people and there are many men in Oakland County who are to-day the better for having relied upon his judgment and acted upon his advice.

This sketch would not be complete without a reference to the woman who shared with him the toil and privation of pioneer life and lived to witness the marvelous change that such as they have brought about. P. Dean Warner and Rhoda Elizabeth Botsford were married November 8, 1845, in Ann Arbor by Prof. Tenbrook, and to them were given almost sixty-six years of happy married life before his death, August 28, 1910. The faithful wife, my mother,[2] is still with us, at the rare old age of eighty-seven, looking back upon a long life filled with good deeds.

Michigan owes much to such men and such women as these, and the organization that seeks to perpetuate and keep alive a feeling of regard and affection for them has my best wishes for its future, and should certainly have the support at all times of our State and all its citizens.

[2]Mrs. Warner died at Farmington, Aug. 11, 1911.

MRS. FRANK A. WEAVER

Mrs. Frank A. Weaver died Monday morning, May 2, 1910, at her home in Charlotte, Michigan. She was prominent in club work, not only in her city and county but in the State Federation of Women's Clubs, of which she was secretary two years. She had been associate editor of the Michigan Club Bulletin, published from this city, since the begining of its publication. Her last work for the federation was editing a cookbook, under the direction and with the assistance of the state president, Mrs. Florence G. Mills, and looking after sales of same, not only at the last annual meeting in Hillsdale, but by correspondence since that time, even to a few weeks before her death. The cookbook will be regarded by Michigan club women as a memorial of her work and interest in the federation. She was for three years president of the County Federation of Women's Clubs and was twice elected president of the Charlotte Woman's Club. Her home was perhaps more often used for club functions than that of any other member. Her death is a loss to club women here and elsewhere. She leaves besides her husband, Dr. F. A. Weaver, two step-sons, to whom she has so faithfully and well filled the place of mother that she will be as sincerely mourned by them as an own mother could be. She spent the winter at Austin, Texas, where the older son, Hal C. Weaver, is a professor in the state university. The younger son, Don, is a senior medical student in the University of Michigan. He was her attendant for the last few days. Dr. Weaver received a telegram about three weeks ago from his son in Texas stating that Mrs. Weaver was worse and he left the same day for Austin. She rallied and they came home a few days later.

HENRY WHITELEY

BY HARRY H. WHITELEY

Henry Whiteley was born in Hartlepool, England, on February 2nd, 1853, being at the time of his death fifty-seven years, one month and ten days old. With his father, a contractor, he came to this country in the early sixties, and lived a year or two in New York City and near Trenton, New Jersey. From there they came to Jackson, Michigan, where his mother and sister joined them. Here he spent some time sell-

ing papers and watching the enlistment of the soldiers, for the great Civil War was then at its height. Once he endeavored to go to the front as a drummer boy but his father caught him as the train was leaving.

From Jackson he went to Mason, which became his home for many years. Here he worked, became express agent, conducted a little book store, and was married on November 16th, 1878, to Miss Lulu Piper, who survives him after a happy married life of over thirty-one years.

In 1882 he went to Gaylord, then the terminus of the Mackinaw division of the Michigan Central railroad. He gradually progressed in life as bookkeeper, school-teacher and county clerk in which office he served two terms. During this time he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1889. He continued in the practice of law at Gaylord until 1893, when he was appointed bookkeeper in the State Land Office in Lansing. He remained there until 1900, the last two years as chief clerk.

The latter part of December, 1900, he came to Millersburg and on January 15th, 1901, published the first number of the Presque Isle County News and opened an office for the practice of law, remaining here until the time of his death. Such is a brief chronology of his busy and well spent life.

He has always been active in politics, a staunch Republican at all times. He was chairman of the Republican county committee of Otsego County for a number of years and has been a prominent figure at Republican state and district conventions and political gatherings.

For over thirty-five years he has been an Odd Fellow, at the time of his death being a member of Capital Lodge, No. 45, Friendship Encampment and the Daughters of Rebeccah, all of Lansing. At one time he was prominently mentioned as a candidate for Grand Secretary of the order in Michigan. He was also a member of the Knights of the Maccabees, belonging to the Millersburg tent.

With but a few years of schooling, all obtained before he reached his twelfth year, he was forced to obtain his education in the school of experience, and through studying while employed. He was strictly a self-made man, attaining success by sheer persistency and never ceasing hard knocks. While only a boy he had a widowed mother and sister to support, necessitating his leaving school. He worked in the woods in the Saginaw valley in the early seventies. In business he was energetic, a pusher, and a booster. By the very strenuosity of his labors he has made enemies. When he had an object in view he spared nothing in attaining it. But even those who did not agree with him gave him full credit for his ability "to do things." It is said that no man amounts to anything who makes no enemies. So, knowing when he made enemies it was not through a desire to do so, but merely an incident in the

achievement of a purpose. I feel sure, that he made for himself a place in the life about him. He was a loving husband and parent. He gave all his children a good education and prided himself on carefully supervising their studies. He belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, was a regular attendant and was especially interested in Sunday school work with the boys and girls.

There is no one, perhaps, who was so intimately associated with him as myself, nor who could better write his obituary. We have been associated in business for eight years, working in close harmony, depending on each other as only a father and son could do, enjoying the pleasures of success and sharing the bitterness of adversity. We have been close to each other, since my first recollection, in my boyish frolic and studies, down through my high school and college life, keeping close track of my progress, guiding, urging, restraining. I shall miss him sorely in the future of my life.

LUCRETIA WILLIAMS

At the annual meeting of the Society, June 4th, 1908, Rev. W. P. Q. Byrd, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Lansing, presented a colored lady, Lucretia Williams, who was born a slave in Kentucky, and later moved to Maryland where she saw many famous men of the nation. There are very few slaves living in the Northern States. She remembered the excitement of the War of 1812, and the battle of New Orleans. She was separated from her husband and children, but after gaining her freedom under the proclamation of President Lincoln, she gathered her family together and they moved to Niles, Michigan, in 1865. Mrs. Williams was alert and active up to June 26, 1911, when she laid down on a couch, at the house of her daughter, Mrs. Ellen Bannister, of Lansing, and breathed her last. She had ten children, only two of whom survive her, fourteen grandchildren and six great grandchildren. Her 108th birthday was celebrated January 1, 1911.

FREDERICK M. COWLES

Frederick Mortimer Cowles was born of Puritan ancestry in New Berlin, Chenango, County, N. Y., February 3, 1824. His father was Eliot Cowles and his mother Sarah Salome Phelps, a descendant of William Phelps who came from England in 1630 in the first ship of the Winthrop fleet, the Mary and John. They settled at Dorchester, Mass. In 1635 they made the first settlement on Connecticut soil at Windsor. William Phelps was one of the members of the first court in Connecticut composed of two men from each of the then three townships, Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, who governed the colony until the election of Governor Haynes in 1639 when Mr. Phelps was chosen as one of the six magistrates or assistants Mr. Cowles had the distinction of being a descendant from seven of the founders of Windsor, Conn., whose names appear on the town records of 1640. Lieut. Timothy Phelps served in the Pequot War and Capt. Abel Phelps in the French and Indian War, while three others were engaged in the War of the Revolution. The name of Ensign Elkanah Phelps is on the monument erected in Norfolk, Conn., to the soldiers of that town in the Revolution. Mr. Cowles enlisted in the Mexican War but his company was not called into action.

When a boy of nine years he moved with his family to Chardon, Ohio, and in 1842, he came with his brother, the late Joseph P. Cowles, and his family to Aurelius, Ingham County, Mich. There they erected a sawmill running it summers and in the winters Mr. Cowles taught school. During the winter of 1846-47 when he was teaching in Ionia, the last legislature sitting in Detroit, voted to locate the new capitol at the intersection of the Red Cedar and Grand Rivers. As soon as the spring opened, Mr. Cowles starting on foot through the woods arrived April 10, 1847, at the same time the commissioners for laying out the capitol did, and there remained a continuous resident until his death. A log house occupied by Father Page and his three sons-in-law marked North Lansing at that time. Mr. Cowles slept for two weeks in a barn in the rear of the now Franklin terraces, until the house Smith Tooker was building on Wall street on the site of the present house of Mr. Spoor was completed.

Mr. Cowles was married October 16th, 1853, to Delia L. Ward, daughter of Alanson and Olive Perkins Ward of Warsaw, N. Y.

Mr. Cowles was a contractor and builder and erected many of the first buildings of Lansing and assisted in the first capitol. He very soon became interested in the mercantile business with Hiram H. Smith, continuing their business relations until Mr. Smith moved to Jackson.

During the partnership he acquired by purchase from different parties the entire block on Washington avenue between Saginaw and Madison streets where he built the home occupied by the family.

In 1856 he purchased the property on the southwest corner of Washington avenue and Ottawa street where he erected two store buildings and for many years conducted the city's leading dry goods business, afterwards selling out to his son-in-law, the late N. F. Jenison. He intended to retire from business but his active nature demanded something as an outlet and this he found as a commercial traveler for the Lansing Wagon works in the states west of the Missouri river.

Mr. Cowles was identified with many of the early enterprises of the city, being one of the company which completed the toll road from Detroit and was with the commissioners when they located the M. A. C. He was also actively connected with the securing of the early railroads, especially devoting much time personally to the Lake Shore. He was associated with D. W. and M. J. Buck in building the opera house and was its first manager during the time that such famous artists as Joseph Jefferson, Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, Maggie Mitchell and Janauschek made their appearance in Lansing. He served the city as alderman many years and led the fight for the restoration of the bridges when they were swept away by flood in 1875. He also introduced the ordinance compelling the people to plant shade trees and after much opposition secured its passage, thus giving to Lansing its beautiful shade trees.

For the last few years Mr. Cowles lived with his daughters, Misses Lizzie and Lucie D. Cowles at the home on North Washington avenue, and more recently, with his daughter Mrs. N. F. Jenison, Seymour street, where he died January 16, 1910. He was the last of a large family of brothers and sisters. He is survived by his daughters and one grandson, Frederick Cowles Jenison, of this city.

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